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# METHODIST

# QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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*Going, therefore, disciple all the nations,* BAPTIZING THEM TO THE NAME OF THE FATHER, *and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to keep all things whatever I have enjoined upon you.*

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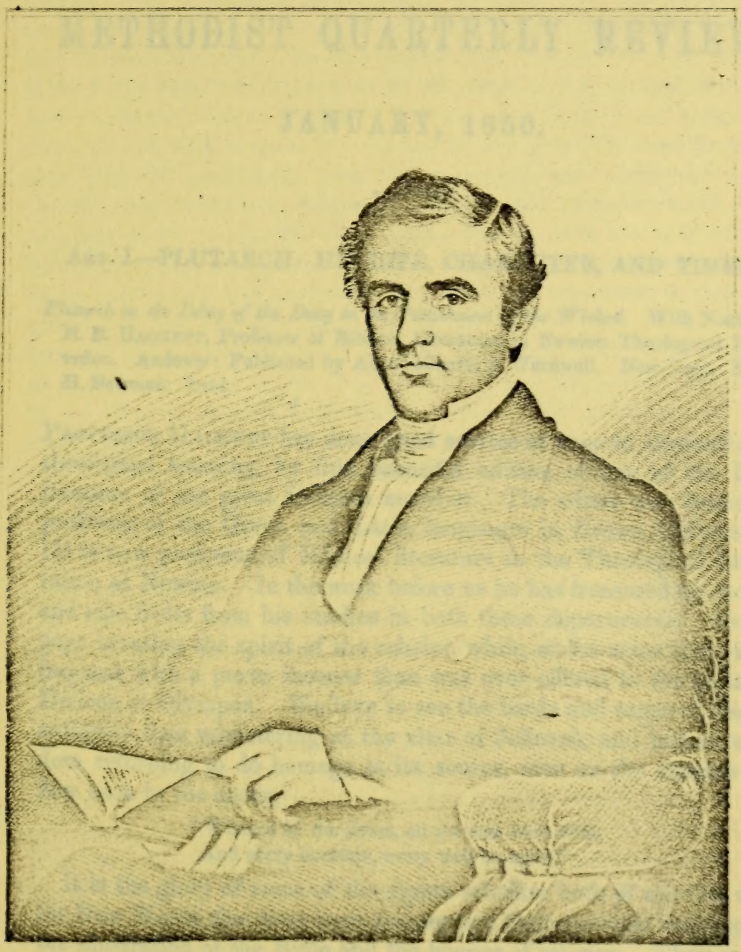

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One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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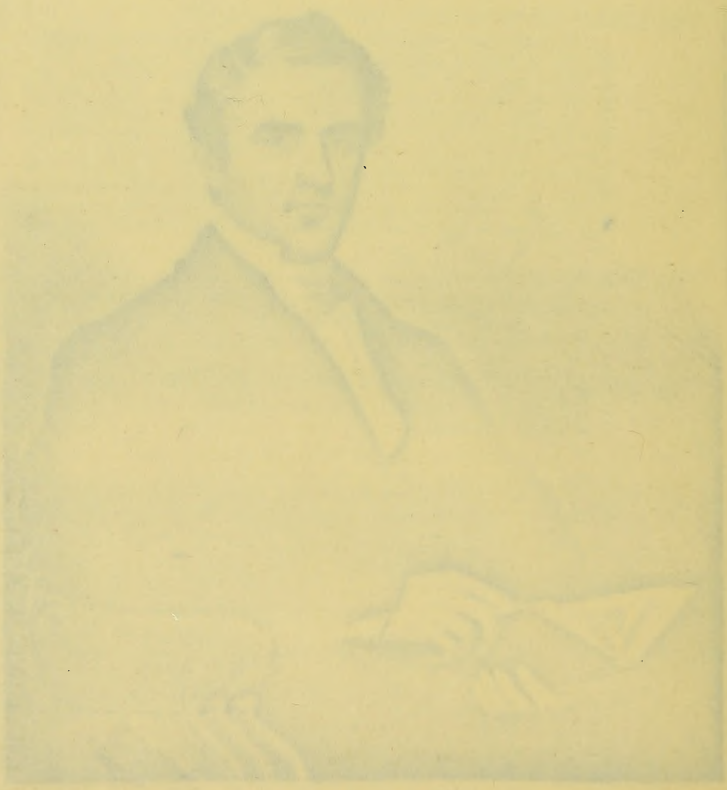

THE

# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1850.

## Art. I.—PLUTARCH: HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND TIMES.

*Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked.* With Notes by H. B. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Published by Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1844.

Professor Hackett has done good service at once to classical and theological learning, by this beautiful edition of one of the best treatises of the great Grecian moralist. The editor was formerly professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Brown University. He is now professor of Biblical literature in the Theological Institution at Newton. In the work before us he has treasured up choice and ripe fruits from his studies in both these departments. Every page breathes the spirit of the scholar, while, at the same time, it is fragrant with a purer incense than was ever offered to the gods of Helicon or Olympus. We love to see the bards and sages of Pagan antiquity thus ministering at the altar of Jehovah, and human wisdom returning to do homage at its source, even as the streams all flow back to the ocean,

> "Whence all the rivers, all the seas have birth,
> And every fountain, every well on earth."

It is the glory of some of the ripest scholars both of the Old and the New World, that they have consecrated their classical learning to the illustration of the Bible and the honour of religion. They could not devote it to a more sacred cause, nor could they bring a more appropriate offering. The New Testament was written in Greek; and they only who are masters of the original language, possess the key by which they can open to view all its hidden beauties, and bring forth for use all its concealed treasures. Christianity had its origin when the Greek language was almost universally spoken,—

when the Roman Empire was almost co-extensive with the known world. Its history and literature are thus indissolubly interwoven with the literature and history of Greece and Rome. The stream flows indeed fast by our homes and firesides. It waters our fields and gardens. It gladdens the cities of our God. We and our children bathe in its sacred waters, and drink from it life, health, love, and all sweet charities. But the fountain lies in a distant land; and, if we would keep the stream pure, if we would not, ere we are aware, find it poisoned, and drink from it pollution and death, we must have men who are able to trace it to its source and guard the fountain,—men who are acquainted with the geography and history of the country, familiar with its language, manners, and customs, and in all respects, so far as possible, on an equal footing with the native inhabitants,—men in whom profound learning and believing piety reign in such harmony and perfection, that they can reproduce in themselves, and help to reproduce in others, not only the outward circumstances, but the inward spirit of those holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Too often, indeed, the one or the other of these equally essential elements is sadly deficient in those who have attempted to combine classical with Biblical literature. The spirit of patient research and accurate observation on the one hand, or that of pious reverence and holy love for the mysteries of religion on the other, has been defective, if not wholly wanting. But we think Professor Hackett remarkably free from this charge. Alike familiar with the Bible and the classics, he has an eye to see the beauties of both, and a heart to feel their power. He lavishes no extravagant panegyrics on either. Still less does he look upon either with frigid indifference. He never puts down the one, that he may put up the other. Neither does he overlook their distinctive features, confound their characteristic elements, and place them on the same common level. He indulges in no far-fetched analogies, no overstrained contrasts, but holds the balance with an even hand, and calmly points out the real resemblances and the real differences, whether in language, doctrine, or spirit,—at an equal remove from the frigid rationalist, who sits in judgment on the word of God as if it were the reasonings or the conjectures of man, and from the bigoted theologian, who regards all the beauty and excellence conceded to Pagan literature and philosophy as so much detracted from the glory of the Christian revelation.

The Notes were designed particularly for the use of theological students. And they are admirably adapted to this end. The sentiments and the language of the author are constantly viewed from the stand-point of the Bible, and are thus made to shed light on its

idioms, its constructions, and its doctrines. Nor could a better writer have been selected for this purpose than Plutarch, or a more suitable treatise than the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta.* The author belongs to the same century, and wrote in the same dialect, (Hebraisms excepted,) in which all the books of the New Testament were written. His Greek, like that of the New Testament, has lost the purity, ease, and elegance of Plato and the earlier classics; while, on the other hand, his ethics and philosophy have gained a degree of moral excellence and elevation which can scarcely be found in any other Pagan author. The subject also—Providence, or the Moral Government of God, as connected with the Punishment of the Wicked—is kindred to the subject matter of the Scriptures, and lies at the very foundations of natural as well as revealed religion. It is treated in the main with such soundness of doctrine, such cogency of argument, and such completeness of illustration, that, as Professor Hackett justly remarks, even Christian writers who have attempted to defend the same truth within the same limits of natural religion, have scarcely been able to do anything better than to re-affirm his positions, and perhaps amplify and illustrate somewhat his arguments. At the same time, the author falls into such occasional errors, and, even when his doctrines are true and his arguments sound, proceeds with so much hesitation and uncertainty, as to furnish a striking contrast to the unerring truth and unhesitating, authoritative revelations of the sacred oracles. Surely it cannot but be a matter of deep interest and profound instruction for the theological student, while studying these oracles in their original tongue, to read in the same language a treatise, written in the same age, on a kindred subject, by a moralist whose vast learning and singular devoutness fitted him, perhaps above all others, to be a favourable exponent of the utmost success to which the heathen ever attained in vindicating the ways of God to men. We could wish that not only theological students, but theologians, were more accustomed to study the Scriptures in the original, and to study them in the light of such classic authors as Plato and Xenophon, Plutarch and Epictetus, Cicero and Seneca. While they thus learned to be more charitable in some respects towards the ancients, they would also attain to a far better understanding and higher appreciation of those sacred books, which they justly revere as the only unerring rule of faith and practice.

But, though peculiarly adapted to the theological seminary, we should not do justice to our own convictions, did we not add that this edition of Plutarch is also well suited to college use. The references to the sacred writers are not tiresome to any thoughtful

youth who has received a Christian education. On the contrary, they add to the interest with which he reads the work. The argument is close and rigid, approaching even to demonstration. The Greek is difficult, being a singular union of the rhetorical with the logical, the declamatory with the philosophical style. But these very peculiarities fix attention and concentrate effort; and these very difficulties, when mastered, fasten the treatise indelibly on the memory. The writer does not speak unadvisedly. He has used the work as a text-book with several college classes; and seldom, if ever, has he known classes study any author with deeper interest, or pass a more satisfactory examination at the end. We recommend it as a wholesome intellectual and moral discipline, like Seneca and Tacitus, writers of the same age, for young men, whether in the theological seminary or the college; and we wish again to express our obligation to Professor Hackett for the excellent taste and judgment, as well as the great learning and accuracy, with which he has edited it.

Should he have occasion to issue a new edition—as we hope, not only for his own satisfaction, but for the sake of classical and sacred learning, he may be encouraged to do—he will doubtless correct some errors in the text, particularly in the punctuation, and make some amendments, as well as additions, to the Notes. The requisite historical and archæological information is furnished so fully, that scarcely anything more can be desired; or, if desired, it is only because it cannot be found, and we must be content to remain in ignorance. But we think some grammatical and exegetical helps might be added with advantage, not indeed in the form of extended translation, which is the bane of linguistic study, but rather of brief hints touching the meaning of words, and clews to their proper construction, together with a more copious illustration of those peculiarities of style which characterize the age and the author.

But we must close these criticisms. The errors are comparatively few and unimportant, while we might dilate to any extent on the merits of the work. But commendation and correction are alike aside from our main purpose. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to introduce our readers to a more familiar acquaintance with the Life, and Character, and Times of the great historian and moralist, whose writings have afforded instruction and delight to so many English readers, and have contributed indirectly to the knowledge, virtue, and heroism of so many more, who have never read his works, but who have derived from them, through various media, a sort of popular acquaintance with the worthies of classical antiquity;—even as the popular mind has become insensi-

bly imbued with the knowledge of astronomy, drawn primarily from the works of Copernicus and Galileo, Kepler and Newton. At some future time we may resume the subject, and give some more particular account of the *Writings* of Plutarch, especially of his treatise on the "Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked."

Plutarch was a native of Chæronea, in Bœotia. It was a small town, and, as he himself complains,* furnished few facilities for his early education or his subsequent literary labours. But he chose to live there, lest, as he playfully and somewhat proudly says,† it should become still smaller; assured that virtue does not depend on locality, and that industry can make amends for unfavourable circumstances. The result justified his assurance. His heart became the shrine of all the virtues. His memory was instead of libraries and museums. He garnered up in himself the literary treasures and curiosities of Italy and of Greece, and, with himself, deposited them in Chæronea; and that little place owes its celebrity not less to the genius and learning of this favourite son, than to several bloody battles fought there, on which was suspended the fate of armies and of nations. The Chæroneans were not only few, but mean and servile. Antony's soldiers used them as beasts of burden, and obliged them to carry their corn upon their shoulders to the coast.‡ His native *country*, too, was proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants. During the nine or ten centuries that intervened between the poet-philosopher of Ascra, (and *he* was a *native* of *Æolis*,) and the historian-philosopher of Chæronea, Bœotia produced no distinguished writer, with the illustrious exception of Pindar; and contributed little in civil life to illustrate or adorn human nature, except the philosophical heroism of Epaminondas. Hesiod complains of the climate.§ Plutarch lays the blame on the beef-eating propensities of the people.‖ Perhaps the soil also should come in for a share, for it was among the richest in all Greece. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is, that Bœotia was more fruitful in corn and wine than in statesmen or scholars; and we fancy that we see the sober, practical, utilitarian influence of the country even in Hesiod and Plutarch. How much the historical celebrity of a place, so often the battle-field of Greeks and Romans, may have given direction or imparted stimulus to the early thoughts of our historian, we cannot determine.

His family, which was ancient and highly respectable, had long lived in the same place;¶ and, for several generations, had been

* Life of Demosthenes. † Ibid. ‡ Life of Antony.
§ Works and Days. ‖ On Animal Food. ¶ Symposiaca.

marked for an observing and reflecting turn of mind, which, while it took note of passing events, also inclined more or less to study and literary pursuits. Having held the most considerable offices in the magistracy of the place, they were in a position to become acquainted with public affairs; and our historian records important facts which he had from the lips of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, with all of whom it was his happiness to be personally conversant. His great-grandfather, Nicarchus, saw the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens under the severe discipline of Antony's soldiers. His grandfather, Lamprias, was our historian's authority, though at second hand, for some facts illustrative of Antony's luxury and extravagance in Egypt.* Plutarch describes him as a man of great eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. "He was distinguished" (to adopt Langhorne's† sympathizing version of the man's character) "by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of those happy mortals, who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humour and pleasantry increased with his cups; and he used to say, that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has on incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate. Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise, but has not given us his name in any of those writings that have come down to us. However, he has borne honourable testimony to his memory; for he tells us that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the poets." Plutarch himself would seem to have inherited the good qualities of both these ancestors. He was genial, imaginative, and eloquent, like his grandfather; he possessed in still larger measure the learning and the virtues of his father. Plutarch had two brothers, one of whom, Lamprias, with the name, inherited also the lively disposition of his grandfather; while the other, Timon, seems to have been of a more serious and thoughtful cast. The latter he introduces as a colloquist in his Symposiaca, and as one of the interlocutors in the De Sera Numinis Vindicta; and in his treatise on Fraternal Affection, he reckons the unwavering attachment and kindness of this brother among the chief felicities of his happy life.

The time of Plutarch's birth cannot be definitely ascertained; though, from circumstantial evidence derived from his own writings, it may be set down with confidence at or near the middle of the first century after Christ. In the year 66 A. D., when Nero visited Greece, he tells us‡ he was studying mathematics and philosophy

* Life of Antony. † Life of Plutarch.

‡ Concerning the E at Delphi.

under Ammonius at Delphi. In the reign of Domitian he was lecturing at Rome, with such hearers as Arulenus Rusticus, the Stoic,* whom Domitian put to death for having dared to write a eulogy on the virtuous Pætus Thrasea. It is not improbable that the edict by which the same tyrant banished all philosophers, A. D. 94, may have put an end to Plutarch's stay at Rome. Quite certain it is, that, after having spent some time at the capital, and visited many parts of Italy, he returned, still in the prime of life, to spend the residue of his days in the place of his nativity. Here he passed through the whole series of useful and honourable offices, from that of superintendent of sewers and public buildings to that of archon, or chief magistrate, with the same self-forgetful and patriotic devotion to the public welfare which had led him to fix his residence in that obscure town,—believing that real merit derives no additional dignity from the highest station, but sheds lustre on the lowest. His apology for condescending to such humble offices is in the true spirit of the Baconian philosophy; and his language strongly reminds us of that noble passage in the writings of Lord Bacon himself, in which he vindicates his willingness to forego the dignity of genius and a great name, and to be an operative or wood-carrier instead of an architect in science and philosophy, provided he may but subserve the interests of mankind. The genuine humility, the almost Christian philanthropy, of such men as Socrates and Plutarch, should alone suffice to silence the sweeping charge so indiscriminately made by some against the Grecian philosophy, that it disdained to be useful. Together with these civil dignities, he also took upon himself the sacerdotal office, as priest of Apollo;—thus manifesting, what is apparent in all his works, that his piety was not less sincere and devoted than his patriotism and philanthropy.

It is stated by Langhorne, Enfield, and others, and indeed long passed current for authentic history, that Plutarch was the preceptor of the Emperor Trajan, and received from him the office of consul at Rome. But the authority, when traced to its source, proves worthless; and the statement, hardly probable in its relation to Roman usages, or to the comparative ages of the two men, (for Trajan was probably as old a man as Plutarch,) is quite irreconcilable with the conclusions which may be incidentally derived from some of his writings. His Apophthegms, which are dedicated to Trajan, make no allusion either to the preceptorship or the consulship. Langhorne denies the genuineness of the Apophthegms, though they are altogether in the style and spirit of Plutarch, and relies on a letter which purports to

* On Curiosity.

have been addressed by Plutarch to his pupil, Trajan, on the accession of the latter to the imperial chair, though that letter is found only in the *Latin* of John of Salisbury, and bears on the face of it every mark of being a forgery. It were difficult to find a more palpable instance of a critical judgment being biased by a preconceived opinion, or by a favourite object to be accomplished. Langhorne thinks the honour of having stood in so intimate a relation to so virtuous a prince too important a point to be hastily given up. But the fame of Plutarch rests on no such doubtful, and, at best, accidental circumstances. Whether or not a man who stands acknowledged among the ablest and most approved teachers of mankind, was the preceptor of a Roman emperor, is a trifling question. So at least we must view it, in an age when rank and title are little appreciated, and he is honoured as the real prince, who can sway a wide and lasting influence over the minds of men; and so, we think, it would have been esteemed by Plutarch himself. Still less does it concern himself or his readers, whether he who has swayed the sceptre over the minds and hearts of millions for eighteen centuries, wielded a little brief authority in some obscure province, or even in the proud capital of the Roman empire. Besides this letter in a language which Plutarch never learned to write,* the only authority for this alleged elevation of Plutarch is a short notice in Suidas, which Professor Long† pronounces to be of no value, though, at the same time, he seems to admit the possibility that the Apophthegms (which are cited as counter authority) may not be genuine. But even if we admit that the Apophthegms were not written by Plutarch, it is quite incredible, if he had been the preceptor of Trajan, and promoted by him to the consulship, that not a trace of the fact should be found in any of his other works, while those works abound in allusions to far less prominent incidents in the author's personal history.

From a slight circumstance, which he misinterprets, Langhorne infers that the Moralia of Plutarch were written at Rome, and his Parallel Lives at Chæronea. And yet he has not advanced half a dozen pages before he quotes a passage from one of these same Moral Essays, (that on Curiosity,) in which the author says:—"*When I was lecturing at Rome*," &c., thus showing that he had now left Rome, and was already in his retirement at Chæronea. The Parallel Lives, we know, from the author's direct testimony,‡ were written at Chæronea. The Apophthegms refer to the Parallel Lives as a previous composition, and therefore *they* (the Apophthegms) could

* Life of Demosthenes. † Smith's Dict. of Biog., art. Plutarchus.
‡ Life of Demosthenes.

not have been written at Rome. The same has just been proved of the treatise on Curiosity. And all the evidence we have on the subject goes to show, that, though Plutarch doubtless collected many of his materials in connexion with his lectures and travels in Italy, his Moral Essays, as well as his historical works, were chiefly the productions of his maturer years, after his retirement from the imperial city to the humble town that gave him birth.

If we endeavour to follow our philosopher into this tranquil retreat, and to trace, as we would fain do in connexion with the public history of every great man, the under-current of his private and his intellectual life, we shall find but few helps in the effort—but few data on which we may calculate any very valuable result. We have no auto-biography, such as, Tacitus informs us, many distinguished men of his own and former times dared to write, though few such have come down to us—no familiar letter of a nephew or intimate friend, like that in which the younger Pliny describes in minute detail the private life and studies of his uncle—no monument of filial affection, such as the grateful and pious Tacitus reared to the memory of his father-in-law, Agricola—no domestic portraiture, or personal sketch, or incidental allusion even, by any of his numerous contemporaries; for in those days, when there was no press to multiply copies of books at a trifling expense, and no steam-travel to bring together distant provinces, writers in general knew comparatively little of each other, and a Greek philosopher, writing in an obscure town of Bœotia, was little likely to be visited or even named by authors who for the most part basked in the sunshine of the imperial court, or at least breathed the air of the metropolis. We must therefore rest satisfied with such glimpses of his private life as are reflected here and there from his own works.

The cares of office do not seem to have worn upon him, nor the concerns of business to have consumed much of his time or strength. Placed above the pressure of want by the wealth of his family, his house was the abode of plenty, but not of extravagance. He was temperate in his diet,—almost a Pythagorean in abstinence from animal food. Yet he was no gloomy ascetic, still less an anchorite either of literature or religion. He enjoyed the good creatures of God with thankfulness, and delighted in all the sweet charities of domestic and social life. Impelled by no necessity, he studied and wrote only when and as he chose, and gave the result to the world because he felt that the world needed it, would be benefited by it, and would not soon let it die. At the same time, his voluminous works, greatly reduced in number by the lapse of time, but still second to those of no Greek author in compass or variety, and richly fraught with learning and re-

flection, indicate, not a painfully laborious, but an eminently studious and industrious life. When the labours of each day were ended,—for we doubt not his studies were daily and systematic,—he found rest and recreation in the bosom of an affectionate and happy family, for whom he cherished the most tender regard, and who seem to have been worthy of his devoted love. His wife, Timoxena, was a native of Chæronea. At what time he married her, whether before or after his visit to Rome, does not appear. Six children, four sons and two daughters,* were the fruit and the ornament of this marriage. Three of them, however, died before their parents,—first two of the sons, then the favourite daughter, who bore her mother's name and died in infancy. This affliction drew from the father a consolation addressed to the mother, which reflects equal honour upon both, and reveals in beautiful unison two hearts of true parental tenderness, penetrated with the sincerest grief, yet calmed by the maxims of a sound philosophy, and even animated with the hopes of a trustful piety. Of the other daughter we know not even the name. We only know that Plutarch had a son-in-law, Patrocleas, who is mentioned in the Symposiaca, (Lib. vii, Quæst. 2,) and appears as one of the speakers in the Dialogue, De Sera Numinis Vindicta.† Three out of four of the characters, in this most pure and elevated of all Plutarch's moral essays, are members of his own family, while he himself is the chief speaker. We cannot but see, or think we see, in this beautiful dialogue, if not an exact picture of discussions that had actually been held in that domestic circle, yet a true symbol of the mutual relations of its members to each other, and of the deep interest with which they studied some of the most vital and profound questions that have ever engaged the thoughts of men. In all the various relations which he sustained to his family and kindred, towards his grandfather and great-grandfather, as a son and a brother, as a husband and a father, Plutarch appears in the most amiable and attractive light. His affections were not dried up in the study, nor drawn off into the cold regions of the intellect, nor sublimated into airy abstractions, nor diffused into vague and empty generalities. He loved study, but he loved his family more. His philanthropic spirit was alive to the weal or wo of all mankind. Nay, his benevolent heart beat in lively sympathy with every living thing. "We certainly ought not," he says, in stern rebuke of the elder Cato's stoical indifference to the happiness of his servants and beasts of burden; "we certainly ought not to treat living creatures like

* Only one daughter, and five children in all, are usually ascribed to Plutarch. But this leaves out of account the son-in-law mentioned in the text.

† See Hackett's Plutarch, p. 60.

shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we throw away; and were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me,—much less would I cast off a *man* grown old in my service." Yet, to show that this is not mere sickly sentimentalism, but the instinctive kindness of an affectionate heart, he concentrated upon his family circle a love which was as much more tender and fervent than this general benevolence, as they were more nearly related to him.

Before we take leave of Plutarch's private life, and proceed to view him in his relation to the times and to men and things around him, it may be well to glance at some of his leading characteristics as a writer, reserving, however, for some future occasion, as we have already intimated, a more particular examination of his works, in the state in which they have come down to us. Nothing further need be premised here, than the well-known fact that his writings are partly historical, and partly moral and philosophical. It is chiefly to the former, and especially to his Parallel Lives, that he owes his celebrity. Yet some of the Moralia are not less worthy of general acquaintance and admiration. Indeed, we think Plutarch is never so able, never so eloquent, never so much himself, as when he discourses on some high moral theme; and it is the moral element that gives to his Parallel Lives much of their peculiar power.

Heavy charges have been laid upon Plutarch as an historian. And he is certainly open to criticism, when tried by the established canons of historical composition. He is deficient in method. He follows neither the chronological nor the geographical arrangement. His narratives are anecdotical rather than historical. Like a story-teller, he rambles on from incident to incident, as one happens to suggest another, or as they are linked together in the mind of the writer by some law of moral association, or as they serve to illustrate some common trait of character in the subject. There is a want of definiteness, sometimes of accuracy, in his detail of dates and places, though he abounds in the enumeration of particulars, and excels in the selection of such incidents as suit his purpose. He does not always sift his authorities with sufficient care, approaching in this respect more nearly to the credulity of Herodotus, than to the discrimination of Thucydides. But he is not so faulty in this respect as he is often represented to be. He is careful to consult all the books within his reach; and very often specifies the authority on which he relies, and how much or how little he relies on it. When he depends on the testimony of a living witness, he is still more particular to name him, and to state whether or not he was an eye-

witness. If tradition is his only voucher for a fact, he is usually frank and explicit in saying so. In writing the life of a Theseus and a Romulus, he is far indeed from resolving it all (like the recent Niebuhr school of historians) into a myth, or an eponym, that never had any historical existence; but, on the other hand, he is as far from receiving it all as a real verity. In short, he is not more credulous of legendary tales than other writers and scholars of his country; and he furnishes the reader the means of verifying his narrative to as ample an extent as Herodotus or Livy. He is said to quote two hundred and fifty writers in his Parallel Lives, of whom about eighty are writers whose works are entirely or partially lost.* A small critic, who is wholly intent on the minute accuracies of name and date, and time and place, can detect some mistakes. This is especially true of his *Roman* Lives, but not more true of Plutarch than of most historians or biographers who write of the men or the institutions of foreign countries. Plutarch was, indeed, under the peculiar disadvantage of not understanding very well the Latin language, which, he tells us,† he had not time to learn when he was at Rome, and of which he seems never to have acquired a perfect mastery. Yet he often refers to Latin books for authority;—he also used the Greek writers on Roman history; and so far from acknowledging ignorance of Roman affairs, he says that the knowledge of Roman things, which he gained by observation and through his vernacular tongue, had aided him in acquiring the Latin language. And it is preciselyhere—in his Roman Lives—that Professor Long, with justice we think, finds the most convincing evidence of his substantial truthfulness. We quote a few lines from his Article on Plutarch in Smith's Dictionary of Biography; for no English or American scholar of our day has probably paid so much attention to Plutarch's Lives:—"On the whole, his Roman Lives do not often convey erroneous notions; if the detail is incorrect, the general impression is true. They may be read with profit by those who seek to know something of Roman affairs; and probably contain as few mistakes as most biographies which have been written by a man who is not a countryman of those whose lives he writes."

Plutarch has been accused of partiality for his countrymen. It has even been alleged that the chief motive of his Parallel Lives was a lurking and morbid desire to avenge the conquered Greeks on the conquering Romans, by showing that the time was when Greece had her great men too, and even greater than those of Rome. For ourselves, we think he may well plead not guilty to this indictment, and

* Smith's Biographical Dictionary, art. Plutarchus.

† Life of Demosthenes.

an impartial verdict will pronounce his full acquittal. We have reviewed several of his biographies, with particular reference to this question; and we cannot see wherein he has not done as ample justice to the Catos, as to Aristides and Phocion; to Pompey, as to Agesilaus; to Cicero, as to Demosthenes. Nay, in this last parallel, if he has shown partiality, it is to the Roman author; if he has done injustice, it is to the lofty patriotism, the commanding genius, and the transcendent eloquence of his countryman. Plutarch does not seem to have appreciated the character or the genius of Julius Cæsar. He is more smitten with the dazzling qualities and the brilliant achievements of the young Grecian conqueror. But we discover no trace of national prejudice;—he writes here, as everywhere, like an honest, truthful, earnest man. If he is biased, it is by republican sympathies, which are more fully awakened against the usurper and the more recent destroyer of the liberties of mankind. In neither of these, nor indeed in his other Lives, is there anything to suggest the thought that he is writing the biography of a countryman or a foreigner, still less that he cherishes a morbid thirst for vengeance on the oppressors of his race.

Plutarch loves to tell a good story. Sometimes, perhaps, he scrutinizes more narrowly the fitness of an incident to the character he would draw, or the impression he would make, than the intrinsic dignity it wears, or the historical evidence on which it rests. But what modern historian shall throw the first stone at Plutarch for this sin? Plutarch's Lives may well be called the prototype of the historical reviews of our day; and the Alisons and Macaulays, all the most attractive and popular historians of the nineteenth century, write, like Plutarch in the first century, with a constant eye to impression and picturesque effect; draw striking characters, relate entertaining anecdotes, and sacrifice the dignified repose of the ancient history to the more varied and stirring scenes of a collection of biographies. Plutarch was fully conscious of this characteristic, and did not aspire or profess to rank with the classic historians:—"We are not writing histories," he says,* "but lives. Neither is it always in the most distinguished exploits that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; frequently some unimportant action, some short saying or jest, distinguishes a person's real character more than fields of carnage, the greatest battles, and the most important sieges. As painters, therefore, in their portraits, labour the likeness in the face, particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears; so must we be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave

* Life of Alexander.

to others the circumstantial detail of their toils and their achievements." Tried by his own standard, placed among those whom he reckons as his peers, we think Plutarch stands pre-eminent. And such has been the verdict of mankind. His Lives were among the most popular works of his own day. The historians, philosophers, and grammarians of subsequent ages bear testimony to his singular merit. He was a special favourite with the Greek and Latin fathers. When the Greek and Latin languages gave place to those of modern Europe, Plutarch was one of the first classic authors brought out of the cloisters of the learned, and translated for the benefit of the people; and from that day to this, no book has been more universally popular, none more widely diffused in different tongues and distant lands, none sought after with more avidity by the young and the old, in the infancy and the maturity of nations, than Plutarch's Lives.

It was translated into French in the reign of Henry II., and from the French translated again into English in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is generally supposed that this English Plutarch furnished the materials for those immortal plays of Shakspeare which dramatize classical subjects. And the unlettered not only of Shakspeare's countrymen, but of other European nations, are indebted, directly or indirectly, to Plutarch for the better part of their knowledge of ancient heroes and sages. Ancient history, as written for the people in modern times, makes principal use of those facts which he narrates, and presents them in the same striking and popular light in which he clothed them. Indeed, so effectually has he been translated and transfused into the common mind, that if all which has been derived from him were subtracted from the now current popular notions touching the great men of antiquity, the larger, and by far the more interesting part, would be swept into oblivion, and an appalling blank would be created, not only in the memories, but in the imaginations and the hearts of men. Like the marvellous incidents and the moral lessons of Ulysses' story—the *speciosa miracula*, as Horace calls them, of the Odyssey—Plutarch's heroes and their achievements have become familiar as household words throughout the civilized world. They are worshipped as a kind of household gods that have survived the general wreck of paganism, and planted their altars on the hearths of Christendom. They are incorporated with the hallowed memories, the sacred associations, the common inheritances, the daily thoughts and lives, of the great human family. Children listen to Plutarch as to a genuine story-teller of marvellous, yet true stories, and give his works a place with Robinson Crusoe, Sinbad the Sailor, and The Tales of a Grandfather, in their little

libraries. Youth drink in from him a purer and loftier inspiration; and as he introduces them to the intimate acquaintance of one after another of the great, and wise, and good of antiquity, they resolve that they also will be something, and do something, in their day and generation. In times that try men's souls, he is usually an especial favourite. Amid revolutions, like the American and the French, the Washingtons and Franklins, the Lafayettes and Vergniauds, the Rolands and De Staëls, look to Plutarch for wisdom and strength—for patterns how to live, and examples how to die. The Parallel Lives are a sort of heathen Book of Martyrs, which, though far from being a perfect, or, in any sense, a Christian standard, has yet animated thousands with the spirit of heroes and martyrs in the cause of liberty and virtue, of their country and mankind.

It must be conceded, that, as a biographer, Plutarch does not show the nicest discrimination. His characters are too much of a piece; they want the infinite variety of nature, and of the highest works of art. He fails to discover those delicate, and almost evanescent lights and shades, which so dignify and adorn the creations of Homer and Shakspeare, the delineations of Thucydides and Tacitus, the conceptions of the great masters in history, as well as in Epic and Dramatic Poetry. He finds in each character some ruling passion, and then is inclined to use that as the key to unlock all the secrets of the life. Each personage is, therefore, too much like an incarnation of some virtue or vice, and by consequence too much like other incarnations of the same virtue or vice. They do not want life or reality: but they are deficient in individuality, in distinctive features, and delicate shades of colouring.

His delineations are also somewhat wanting in ease and freedom. His plan, though ingenious and pleasing, is artificial: it sets him on the discovery of resemblances, which are sometimes only accidental and fancied. He seems also to have an innate fondness for the detection of remote analogies, or rather of minute correspondences. Who but Plutarch would ever have hit upon all these points of similarity between Demosthenes and Cicero? "The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes: for I think it is impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power, who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country." He hunts up correspondences; he runs after

anecdotes illustrative of the ruling passion. Not that he confines himself to these: he loves facts also for their own sake. He will find a place for a good story, if it does not tally exactly with the parallel, or with the preconceived character of his hero. Still, he has a hero to bring forth—a character to make out; and he tells you so. He does not, like Homer, let you see it merely in the action or dialogue. He has little of the pure dramatic element. Yet he is not, on the other hand, purely didactic. He not only tells you that he has a hero whom he is going to bring forth; but, suiting the action to the word, he shows him to you. He describes him in words somewhat formal and precise; and if he stopped there, he were no better than a sophist. But he does not stop there: he sets him before you a living reality—speaking, acting, full of energy and power; and he is not a mere sophist, or philosopher, or historian; but a seer, a sage, a biographer, a painter of the lives of men for all time.

Plutarch's Moralia are much less known than the Parallel Lives. They have been translated into Latin, French, and German, but never into English. Yet we think several of them well worthy of translation; and we wish some one, who could do him justice, would enrich our language with his tract "On the Education of Children," with his "Consolation, addressed to his wife on the death of a daughter," with his "Precepts on Marriage," with his "Comparison between Superstition and Infidelity," and, especially, with his masterly argument "On the Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked." It would be difficult to name the Modern Sermon, or Ethical Discourse, which is, on the whole, a more thorough and satisfactory discussion of that subject; though it were easy to find many a sermon that has been taken from it, bodily and spiritually, in doctrine, argument, and illustration, *all* but the text. Nor do we know of any modern work on marriage, in which, within the same compass, more excellent maxims are laid down, or more beautifully illustrated, than in the Precepta Conjugalia of Plutarch. It has all the affluence of comparison and allusion which so adorns the Marriage Ring of Jeremy Taylor; together with a conciseness and a definiteness, to which the English bishop was a stranger.

The difficulties and the infelicities of Plutarch's style have both been exaggerated. When the student first opens his pages, he is repelled, and almost appalled, by the strangeness of the words and the singularity of their collocation. So many abstract nouns; so many adjectives superadded to bring out the abstract qualities more fully; such an accumulation of epithets and of similes; so many big words, and strong; so many words that he either never saw before, or has seen few and far between, with familiar words enough

intervening to serve as a clew to their significance, but here piled heaps upon heaps, or strung along in thick and formidable succession;—all these meeting him at once, are quite frightful to the beginner in the reading of Plutarch. Yet, as he learns the vocabulary, and grows familiar with the structure of the sentences, he discovers that these words, numerous as they are, all have a meaning; that these sentences, loose as they appear, are full of connected thought; that these epithets and similes, however accumulated, seldom fail to illustrate the sentiment, as well as to embellish the style; and that the discourse, rhetorical and declamatory as it seems in some respects to be, is yet methodical, argumentative, and replete with invaluable matter. He takes up a second treatise, and discovers the same characteristics. He not only meets with the same words in a similar arrangement, but he finds the author repeating his facts and illustrations, as Homer repeats, again and again, his favourite similes and descriptions; and as Demosthenes uses, over and over, his most successful appeals and his most eloquent passages. He now begins to feel at home, and at ease. He forgets the peculiarities of manner, which at first fastened his attention, and becomes absorbed in the matter: he no longer translates the Greek into English, still less arranges the words in the English order. He takes the impression of each word as he goes along; or, rather, he is borne on by the stream of thought and argument, which flows so deep and strong beneath the words, and he becomes a convert to the doctrine which is inculcated, or he resolves to imitate the hero or the sage whose life is portrayed. The Greek of Plutarch is very unlike the easy elegance of Plato, or the compact, artistic, symmetrical strength of Demosthenes. But, perhaps, it is not more different (though it is separated by a much longer interval of time) than the Latin of Pliny and Tacitus from that of Cæsar and Cicero, or the English of Macaulay and his fellow-reviewers, from that of Addison and the early English essayists. He has the faults of his profession as a public lecturer; and of his age—an age of scribblers and declaimers, of scholastics and rhetoricians. But, while he is far from the simplicity of the pure Attic historians and philosophers, he is still more removed from the common herd of contemporary writers. He is not a plausible sophist, a fulsome panegyrist, a bitter satirist, a heartless critic, a grammarian, a mere dealer in nouns, and verbs, and tropes, and metaphors. He is surpassingly rich in facts and thoughts, in great truths and noble sentiments. He is surprisingly free from the worst literary vices of his age. And as to its political, moral, and religious corruptions, he stood, not alone, but with a noble few, quite apart from them—far above them.

To gain a just appreciation of any man's character, we must contemplate him in his relation to the times and circumstances in which he lived. If while his vices were the vices of his age, his virtues were pre-eminently, though not exclusively, his own; if he was *of* his countrymen and contemporaries indeed, and yet far *above* and *beyond* them, it is high praise.

Plutarch was born, as we have seen, at or near the middle of the first century. He died toward the close of the first quarter of the second century. The golden age of Roman literature had passed away, never to return. The Latin language and literature, like the Roman State, had put forth its blossoms, and they had fallen; it was still destined to bear fruit—rich and precious fruit—even to old age; nay, it might shoot up here and there a flower, but the season of bloom had gone by. The triumvirate of Latin historians—Cæsar, at once the author and the subject of his own history, and as inimitable in the simplicity of his narrative, as in the splendour of his achievements;—Sallust, affecting all the gravity, stateliness, and virtue of the old Roman, but greater and better in speech than in action;—and Livy, born to celebrate the rising glories of his country in language worthy of the imperial and eternal city, and therefore born when that country had not, as yet, begun to decline from the zenith of her power—this triumvirate had spoken—had spoken in "the voice of empire and of war, of law and of the State"—and the muse of history was for a time silent. Roman eloquence had expired with Roman liberty; they found a burial together in the grave of Cicero: and for them, emphatically, there was no resurrection. Philosophy, too, had its freest play in his large and liberal mind—in his writings its most genial and attractive development. More profound thinkers, more earnest and courageous souls, came after him; but none in whom, as in Plato, the spirit of philosophy was manifested under a form altogether becoming. Latin poetry also had poured forth all its sweetest strains, and, swan-like, sung its own death-song. The Greek-like inspirations of Lucretius, (worthy of a better theme,) the unaffected ease and simplicity of Catullus, the melancholy tenderness of Tibullus, the artistic grace and elegance of Virgil, the intuitive good sense and exquisite taste of Horace, the marvellous ingenuity and overflowing exuberance of Ovid—the last echo of all these had died away on the delighted ear, and no Roman was ever to hear the like again.

The politic and princely Augustus died half a century before Plutarch had finished his education. Of all those, to whose genius, learning, and taste, he owed the chief lustre of his immortal name, (though they in turn were indebted to him for scope and oppor-

tunity of development,) none but Livy and Ovid survived him; and of these, Ovid was already banished in disgrace, probably for an intrigue with the emperor's licentious daughter, while Livy never completed the history of Augustus' reign. It was the cruel, and yet not undeserved destiny of this proud and selfish prince, to bury scholar after scholar, friend after friend, and one adopted child after another, till he was left solitary and sad, amid the tantalizing splendour and power of his unbounded empire.

Augustus was succeeded by the jealous and dissembling Tiberius, who obliged the senate to flatter him, and then railed at them for it in Greek as he left the Senate-house, and who compelled the aged and blameless historian, Cremutius Cordus, to starve himself to death for having dared to praise Brutus, and to style Cassius "the last of the Romans." After him came in rapid, and yet too slow succession, those weak-headed and black-hearted monsters, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, who all gave promise of a mild and virtuous reign at first; but, after having squandered the treasures of the empire, burned the city, and murdered by wholesale the citizens, died by violence, only regretting that they had not been able to finish the work of destruction with greater despatch, and leaving behind them names which have ever since been synonymes of tyranny and crime in every language throughout the civilized world. Of course, they found fit tools of their cruelty in the soldiers; fit instruments, as well as fit victims, in the citizens,—the mass of whom lived on their largesses, fattened on their vices, and were in due season sacrificed to their jealousy or their pleasure, their convenience or their caprice. During these reigns, literature was well-nigh crushed beneath the weight of tyranny, or died out amid the general decay of morals.

But such crimes and cruelties could not always last; the scene of blood ended in the civil wars of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, each of whom took the sword, and after having fought his way to the seat of a little brief authority, fell by the sword, and gave place to "other men, but not other manners." The military and civil virtues (not without vices) of Vespasian at length won an established throne, and he died in his bed, or rather he died standing, which, he said, was the only death suitable for an emperor. His sons also held the reins with a firm hand: and though Titus (delight of the Romans) reigned too short a time for the accomplishment of his liberal and magnificent designs, and the cruel Domitian banished philosophers, as his father had done before him, and looked with a jealous eye on all scholars who did not flatter him with literary as well as civil pre-eminence; yet, with the return of partial liberty and peace, (those

sister nurses of science and art,) literature began to revive. And when at length, under the imperial Trajan, born to command, that period of rare felicity arrived in which men might think what they pleased, and speak what they thought,* literary culture reached a second culminating point—second in order of time, and second in order of excellence, to that of the Augustan age, and standing to it somewhat in the relation of the literature of Queen Anne's reign to that of Queen Elizabeth's—a culminating point, from which it declined but slowly during the happy reign of the peace-loving and art-cherishing Hadrian, and sank to an evening of glory with the setting sun of the philosophical Antoninus.

To this second period, commonly called the silver age of Roman literature, belong the names of the two Plinies, Martial, Juvenal, Statius, Quinctilian, Suetonius, Tacitus; and to bring the Greek writers of the same age into the same category, Pausanias, Josephus, Philo Judæus, Plutarch, Epictetus, and not a few others less known and less deserving. The philosopher Seneca and his nephew, the poet Lucan, may be considered as the pioneers of this corps of authors; they both died under Nero. The elder Pliny and Statius died before the reign of Trajan; Martial, Juvenal, the younger Pliny, and Tacitus, all probably died during that reign. Suetonius, Quinctilian, Plutarch, and Epictetus, survived Trajan, only, however, by a few years. Such were the contemporaries—such the times—of Plutarch! A bright, but not unclouded sky, set with brilliant stars, but by no means of the first magnitude.

That night of storms and thick darkness, which settled down upon the Roman empire after the death of Augustus, never wholly passed away. At such a time, philosophers (if philosophers there be) will be either Stoics or Epicureans; and panegyric or satire is almost the only alternative that remains for writers. All these extremes, at this time, took on their extremest forms. The many who aspired to any kind of culture, revelled in the garden of Epicurus, and sank into the lowest abyss of sensual gratification. The few, deeming life ignoble in so corrupt and servile an age, vaunted their Stoicism, courted martyrdom, and soon met the fate they coveted. Seneca and Thrasea were among the less impracticable of Stoics; but Nero put them both to death, and so won a sure title to immortality. Helvidius Priscus provoked the same doom, even under the mild and tolerant sway of Vespasian.

The epigram now assumed a pungency which had not before belonged to it, but which has since become its established prerogative

* Histories of Tacitus.

and characteristic. The epigrams of Martial resemble those of the earlier Latin and Greek poets only in the name.

The satire, too, of this age is quite another thing not only from that of the Greeks, but also from that of Lucilius and the earlier Romans. The playful and pointed satire of Horace was suited to the refined and luxurious vices of the Augustan age. But the monstrous corruption and degradation of the Claudian period called for the bitter sarcasm and vehement denunciation of Juvenal—a style of writing which even had its influence on the language, though not a malign influence on the spirit of the Histories of Tacitus.

It is only in this period that the Greek word, *πανηγυρικός*, passes over into the sense of the English *panegyric*. It had originally meant a festival oration, a funeral eulogium, such as were pronounced at the Olympic games, or on special occasions before the assembled multitude. It now came to mean a flattering, and for the most part false, address to the reigning prince. Such panegyrics, particularly on Nero and Domitian, disfigure the poems of Lucan and Statius, and even the prose writings of Quinctilian. Even the panegyric of Pliny on the Emperor Trajan must be reckoned extravagant and fulsome, though not altogether undeserved and false. Both the panegyric and the satire of this age were too extravagant to be altogether sincere. Sometimes, as in Lucan, the poem begins with encomium, written in the sunshine of court favour, and ends with censure on the same emperor, composed in banishment or disgrace. And we mistrust the fierce invective which Juvenal launches against vice scarcely less, than the courtly compliments which many a writer of questionable character lavishes upon virtue.

Not only poetry, but history, was made the vehicle of flattery and calumny. Suetonius, to say the least, retails a vast deal of scandal in his Lives of the Cæsars. And Tacitus charges almost the entire body of historical writers, after the age of Augustus, with being swayed by favour or awed by fear.* For himself, he professes entire impartiality. His works, so far as they are extant, justify the claim. And the same high praise—of candour amid prejudice, of truthfulness amid insincerity—is awarded, without a dissenting voice, to Plutarch. Indeed, by a natural law of reaction, there are in these, and several of the best men of this corrupt age, an ardent love of truth, a devout veneration for virtue, and an intense hatred of vice and falsehood; there are also a depth of thought, an elevation of sentiment, a fervour of emotion, and an earnestness of expression, which, while they mar the classic simplicity and repose of

* Histories, lib. i., chap. 1.

their style, yet speak to the hearts of men, in times so exciting as ours, with stirring eloquence and commanding power. And degenerate as the literary taste and execution of the age must be conceded to have been in comparison with the Augustan standard, still we find in the elder Pliny an extent of learning; in Quinctilian, a justness of criticism; in Tacitus, a profound philosophy of history; and in Seneca, Plutarch, and Epictetus, a purity of ethics, approaching to the Christian code of morals, such as all the vaunted, and, in many respects, real superiority of the Augustan age never reached.

In accordance with the practical tendencies of his age, Plutarch was more a moral than a metaphysical philosopher. But he did not go to either of the then prevalent extremes. He would not have been found with either of the sects whom Paul encountered at Athens. He exposed the errors and contradictions of the Stoics in more than one set treatise; and, in another, he showed that to live according to the principles of Epicurus, was to fail even of the happiness which his followers regarded as life's chief end. His teacher, Ammonius, was an Aristotelian.* He himself is usually reckoned as a disciple of Plato. He was, however, a New-Platonist; or, to designate the thing more exactly by the name, an Eclectic. He received more of the doctrines and spirit of the Academy than of any other school. But he confined himself to no one sect. His system, if system it may be called, combined the most useful, while it eschewed the hurtful, elements of all the schools. It embraced the logic and natural science of the Peripatetics, without their endless disputations and barren distinctions; the modest and inquiring spirit of the Academicians, without the skepticism or the mysticism that was too often coupled with it; the high-toned and heroic morality of the Stoics, disincumbered of their affected insensibility and mad extravagance. From Pythagoras, he adopted the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; and, like that philosopher, he inferred from it the duty of kindness to brutes, and of abstinence from animal food. In his theological opinions and his religious character, he differed little from Socrates. He withheld his assent from the superstitions of the multitude, and yet did not renounce the religion of the State. The national worship was not only essential to curb the passions, and to meet the wants of the vulgar; but the most enlightened, he thought, might use it as a help to devotion—as an appropriate symbol of a purer and more spiritual worship. A religion that was not national, but universal, was a thing of which the ancients could not conceive, till the idea was forced upon them by Christianity; and then they

* Smith's Dict. of Biog., art. Ammonius.

were very slow to receive it. "The man who can believe it possible," says Celsus, "for Greeks and barbarians, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to agree in one code of religious laws, must be quite void of understanding." But Plutarch thought there was essential truth in all national religions. "As sun and moon, sky, earth, and sea," he says,* "are common to all, while they have different names among different nations; so, likewise, though there is but *one* system of the world which is supreme, and one governing Providence, whose ministering powers are set over *all* men; yet there have been given to these, by the laws of different nations, different names and modes of worship." His doctrine, in short, is essentially that of Pope's Universal Prayer, which, in the mouth of a Christian, is but a refined species of infidelity; but among Polytheistic pagans might be expressive of the highest attainable Monotheism and spirituality.

Plutarch believed in one Supreme Divinity, self-existent, eternal, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, unchangeable by time or place; immutable also in truth, justice, wisdom, and goodness; the common Father and Ruler of all mankind, and the proper object of religious worship by all his creatures. At the same time he admitted, as did also Socrates, the existence of a class of inferior deities or demigods, stretching through all the interval between the Most High and mortal men, and serving as a medium of communication in various ways between heaven and earth. Of this number were the gods of oracles, of dreams, and of all manner of revelations. Such, too, in Plutarch's opinion, was the δαίμων of Socrates.† They, in short, are the agents of Divine Providence, and the administrators, to a great extent, of the divine government among men.

The age of Plutarch was deeply infected with the spirit of universal skepticism. The Greeks, whose religion was always more æsthetic than moral, had long had their sophists and skeptics, who laboured to undermine the foundations of all faith; and their most enlightened men were, to a great extent, atheists, or, at best, pantheists, who either renounced all religion, or held on to it only as an engine of personal or political policy. The religion of the Romans had in it more of the moral element, and, therefore, laid hold of the conscience by a firmer grasp. But now old things were passing away, and all things were to be made new. And it is affecting to see how such observing and thoughtful men as the elder Pliny and Tacitus, had lost their faith in all that was old, without, as yet, having found anything new to place in its stead. "If," says Tacitus,

* On Isis and Osiris, as quoted by Neander in his His. Chr. Church.

† See his Treatise on that subject.

in that touching apostrophe of filial affection to a departed father-in-law, where, if anywhere, his love might be expected to strengthen his faith and hope—"IF the souls of great men are not extinguished with their bodies!" Again he says in the Annals: "Whether human affairs are governed by fate and immutable necessity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide." Pliny draws a still more gloomy picture of human life:* "All religion is the offspring of necessity, weakness, and fear. *What* God is—if in truth he be anything distinct from the world—it is beyond the compass of man's understanding to know. But it is a foolish delusion, which has sprung from human weakness and human pride, to imagine that such an infinite Spirit would concern himself with the petty affairs of men. The vanity of man, and his insatiable longing after existence, have led him also to dream of a life after death. A being full of contradictions, he is the most wretched of creatures. Among so great evils, the best thing God has bestowed on man is the power to take his own life." Contrast with these dismal views the whole argument and spirit of the De Sera Numinis Vindicta, and it will be strikingly apparent how far above his age Plutarch was in his moral and religious sentiments. He was a full believer in a wise and benevolent particular Providence, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. Like Xenophon, he seems to have been constitutionally devout. But his piety had also a far broader and deeper rational basis than Xenophon's. He reflected much on the subject, and could give a reason for his religious belief, and for the hope there was in him. His piety seems to have been sincere, profound, pervading, and controlling. He is often pronounced superstitious. And he did believe in the reality of oracles, in the divine significance of dreams, in direct revelations to the inward, spiritual sense of wise and good men; in the superhuman origin, direction, and progress of great nations, and in the constant participation of superior beings in the affairs of men. But he narrates prodigies with more caveats and expressions of incredulity than Livy. He denounces the doctrine of fate,† deplores the folly and misery of superstition,† as exceeding even that of infidelity; withholds his credence from much of the received mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and ascribes to natural causes those phenomena of nature which the multitude were wont to ascribe to the direct favour or anger of the gods. At the same time, he maintained the divine presence and power as the ultimate cause of these very phenomena; ridiculed the doctrine of chance, as not less absurd than that of fate;

* See his Nat. Hist., as cited by Neander, vol. i., p. 10.

† He has treatises on each of these subjects, as also on the Cessation of Oracles.

and censured unbelief, as less miserable indeed, but more criminal and mischievous, than superstition. In short, he adjusts the balance between erroneous extremes with an accuracy which, without revelation, is truly surprising.

Nor is it in his doctrines only, that we find in Plutarch a remarkable approximation towards the standard of Christianity. He breathes also a devout, gentle, humble, and, in some sense, Christian spirit. In his writings, for the first time, the word ταπεινός, which, like the Latin *humilis*, in its usual classical sense, imports meanness and pusillanimity, occurs, in a good sense, to denote a meek and submissive virtue. Of all the Grecian sects, the Academic, especially when enforced, as it was by the New-Platonists, with the high-toned morals of the Stoics, approached most nearly to the spirituality and ethical purity of the Christian system. It was from the Platonists that the first learned and philosophical converts to Christianity were actually made. And of all the Platonists, we know of no one from whose writings we should more confidently infer a readiness to accept the new religion, both in its doctrines and its spirit, as soon as it should be made known to him, than Plutarch.

It becomes, then, a question of great interest, what *were* the relations of Plutarch to Christianity?

Plutarch lived, as we have seen, till near a century and a quarter after the birth of our Lord—till almost a century (more exactly, ninety years) after his resurrection, and the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. At the time of Plutarch's death, Christian churches had existed at Jerusalem, at Antioch, and many other places in Syria and Asia Minor, for at least eighty years. Full seventy years had elapsed since Paul preached the gospel with so much power and success at Philippi and Thessalonica, at Athens and Corinth, the chief cities of Macedonia and Achaia, and some of them not a hundred miles from the town in which our philosopher studied, wrote, and died. The earliest of the Gospels had then been written eighty years, and the latest sixty years. The Epistles to the Galatians and the Thessalonians had been in circulation, or at least in existence, seventy years; the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Romans, sixty-five years; those to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, sixty-two years; and the Second to Timothy and the Second of Peter, the last of all the Epistles, about sixty years. The presumption certainly would be strong, that, by this time, the Christians would have become so generally known, that the fame of them at least, if not their preaching and writings, would have reached the ears of Plutarch. Yet the most searching examination of his works discovers not the slightest evidence that he had

ever so much as heard of them. He discusses questions touching the God of the Jews, and their abstinence from swine's flesh,* in such a manner as to show some acquaintance with their history; but he never mentions the Christians. He was interested in whatever pertained to humanity and religion. The subjects which he discussed, and the sentiments which he inculcated, were kindred to Christianity; and yet he never makes an allusion to it! And we know not whether our surprise at this discovery is diminished or increased, when we further learn that, with a few exceptions, all the Greek and Roman writers of his age maintain the same profound silence.

Among the Greeks,† Dio Chrysostom, Œnomaus, who in the time of Hadrian anticipated the part of Lucian as a derider of the gods, Maximus Tyrius, and Pausanias, are entirely silent in respect to the Christians. Of the Latin authors of this period, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Florus, Curtius Rufus, Quinctilian, Gellius, Apuleius, Martial, and Juvenal, make no allusion to them; though several of these authors, particularly Juvenal, it would seem, could scarcely have avoided some reference to them, had they been known. In the reign of Trajan we find the first mention of the Christians, and in the writings of Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny. Tacitus, in giving an account of the conflagration of the city, which was supposed to have been set on fire by order of Nero, relates that the emperor, for the purpose of averting suspicion from himself, charged the crime upon the Christians, and inflicted upon them punishments of the most refined ingenuity and cruelty; and in this connexion he explains the origin of the name which they bore, and characterizes their religion as a pernicious superstition, and their spirit as that of hatred towards the human race.‡ Suetonius, in his life of Nero, alludes to the same punishments, and speaks of the Christians as a class of men addicted to a new and mischievous superstition. And the same writer, in his life of Claudius, states that the Jews were expelled from Rome by this emperor, because they were perpetually engaging in disturbances, to which they were instigated by one Chrestus, (which name is generally understood to be a corruption of Christus, or Christ.) The allusions by both of these historians show that they barely knew of their existence, but understood little or nothing of the history or character of the Christians.

* Sympos., lib. iv.

† Compare an excellent Article on this subject, translated by Professor Hackett, from the Latin of N. T. Tschirner, in the Bib. Repository, vol. xi., first series.

‡ Annals of Tacitus, xv., 44. We have given these facts chiefly in the language of Tschirner.

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In the well-known letter of Pliny, which he wrote to the Emperor Trajan when he was pro-prætor of Bithynia, about the year 104, we have not only more ample, but more certain also, and more important, information in regard to the Christians. From this letter we learn, that they were now dispersed in all directions throughout Bithynia, so that many of the temples were abandoned, and the customary rites of religion neglected. For this reason, they were accused before the pro-prætor, who considered it his duty to institute an inquiry in regard to these despisers of the public religion, and to adopt measures of severity against them. The course which was pursued he explains to the emperor very minutely, and acquaints him also with such further particulars as he had ascertained in regard to the sect; such as, that on a stated day they were accustomed to assemble before light, and sing a hymn to Christ as God, and to bind themselves with an oath, that they would not be guilty of any crime, but would abstain from theft, robbery, adultery, violation of promises, and withholding of property committed to their care. Bithynia, it will be remembered, was one of those provinces of Asia Minor where the gospel was earliest preached, and where it would seem to have most widely prevailed. Yet, even here, the pro-prætor does not appear to have concerned himself with it any further than it was forced upon his attention in his judicial capacity. He did not examine into the opinions of the Christians, or read their sacred books; and what he wrote respecting them was written, not for the purpose of being preserved as an historical record, but merely that the emperor might know what had been done in the case, and might be enabled to judge in regard to the expediency and nature of any further action.

The allusions extant from the reign of Hadrian are confined to a letter of Hadrian himself and a passage in Arrian, which amount to this only, that the emperor confounded the Christians with the worshippers of Serapis, and that the historian, or his master, Epictetus, (it is uncertain which,) considered them as mad in their contempt of pain and death.

Such is the sum total of all that can be gathered touching Christianity, from the Greek and Roman writers who were contemporary with Plutarch; and this silence cannot but strike us as strangely as the contemptuous language in which Festus, the Roman governor, speaks of the new religion to Agrippa: "Against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought no accusation of such things as I supposed: but had certain questions against him of *their own superstition*, and of *one Jesus*, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive!" And yet, when we recover from our first surprise at seeing such neglect and contempt cast upon that which was to be the life

of the world, and contemplate the subject in the light in which it must then have appeared—the silence, the ignorance even, of the Greek and Roman writers, admits of an explanation. It is manifest from the language of Festus just cited, and from the whole tenor of sacred as well as ecclesiastical history, that Christianity, preached as it first was in the Jewish synagogues, and propagated at first chiefly among the Jews and Jewish proselytes, was regarded as a new sect of the Jews' religion. And the Jews, despised by the learned as superstitious, and hated by the great as seditious, were looked down upon as the most despicable of all the subjects of the Roman empire.* Who, then, would be likely to interest himself in the rise of a new sect among them, or in such questions as might arise out of their superstition? Who, among the Greeks and Romans, knew or cared anything about the distinctions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene; and, till at length it demonstrated its divine power and heavenly origin to the conviction or amazement of all, what reason was there to suppose that the new superstition concerned mankind any more than those idle and effete distinctions? As well might the English look for a new religion to proceed from Hindostan, and revolutionize the world, or the Americans expect a light to illumine mankind in some novelty that might spring up among the slaves of South Carolina.

Plutarch was less likely to hear of the new religion than most of his contemporaries. Christianity was first propagated in the large cities. Plutarch lived in a small country town, and that in a district which is never mentioned among those in which the gospel was preached in the first century. And though a Christian Church had long existed at Corinth, it would naturally be regarded for some time as a mere sect or party among the Jews, in which scholars and philosophers had no possible concern.

It cannot, therefore, be deemed impossible, or even improbable, that Plutarch may have been ignorant of Christianity. There is no evidence that he knew of its existence. All the direct evidence we have, goes to prove that he did not. There is no probability, if he had heard of its existence, that he understood at all its nature and claims. Whether, if it had been fairly brought before his mind, he would have cordially embraced the truth as it is in Jesus, is known only to Him who knoweth all things. Humble and believing as his spirit seems to have been, it may be that he never had true Christian humility, and never would have exercised, even under the preaching of the gospel, repentance towards God and faith in the

* Despectissima pars servientium.—Tac. Hts.

Lord Jesus Christ. For ourselves, however, we cannot but entertain the conviction, in regard to a few such men as Socrates and Plutarch, that they were prepared, by the gracious working of that Spirit, whose operations are so diverse, to receive the truths and the blessings of Christianity, had these only been brought within their reach; that Socrates would have hailed in Jesus Christ the Divine Teacher, whose benevolent mission and martyr-death he anticipated and described with almost prophetic exactness; that Plutarch would have welcomed in him one who could speak what he knew, and testify what he had seen, of that invisible world and that future state, of which he was constrained to acknowledge that himself and his favourite Academy *knew* nothing; that they would gladly have received from him, what every thoughtful man feels the need of in so important a matter, an *authoritative* confirmation of those hopes which they could not but cherish, but which, after all, left them to live and die in painful uncertainty; that they would have seen in his gospel what their reason could not discover,—a way in which God might be just, and yet justify the transgressor; and would have found in his truth and his grace that power, which the wisest and best men of antiquity despaired of finding in philosophy—a power to enlighten, renovate, and save the ignorant and degraded *masses* of mankind. And is it heresy, or is it not, to admit the hope in regard to such men, that the revelation which never reached them in the darkness of heathenism, will be disclosed to them in the light of heaven, and being already prepared, by the grace of God, to accept its provisions, they will there unite with Christians in adoring the mystery of incarnate wisdom and redeeming love?

We are too good Protestants to unite with Erasmus in his prayer to Saint Socrates: "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!" We might more readily join with others in styling Plutarch the Christian philosopher of pagan antiquity. There were "reformers before the Reformation." There were "devout men," men of Christian spirit, before the coming of Christ. They came out of every nation to Jerusalem. They were found Jews and Greeks, Romans and in the Roman army, by our Lord and by his apostles, at Capernaum and at Cesarea, in the city and in the wilderness; even as the missionaries of the cross in modern times have found some of those, to whom they have been sent, in all the various stages of providential preparation to receive them; from the Sandwich Islanders, who had cast away their idols, to the Karens, who, as if under a special divine impulse, stood waiting for the messengers of Heaven. Why may there not have been such, taught by the Providence and the Spirit of God, at Athens and at Chæronea? It is to be feared there were

few such. Few gave evidence of being such in their writings or in their lives. But why be so uncandid as to reject, or so disingenuous as to deny, the evidence, where it does exist? Why seek to put out the lesser lights that rule the night, when, of themselves, they all pale and fade away before the great light that rules the day? There is too much of this indiscreet and patronizing defence of Christianity, especially in professed treatises on the Christian Revelation. Nothing tends more directly to cast a shade over its unequalled brightness. The ark of God needs no such unanointed hands volunteered for its preservation.

Neander speaks of Socrates as the forerunner of a higher development of humanity; and the Platonic Socrates, as coming, like a John the Baptist, before the revelation of Christ. For ourselves, we love to think of all ancient history as preparatory to, or, as Edwards viewed it, a part of the history of redemption, and all the great men of antiquity, as in some sense the forerunners of Christ. Sacred and profane history, providence and revelation, the natural and the supernatural in the divine government, though palpably distinct, are not at variance with each other. They have the same author—God. They conspire to the same end—truth and goodness, the instruction and salvation of men. The three great historical nations of antiquity all bore an especial and important part in preparing the world to receive its Saviour and King. The politics of the Romans, the literature of the Greeks, and the religion of the Hebrews, are so many distinct lines of light, all converging towards a common centre, the introduction and propagation of Christianity. The tendencies were, for the most part, unseen or misunderstood. The men were, to a great extent, unconscious of their mission. Even the prophets were far from comprehending what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify. But, conscious or unconscious of their work, prophets sung the promised glories of the Messiah's reign; kings, from whose loins he was destined to spring, if pious, looked and watched; and, if not pious, reigned and toiled for the establishment of his kingdom; rich men built synagogues, wherein the gospel was to be first preached in all the principal cities; and rabbis ruled them in a manner, which passed at length into a pattern of government in the primitive churches. And as in Israel, so in Grecian and Roman history, while Alexander diffused the Greek language—the language of the New Testament and of the long-established version of the Old—over large portions of Asia and Africa, and Julius Cæsar subjected the known world to his sway, and Augustus hushed it into a profound, an almost unheard-of peace, to welcome the birth of the Prince of peace; Socrates lived and died

a martyr to truth and virtue, for his country and mankind; and Plato embodied in his immortal dialogues a more pure and spiritual philosophy; and Cicero inculcated in his Offices a lofty and beautiful code of morals, and in his Tusculan Quæstions, and his De Natura Deorum, many just views of God and immortality. Accordingly, when the Lord appeared, he came "the Desire of all nations;" the world was waiting to receive him. Nor does this parallel cease with the coming of Christ. Paul not only preached every Sabbath in the synagogue, but disputed daily in the school of one Tyrannus. While the Apostles were rapidly spreading the gospel among the masses of the people, the disciples of Plato were silently and unwittingly preparing the way for the first accessions to the Church from the ranks of learning and philosophy, without which, unhappy as their influence in some respects was, we do not see how Christianity could have won a universal dominion. And to this day, while we read in the histories of Josephus the Jew, and the Roman Tacitus, the recorded fulfilment, in the most minute particulars, of our Lord's prediction touching the destruction of Jerusalem, we behold in the philosophico-religious writings of Philo Judæus and the Grecian Plutarch, no obscure types and shadows of some of the most sacred truths and mysteries of the Christian religion.

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## Art. II.—OREGON.

1. *Report of Lieut. Neil M. Howison, United States Navy, to the Commander of the Pacific Squadron; being the result of an Examination, in the Year* 1846, *of the Coast, Harbours, Rivers, Soil, Productions, Climate, and Population of the Territory of Oregon.*

2. *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River, made during the Years* 1845 *and* 1846: *containing Minute Descriptions of the Valleys of the Willamette, Umpqua, and Clamet; a General Description of Oregon Territory, &c., &c.* By Joel Palmer.

The act of the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, establishing prospectively an Annual Conference west of the Rocky Mountains, induces us to lay before our readers a general summary of such information as we have been able to procure concerning the portion of our territory bordering on the Pacific. It was originally our intention to embrace in one article a view of both Oregon and California; but to do justice to the subject would occupy a greater space than can be allotted to one paper. Moreover, the boundary of California is not yet settled, and addi-

tional information in regard to the condition of the territory lately acquired from Mexico, is coming in every day. We shall, therefore, devote the present article to Oregon, and present in a future number such information as we can obtain concerning the southern portion of the proposed Annual Conference.

Oregon proper extends from latitude 42° to 54° 40′ N., these parallels being respectively the boundaries of California and the Russian Possessions. It has for its eastern boundary the great chain of mountains which extends the whole length of the continent, dividing the waters which pass into the Pacific from those that flow into the Arctic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. In this great range are two remarkable gaps, one near latitude 52° N., known as the Punch Bowl, lying between two stupendous peaks, Mount Brown and Mount Hooker, which have the altitude of fifteen and sixteen thousand feet. Here, within a few feet of each other, rise Canoe River, a tributary of the Columbia, and the Athabasca, which flows N. E. into Mackenzie River, the Mississippi of the Arctic Regions. The other gap, known as the South Pass, is near latitude 42° N., and is the crossing place for emigrants from the United States to Oregon and California. Here rise, on the east, streams tributary to the Missouri; and on the west are the sources of the Colorado, which discharges its waters into the Gulf of California.

In the year 1804, President Jefferson despatched an expedition, under Captains Lewis and Clarke, to explore the Missouri to its source, to cross over the Rocky Mountains, strike the head-waters of the Columbia, and follow it to the Pacific. This great enterprise occupied between two and three years, the party spending one winter on the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles from its junction with the Mississippi, and another near the mouth of the Columbia. The instructions of the President were successfully carried out; and to these enterprising officers is due the praise of having accomplished one of the most difficult undertakings in the records of human effort. The first American citizen who endeavoured to turn to profit the resources of this great territory was Mr. Astor, who, in 1810, established a trading-post near the mouth of the Columbia, from which he was driven by the British during the last war, subsequently relinquishing his claim in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company. For a long period subsequent to the exploration of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, this territory was left to the British traders and a few independent trappers, who found their way from the head-waters of the Yellowstone and Missouri into the Oregon Territory. To the Methodist Episcopal Church belongs the glory of being the first to carry the Gospel to the numerous tribes of

Indians in the Valley of the Columbia. The history of this mission is, we presume, well known, and it is therefore unnecessary for us to remark upon the causes of its comparative failure.

In the year 1835 Rev. Mr. Parker, in company with the lamented Dr. Whitman, was commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions to explore the Oregon Territory, with the view of ascertaining the spiritual condition of the Aborigines, and determining upon proper sites for missionary operations. Mr. Parker's narrative gives an account of the state of affairs in the territory, containing, in addition to the information which it was his principal object to obtain, valuable notes on the natural history of the country. Dr. Whitman returned from the base of the Rocky Mountains in order to enlist missionaries to set out immediately. He returned in the following year, in company with Rev. Mr. Spalding, who established himself among the Nez Percés Indians; Dr. W. joining himself to the Caäguas, with whom he remained until during the past year, when he was murdered by the people for whose interests he had so long and faithfully laboured; thus sealing with his blood the sincerity of his devotion to his Master's work.

To those who wish to obtain a more thorough knowledge of Oregon than we can pretend to give, within the limits of a single article, we would recommend a perusal of the work of Mr. Greenhow, (although we have some grave objections to urge against him;) Coxe's Six Years on the Columbia; Sir George Simpson's Overland Voyage round the World; the Fourth Volume of the United States Exploring Expedition; the Narrative of Messrs. Johnson and Winter, who accompanied the emigrating party in 1843; the able and scientific reports of Col. Fremont; and, finally, the accounts of our friends whose names stand at the head of this article.

The Report of Lieut. Howison is a plain and sensible narrative of facts that came under his observation during the exploring voyage in which he had the misfortune to have his vessel wrecked on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia. The navigation of the Columbia is rendered not only difficult, but perilous, by the great obstruction which this bar presents to vessels attempting to ascend the river; not only is the channel narrow and crooked, but the combined action of the waves of the ocean, and the current of the river, causes the bar to shift its position; consequently, no chart can be made that will be correct for any great length of time. Until this difficulty is obviated, by stationing competent pilots at the mouth, the entrance to the river will be extremely hazardous. Having once fairly entered the river, the navigation to Fort Van-

couver, though often tedious, is practicable, being thus described by Lieut. Howison:—

"Five fathoms can be carried at low water up to Astoria, which is the first anchorage combining comfort and security; three-quarters of a mile above that is a narrow pass of only thirteen feet; but from Baker's Bay (pursuing the Chinook channel, which passes close to Point Ellice, and is more direct and convenient for vessels bound straight up) four fathoms can be carried up to Tongue Point, which is three miles above Astoria; and just within, or to the westward of, Tongue Point, is a spacious and safe anchorage. From Tongue Point the navigation, for ten miles, is extremely intricate, and some parts of the tortuous channel not over ten feet deep at low water. The straight channel which Captain Wilkes discovered has become obstructed about its eastern entrance, and nothing can be made of it. A channel nearly parallel with it, but to the southward, was traced in my boats, and I devoted a day to its examination, and carried through three fathoms at low water; but my buoys being submerged by the tide, prevented me from testing its availability in the schooner. From Pillow Rock the channel is at least three fathoms deep at the driest season all the way to Fort Vancouver, except a bar of fifteen feet at the lower mouth of the Willamette, and another about a mile and a half below the Fort. The Willamette enters the Columbia from the southward, by two mouths fourteen miles apart: the upper is the only one used, and is six miles below Vancouver. Throughout the months of August and September it is impracticable for vessels drawing over ten feet. Both it and the Columbia, during the other months, will easily accommodate a vessel to back and fill, drawing thirteen feet. The Columbia is navigable to the Cascades, forty miles above Vancouver; the Willamette up to the mouth of the Clackamas River, twenty-one miles above its junction with the Columbia, and three below the Falls where the city of Oregon is located."

It thus appears that the navigation of the Columbia is by no means impracticable. Skilful pilots stationed at the entrance, can always find a safe channel, and a steam-tug can tow vessels with facility through all the windings of the crooked channel, which, at the lowest stage, has ten feet water; and although no good harbours have as yet been discovered south of Puget's Sound, the produce of the rich valleys of the Columbia and Willamette can be easily shipped from Oregon City and Vancouver.

The population of Oregon in 1846 was estimated at nine thousand, exclusive of the aboriginal inhabitants, concerning whose number we have no certain information. This enumeration includes a very miscellaneous population—Canadian voyageurs with Indian families, Scotch, English, Irish, and citizens of the United States. Except the last mentioned, nearly all these people were formerly in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, after the expiration of their term of service, settled on the soil which then was in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. Now that the boundary-line is permanently settled, they have become American citizens. Of emigrants from the United States, the number was computed at two thousand; probably at the present time it

would not be extravagant to estimate them at twice that number, as we have an account of five hundred wagons having arrived in Oregon in the year 1847. Nearly all the inhabitants of Oregon are settled in the Valley of the Willamette; there are a few at Astoria, and perhaps twenty families north of the Columbia.

Of the Indian population, except the Shoshones, the tribes are generally small. The estimate of Mr. Parker is perhaps as nearly correct as any census we have, though, in most cases, it is thought to be greatly over the mark. He sets down the Shoshones at ten thousand; Nez Percés, two thousand five hundred; Caäguas, two thousand; Utaws, four thousand; Wallawallas, five hundred; Palooses, five hundred; Spokeins, eight hundred; Cœur d'Alene, seven hundred; Flatheads, perhaps as many more: in addition to these, Lieut. Howison mentions the Chinooks, Cowlitzes, Clatsops, and Calapooahs, all of whom together do not number over five hundred souls. All these Indians are in a destitute condition. The Shoshones are forced to subsist upon roots and berries, whence they have received the soubriquet of root-diggers. The buffaloes do not range in any number west of the mountains; game of all kinds is scarce; and the principal animal diet of the natives consists of salmon, which ascend the Columbia and its tributaries in immense shoals, and will constitute a material item in the exports of the country. At present, most of the tribes are well disposed; how long they will remain so, is a question; indeed, the developments of the last year seem to demonstrate that their friendship, like that of the savages of the plains, is a matter of great uncertainty.

With regard to missionary operations among the Indians there is little to be said, because little has been done. We have already adverted to the missionaries employed by our own Church, and to those under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Touching this subject, we present the following extract from Lieut. Howison, and we do it with deep sorrow; nevertheless, it emanates from an officer of a government friendly to religion, bears the apparent marks of truth, can easily be verified or refuted, and affords to the Church matter for deep reflection, and earnest prayer to God, that he would inspire his servants who are labouring among the heathen, with the spirit of peace and unity; that his Spirit may influence them to abstain from sectarian bitterness and prejudice, and to work cordially together as servants of the same great Master, showing to a gainsaying world that they have learned from the Gospel of Christ the beautiful lessons of truth, peace, and love. After speaking of the relaxation in the missionary enterprise, he goes on to say:—

"Why their efforts came to be discontinued, (for there were at one time many missions in the field, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, and an independent self-supporting one,) would be a question which it would be difficult to have answered truly. The various recriminations which were uttered, as each member thought proper to secede from his benevolent associates in Christian duty, were not calculated to increase the public respect for their individual disinterestedness or purity. They seem early to have despaired of much success in impressing the minds of the Indians with a just sense of the importance of their lessons, and very sagaciously turned their attention to more fruitful pursuits. Some became farmers and graziers, others undertook the education of the rising generation of whites and half-breeds, and a few set up for traders; but these last imprudently encroached upon a very dear prerogative of the Hudson's Bay Company, by bartering for beaver, and only by hastily quitting it escaped the overwhelming opposition of that all-powerful body. The French missionaries, to wit, a bishop, a number of priests, and seven nuns, are succeeding in their operations. They are amply furnished with money and other means for accomplishing their purposes. They educate a number of young Indians, principally girls, and all the offspring of the Canadians. In addition to a large wooden nunnery, already some years in use, they are now building a brick church of corresponding dimensions, on beautiful prairie grounds, a few miles from the Willamette River, and thirty-two above Oregon City. They are strict Catholics, and exercise unbounded influence over the people of the French settlements, who are improving in every way under their precepts. The mission derives its support from Europe; and I was told that the queen of France, and her daughter, of Belgium, are liberal patronesses of the institution. It is at present in high estimation with all classes; it gives employment and high wages to a great number of mechanics and labourers, pays off punctually in cash, and is, without doubt, contributing largely to the prosperity of the neighbourhood and country around it. A few Jesuits are located within six miles of the mission, and are ostensibly employed in the same praiseworthy occupation.

"The Methodist Institute, designed as an educational establishment for the future generations of Oregon, is still in the hands of gentlemen who were connected with the Methodist mission. It is finely situated on the Willamette, fifty miles above Oregon City. As a building, its exterior was quite imposing from a distance; but I was pained, upon coming up with it, to find its interior apartments in an entirely unfinished state. Mr. Wilson, who is in charge of it, was so hospitable and polite to me that I refrained from asking questions which I was sure, from appearances, would only produce answers confirmatory of its languishing condition. Five little boys were now getting their rudiments of education here; when, from the number of dormitories, it was manifest that it had been the original design to receive more than ten times that number. I learned from Governor Abernethy, however, about the beginning of 1847, that the number of its pupils was fast increasing."

The above quoted passage is suggestive of a few reflections bearing on the subject of missionary operations. We trust, for the sake of the Church, that the observation with regard to the disagreement of the missionaries is too strongly stated: nevertheless, we believe that the statement has some foundation in truth, strange as it may appear to those who suppose, and correctly, too, that the soldier of Christ, engaged in fighting his battles against the powers of paganism and heathenism, should lose sight of all con-

siderations except the accomplishment of his object of carrying the tidings of salvation to perishing souls. Melancholy indeed it is, that those whom the Church has commissioned to one of the highest and noblest trusts ever allotted to the minister of God, should so far forget their solemn calling as to enter into strife with their fellow-labourers in the same field. The world, and especially that class of men who are on the outskirts of civilization, keep a jealous eye upon the actions of the Church, and great is the rejoicing when the enemies of the Gospel detect inconsistencies in the actions of those who should be examples of Christian charity and forbearance. Again: the reports of missionary operations are often too highly coloured; there is too often a tendency to exaggeration, which must eventuate in injury to the cause. The minds of ingenuous young men are excited by glowing accounts of the success of the Gospel, and they immediately desire to quit all, and rush to the succour of the perishing heathen. On arriving at the field of their labours the reality falls so far short of their anticipations that their hearts are sick with disappointment; and after a year or two of languid labour, they return disheartened, with their confidence in the practicability of doing good among the heathen much shaken. This is not matter of conjecture; we could give names and dates if necessary. Much is said of the hardships which the missionary must undergo; but it should not be disguised that the great hardships are moral ones, deprivation of society, and continual contact with ignorant and benighted minds. It should ever be borne in mind that the evangelization of the heathen requires an assiduity of effort, and a perseverance which nothing but a high sense of duty, and a prayerful reliance upon God, can enable the Christian minister to sustain; that his progress will be necessarily slow; that he will have to encounter not only bigoted prejudice and bitter opposition, but, what are more disheartening, apathy and indifference on the subject of religion, enough to discourage the stoutest heart; that the simplest truths will have to be reiterated again and again, until the task becomes painfully wearisome; that he will have to spend years of laborious research, in order to master difficult dialects; that he will have to encounter the opposition of profligate white men, and perhaps be discountenanced by the political authorities of his neighbourhood; that he may even be misunderstood and underrated by the Church at home; and that finally, after years of wearisome labour, he may sink into a foreign grave, with only the hope and prayer that his labours will prove not in vain in the Lord. We do not draw this picture to discourage our brethren from entering the missionary service; but the worst should be known, and we have sadly misappreciated our mi-

nisterial brethren if there are not many to be found who are willing to encounter all these obstacles, for the sake of winning souls. If not, there are none worthy to labour in this portion of God's vineyard.

Intimately connected with the business and interests of Oregon is the Hudson's Bay Company. This powerful mercantile association is in some way concerned with all the enterprises going forward, and, to its honour, it has seldom, if ever, made an unwarrantable use of the immense power which it possesses. The destitute emigrant, upon arriving at Fort Vancouver, found shelter and repose after his terrible privations on the route; all his wants were generously supplied, and the means furnished him for preparing him a home on the banks of the Willamette. Without such succour, numbers must have miserably perished, even after arriving at the goal to which they had looked forward with such fond anticipation. Possessing the power to fix the price of all articles of merchandise, and ruin any trader who might come into competition with them, this liberal and far-sighted company furnishes articles necessary to supply the wants of the emigrants at reasonable rates, and does not use unwarrantable means to break down traders whose resources are inferior to its own. In proof of this we refer to the report of Lieut. Howison, and the account of Mr. Palmer, the latter of whom seems to ascribe to the Hudson's Bay Company the merit of restraining the other traders from setting enormous prices on their wares. At present a large proportion of the civilized inhabitants of Oregon consists of those who have been at one time the servants of the Company. These may be naturally supposed to be much under its influence; and although the great tide of emigration annually flowing into Oregon will throw the power into the hands of our own people, yet for many years to come this body will wield a powerful influence on the destinies of the young colony. We are willing to believe that this influence will be exercised on the side of justice, honour, and truth; and sincerely hope that no difficulties will arise between the Company and our own citizens, but that all may live harmoniously together. While on this subject, however, we are sorry to notice that in some instances the generous conduct of the British traders has met an ungrateful return: many who were saved by the company from utter destitution, afterwards refused to meet their obligations, and were loud in their denunciation of the Hudson's Bay Company as a monstrous monopoly. We trust and believe that these instances are not numerous, and that the great body of the emigrants are worthy and upright men. The American pioneer is not the man to be ungrateful for assistance, or refuse to discharge a just

obligation. Of the general character of our citizens in Oregon, Lieut. Howison says:—

"Many allowances should be made in favour of these people. They come generally from among the poorer classes of the Western States, with the praiseworthy design of improving their fortunes. They brave dangers and accomplish Herculean labours on the journey across the mountains. For six months consecutively they have 'the sky for a pea-jacket,' and the wild buffalo for company, and during this time are reminded of no law but expediency. That they should, so soon after their union into societies at their new homes, voluntarily place themselves under any restraints of law or penalties whatever, is an evidence of a good disposition, which time will be sure to improve and refine. If some facts I have related would lead to unfavourable opinions of them, it will be understood that the number is very limited—by no means affecting the people as a mass, who deserve to be characterized as honest, brave, and hardy, rapidly improving in those properties and qualities which mark them for future distinction among the civilized portion of the world."

We take our leave of Lieut. Howison with many thanks for the instruction he has afforded us; and if at any time he should again be employed on similar service, we will be happy to renew our acquaintance with him.

Mr. Palmer was a plain and substantial citizen of Indiana, who went to Oregon to ascertain the capacities of the country. After accomplishing the objects of his journey he returned, removed with his family to Oregon, and is now, we trust, comfortably situated on the banks of the Willamette, where we are certain he will prove himself a useful and worthy citizen. His work makes no literary pretensions; he notes things as he saw them, and is more anxious to give correct impressions than glowing description; and although there are many more scientific journals of travels and explorations in Oregon, there is none which we would so cordially recommend to any person who desires correct and useful information preparatory to undertaking the overland journey to the Pacific. Distances from camp to camp, the character of the soil over which the emigration travelled, the best points for water and grass, the most eligible fords for crossing streams, the necessary outfits, the dangers and difficulties to be surmounted, in fact, all points of interest, are carefully noted, forming a complete and correct guide-book for the future emigrant.

He left Independence on the 6th of May, and joined the main body of the emigrants, who were some distance in advance, on the 13th. After settling such preliminaries as were deemed necessary for their government on the route, the party, with one hundred and seventy wagons, crossed Big Soldier Creek, and were fairly on the road to Oregon. The road crosses the Kansas and several of its tributaries, passes along Blue River, next striking the Platte, skirt-

ing along that stream to the point where its north and south branches unite, following the latter forty-five miles, thence twenty miles across to the north branch, up this and its tributary, the Sweet-water, which heads directly in a gap in the Wind River chain of the Rocky Mountains, this gap being the celebrated South Pass. After passing this barrier, the trace lies along the head-waters of the Colorado, crosses to Bear River, a tributary of the great Salt Lake, winds along this singular stream for a long distance, thence strikes across to a tributary of Lewis's River, follows this stream and its tributaries, striking the Columbia near Fort Wallawalla. The road lies along the last-mentioned stream to a point known as the Dalles,—the remainder of the journey being usually performed by water to Fort Vancouver, which may be regarded as the termination of the route. Having thus given a summary of the travelled road, there are a few points connected with this part of our subject which deserve to be noticed more in detail. From Independence to Fort Laramie the road is generally a level or rolling prairie, through which wind several small streams, along whose banks is found sufficient timber for the wants of the emigrants, although they are occasionally compelled to use the *bois de vache*, (excrement of the buffalo,) which serves as a very good substitute for firewood. These plains are covered with a dense growth of coarse but nutritious grass, and are enamelled with beautiful flowers, presenting, in the spring and summer, scenes of surpassing richness and beauty. Occasionally the traveller meets with the encampment of that interesting and singular little animal, the prairie dog, or wishtonwish;—a description of which by Mr. Palmer we here subjoin:—

"These singular communities may be seen often along the banks of the Platte, occupying various areas, from one to five hundred acres. The prairie dog is something larger than a common sized gray squirrel, of a dun colour; the head resembles that of a bull-dog; the tail is about three inches in length. Their food is prairie grass. Like rabbits, they burrow in the ground, throwing out heaps of earth, and often large stones, which remain at the mouth of their holes. The entrance to their burrow is about four inches in diameter, and runs obliquely into the earth about three feet, when the holes ramify in every direction, and connect with each other on every side. Some kind of police seems to be observed among them; for at the approach of man, one of the dogs will run to the entrance of a burrow, and, squatting down, utter a shrill bark. At once, the smaller part of the community will retreat to their holes, while numbers of the larger dogs will squat, like the first, at their doors, and unite in the barking. A near approach drives them all under ground. It is singular, but true, that the little screech-owl and the rattlesnake keep them company in their burrows. I have frequently seen the owls, but not the snake, with them. The mountaineers, however, inform me that they often catch all three in the same hole. The dog is eaten by the Indians, with quite a relish; and often by the mountaineers. I am not prepared to speak of its qualities as an article of food."

In addition to the animals above enumerated as inhabiting the burrow of the prairie dog, General Pike, in his narrative of an expedition to explore the country about the head-waters of the Arkansas, observed that the horned lizard also lives on friendly terms with the little creature. We are disposed to think, with Mr. Kendall, that the rattlesnake is an intruder; and perhaps the others also find it much more convenient to occupy a home already built and furnished, than to expend the labour necessary to the erection of a comfortable domicil; and the rightful owner probably submits to this state of things, less from a naturally sociable and accommodating disposition, than from inability to exclude the uninvited guests.

At the forks of the Platte commences the great buffalo range; and here is the grand rendezvous and war-ground of the Sioux, Pawnees, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes,—large and powerful tribes, who roam the vast plains from the confines of Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Missouri to the Arkansas, leading a life of savage independence, and subsisting principally on the buffalo; now trading peaceably with the whites, and again plundering small parties who have not strength to protect themselves;—never venturing, however, to make any hostile demonstrations, unless the odds are immensely in their favour. The fate of these great tribes may be easily foretold: the buffalo will rapidly decrease in numbers, being wantonly slaughtered both by the Indians and emigrants; hostile collisions of the tribes will become more frequent;—(indeed, it is said that even now there is a league formed with the avowed purpose of exterminating the Pawnees;) a conviction that the inroads of the whites are rapidly destroying the game on which they rely for support, will lead to heart-burnings and bitterness, which will induce them to assume a permanently hostile attitude, and render it incumbent on the government to establish among them military posts, in order to protect emigrating parties. After this, their progress towards extinction will be fearfully rapid; for, although the conclusion we have drawn is not inevitable, it has in its favour the greatest degree of probability. Here, without proceeding further, opens a wide field for benevolent effort,—a view of which, however, we have not the space to lay before our readers.

Proceeding along the north fork of the Platte, the road passes by two remarkable land-marks, which are worthy of note: these are the Tower Rock and the Chimney. These are marl formations; the former presents, at a distance, an exceedingly picturesque view, having the appearance of ancient ruins on a gigantic scale. The Chimney Rock is a solitary projection, much resembling the chimney of a manufactory, or reminding one of a shot-tower, and is ele-

vated two hundred feet above the river. The next point of note is Fort Laramie, a trading-post, six hundred and twenty miles from Independence; here may be located the termination of the plains, as the road here strikes into the Black Hills, and winds through a rough region which may be denominated the outposts of the Rocky Mountains. After leaving the South Pass, which is near nine hundred miles from Independence, and may be set down as the half-way point in the journey, the next remarkable tract of country is the valley of Bear River. This singular country presents evident marks of volcanic action, and exhibits scenery of stupendous magnificence.

We should be happy to quote at length from Mr. Palmer's description of the road, but cannot afford the space; and, therefore, only notice hastily the remaining prominent points on the journey. The first is Fort Hall, where emigrants can buy, at the modest rate of twenty dollars per hundred weight, flour brought on horses and mules from Oregon city. The second is Fort Boisé. Both establishments belong to the Hudson's Bay Company. One hundred and twenty-two miles from Fort Boisé is the Grand Round, a beautiful and fertile valley, walled in by mountains, of about six hundred square miles extent. It affords a most eligible site for a settlement, and will doubtless be occupied, before many years, by an enterprising and industrious colony. One hundred and sixty-five miles from the Grand Round are the Dalles, or rapids of the Columbia; and here, generally, is the termination of the voyage by land, the remaining distance being usually accomplished in boats. Mr. Palmer, however, determined to attempt the passage of the Cascade range of mountains, and, after almost incredible hardships, succeeded in his perilous enterprise. The result of his exploration was the conclusion, that a practical wagon road from the Dalles to Oregon City can be found to the southward of Mount Hood, which was formerly supposed to form an impassable barrier. He arrived at Oregon City on the first day of November, having been nearly six months on the way.

We believe we need not apologize for quoting largely from Mr. Palmer's description of Oregon; for although his style may not charm the fastidious, we are sure that his truthful and exact accounts must possess peculiar interest to the practical man, and it is for such that we write. Oregon City contained, at the time of Mr. Palmer's visit, about six hundred souls; possesses an unlimited amount of water-power, and will, for a long time to come, be the capital of the young colony. The following is a description of the Willamette valley:—

"The Willamette Valley, including the first plateaus of the cascade and

coast ranges of mountains, may be said to average a width of about sixty, and a length of about two hundred miles. It is beautifully diversified with timber and prairie. Unlike our great prairies east of the Rocky Mountains, those upon the waters of the Pacific are quite small; instead of dull and sluggish streams, to engender miasma, to disease and disgust man, those of this valley generally run quite rapidly, freeing the country of such vegetable matter as may fall into them, and are capable of being made subservient to the will and comfort of the human family, in propelling machinery. Their banks are generally lined with fine groves of timber for purposes of utility, and adding much to please the eye.

"The Willamette itself, throughout its length, has generally a growth of fir and white cedar, averaging from one-fourth to three miles in width, which are valuable both for agricultural and commercial purposes. Its banks are generally about twenty feet above the middling stages, yet there are some low ravines (in the country called *slues*) which are filled with water during freshets, and at these points the bottoms are overflowed; but not more so than those upon the rivers east of Mississippi. It has already been observed that the soil in these bottoms and in the prairies is very rich; it is a black, alluvial deposit of muck and loam; in the timbered portions it is more inclined to be sandy, and the higher ground is of a reddish coloured clay and loam. The whole seems to be very productive, especially of wheat, for which it can be safely said, that it is not excelled by any portion of the continent. The yield of this article has frequently been fifty bushels to the acre, and in one case Dr. White harvested from ten acres, an average of over fifty-four bushels to the acre; but the most common crop is from thirty to forty bushels per acre, of fall sowing, and from twenty to twenty-five bushels from spring sowing."

Emptying into the Willamette are several tributaries, along whose banks are fine fertile tracts of country. The Twalitz, the Shahalam, the Yamhill, the Rickerall, the Luckymate, the Mouse River, and one which rejoices in the elegant *soubriquet* of Long Tom Bath, all have their origin in the Coast range of mountains, and run eastwardly; on the east side of the river are several small tributaries, also bordered by excellent farming countries. After crossing a ridge of mountains extending from the Cascade to the Coast range, we come into the valley of the Umpqua, extending forty miles east and west, and the valley of Rogue's River, of nearly the same extent. Still farther to the south extends the magnificent valley of the Klamet, affording a greater scope of country than even the basin of the Willamette. Through this section will pass the road from Oregon to California. The present barrier to the settlement of these last two valleys, is the hostility of the Indians; but this is an obstacle which no doubt will shortly be overcome.

It will be seen that the country hitherto described, includes only that part of Oregon enclosed between the Pacific and the Cascade range of mountains, and between the Columbia and California. With regard to the country north of the Columbia, the information is rather meagre; but enough is known to render it probable that this section is fully equal to any other, and it has the advantage of a good harbour on Puget's Sound, which, however, does not belong to the United

States. Pending the discussion of the boundary question, settlers of course felt a hesitation in settling north of the river, as it was confidently believed and asserted by the British inhabitants, that the Columbia would be the boundary between the two countries; and there is reason to believe that British subjects spared no effort to prevent settlers from entering that portion of the country, representing it as being of no value in an agricultural point of view. It is notorious, that upon this point the English government was much better informed than our own. Mr. Palmer learned, both from information acquired in the country, and from actual observation, that the region north of the Columbia abounded in valleys of rich, well-timbered, and well-watered soil, and it is well known that the Hudson's Bay Company have large and productive farms on the Cowlitz, which enters the Columbia from the north.

The inviting characteristic of Oregon is the salubrity and mildness of its climate. Cattle, hogs, and horses subsist through the mild winter, without any care upon the part of their owners; finding abundant nourishment in the rich grass which grows in the sequestered valleys. From a meteorological table, kept by Mr. Palmer from the first of November until the fifth of March, we learn that forty days were clear, twenty decidedly rainy, and the remainder showery: during this time no snow fell in the valleys; not more than fifteen nights were frosty, and the ice never much exceeded a quarter of an inch in thickness. Altogether, we suppose, that from 42° to 49° N., the climate corresponds to that between 32° and 39° N., on the Atlantic coast, except that in Oregon the summers are milder than on this side of the Rocky Mountains. All the cereal grains, except maize, produce abundantly; potatoes yield very large returns.

Mr. Palmer thinks that this territory will eventually be formed into three states: one including all the country north of the Columbia; a second, that portion bounded by that river, the forty-second parallel, and the Cascade mountains: and the third, the territory between the Cascade range and the Rocky Mountains. Concerning this latter state in embryo, we subjoin a passage from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Spaulding to Mr. Palmer:—

"The lower country is subject to inundations, to a greater or less extent, from the Columbia River, which, gathering into standing pools, with the great amount of vegetable decay consequent upon low prairie countries, produce, to some extent, unhealthy fogs during the summer season. This, however, is greatly moderated by the sea-breezes from the Pacific. The middle region is entirely free from these evils, and has probably one of the most pacific, healthy, and every way most desirable climates in the world. This, with its extensive prairies, covered with a superior quality of grass tuft, or bunch

grass, which springs fresh twice a year, and spotted and streaked everywhere with springs and streams of the purest, sweetest water, renders it admirably adapted to the herding system." * * * * *

We must bring our notice to a close, furnishing one more extract, which we commend to the notice of emigrants who wish to accomplish the overland journey to Oregon.

"Ox-teams are more extensively used than any others. Oxen stand the trip much better, and are not so liable to be stolen by the Indians, and are much less trouble. Cattle are generally allowed to go at large, when not hitched to the wagons, whilst horses and mules must always be staked up at night. Oxen can procure food in many places where horses cannot, and in much less time. Cattle that have been raised in Illinois or Missouri, stand the trip better than those raised in Indiana or Ohio, as they have been accustomed to eating the prairie grass, upon which they must wholly rely while on the road. Great care should be taken in selecting cattle; they should be from four to six years old, tight, and heavy made.

"For those who fit out but one wagon, it is not safe to start with less than four yoke of oxen, as they are liable to get lame, have sore necks, or to stray away. One team, thus fitted up, may start from Missouri with twenty-five hundred pounds, and as each day's rations makes the load that much lighter, before they reach any rough road, their loading is much reduced. Persons should recollect that everything in the outfit should be as light as the required strength will permit. The loading should consist of provisions and apparel, a necessary supply of cooking fixtures, and a few tools, &c. No great speculation can be made in buying cattle and driving them through to sell; but as the prices of oxen and cows are much higher in Oregon than in the States, nothing is lost in having a good supply of them, which will enable the emigrant to wagon through many articles that are difficult to be obtained in Oregon. Each family should have a few cows, as the milk can be used the entire route, and they are often convenient to put to the wagon to relieve oxen. They should be so selected that portions of them would come in fresh upon the road. Sheep can also be advantageously driven. . . . . Each male person should have at least one rifle gun; and a shot-gun is also very useful for wild fowl and small game, of which there is an abundance. The best sized calibre for the mountains is from thirty-two to fifty-six to the pound; but one of from sixty to eighty, or even less, is best when in the lower settlements. The buffalo seldom range beyond the South Pass, and never west of Green River. The large game are elk, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, or big-horn, and bear. The small game are hare, rabbit, grouse, sage hen, pheasant, quail, &c. A good supply of ammunition is essential. . . . . In laying in a supply of provisions for the journey, persons will doubtless be governed, in some degree, by their means; but there are a few essentials that all will require. . . . For each adult there should be two hundred pounds of flour, thirty pounds of pilot-bread, seventy-five pounds of bacon, ten pounds of rice, five pounds of coffee, two pounds of tea, twenty-five pounds of sugar, half a bushel of dried beans, one bushel of dried fruit, two pounds of salæratus, ten pounds of salt, half a bushel of corn meal; and it is well to have a half bushel of corn parched and ground; a small keg of vinegar should also be taken. To the above may be added as many good things as the means of the person will enable him to carry, for whatever is good at home, is none the less so on the road. The above will be ample for the journey; but should an additional quantity be taken, it can readily be disposed of in the mountains, and at good prices, not for cash, but for robes, dressed skins, buckskin pants, moccasins, &c. It is also well for families to be provided with medicines. It is seldom, however,

that emigrants are sick; but sometimes eating too freely of fresh buffalo meat causes diarrhœa, which, unless it be checked, soon prostrates the individual, and leaves him a fit subject for disease. . . . . The time usually occupied in making the trip from Missouri to Oregon City is about five months; but with the aid of a person who has travelled the route with an emigrating company, the trip can be performed in about four months."

At the close of the volume are a table of distances, and lists of words in the Chinook and Nez Percé dialects: concerning these lists we have only to remark, that Mr. Palmer has committed the blunder of inserting for Indian words, many that are manifestly merely the attempt of the Aborigines to pronounce after the English and French; for instance, *stogon*, sturgeon; *smoek*, smoke; *shut*, shirt; *hankerchim*, handkerchief; *krappo*, (*crapaud*,) a toad; *la-sel*, (*la selle*,) saddle, &c.; but, as we observed in the outset, he makes no literary pretensions, and philology is not his strong point: we trust, however, that he has succeeded in raising, during the present year, large crops of grain, and hope that success may crown his efforts to improve his fortune. Should we, in the course of providence, be thrown in his neighbourhood, we will be most happy to take him by the hand, receive from him a cordial Hoosier welcome, and hear from his lips all matters pertaining to the condition and prospects of Oregon.

In taking leave of this subject, we desire to subjoin a remark on one or two points connected with Missionary operations. Every day is adding cogency to the reasons why we should strengthen our force in Oregon. There are probably at this time ten thousand of our own citizens, and twenty thousand Indians, who are scantily supplied with the bread of life. Those familiar with the character of the American people, know with what astonishing rapidity they accomplish their undertakings; levelling the forests, and in a very short space of time arriving at a degree of prosperity perfectly astounding to a European; and the Church that aspires to success in its operations, must commence its labours at once, and grow up, as it were, with the community. We claim for the Methodist Episcopal Church the merit of being emphatically the pioneer of Christianity, and whilst we utterly disclaim any desire or intention to disparage or thwart the efforts of other denominations, we are anxious that our doctrines should take root and thrive in every portion of the earth.

It is a melancholy fact, that the diminution of the Aborigines keeps an even ratio with the increase of the whites. Whatever is done for these unfortunate people, must be accomplished speedily, or the opportunity is lost forever. Missionaries are needed amongst them, to counteract the evil influences of selfish and malicious white men. It is highly probable that difficulties between our people and

the Indians often have their origin with depraved citizens, who frequently excite a spirit of hostility in order to bring upon the savages the powerful arm of the government, which condition of things is, by the unscrupulous, turned to profit in various ways; it is even hinted that the late disturbances in Oregon were brought about in this way, in order to induce the United States to hasten the establishment of a territorial government.

A thought or two as to the men to be employed in this enterprise, and we have done. They should be men fearing God, and fearing nothing else; men who are willing to trample under foot all considerations of a temporal nature, regarding their ease and convenience as of no consequence when these interfere in any way with their power of doing good. In short, the Missionary should be willing to endure, for the cause of the gospel, what the trader and trapper do for the purpose of making money; and although, to one delicately nurtured, this may seem hard, nothing short of this will answer the purpose.

We think the West has strong claims to the honour of sending out men to labour in this field. A large majority of the people of Oregon and California will consist of emigrants from the western States of the Union: many of them have been converted and have joined the Church under the ministry of western preachers, and would, no doubt, fervently desire to be under the charge of their former spiritual guides, who are much better acquainted with their wants and feelings than a stranger possibly could be. Missionaries from the western States can be sent with less expense to the Board, than men from any other quarter. Moreover, western men are already, to a great extent, practical Missionaries; there are many of them who once had a third of the State of Indiana for a circuit, who had to swim the rivers, sleep on a blanket, and were often in need of the necessaries of life; many of them were brought much in contact with the Aborigines, and gained much practical knowledge of the Indian character. But we will not insist on this point; we have all confidence that the Church will select men suited for the stations they are designed to occupy: but on one point we are strenuous, and that is, that the Church should put in operation every practicable and righteous plan for the spread of Methodism in Oregon.

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Since this article was written the political organization of Oregon into a Territory has been completed. The Territorial Legislature met at the city of Oregon on the 16th of July, 1849, and continued in session for ten days. The election for delegate to Congress had resulted in the choice of S. R. Thurston, Esq., said to be a very

capable man. The Territory has been divided into judicial districts, and now all the machinery of regular government is in operation.

The "Oregon and California Mission Conference" will be organized, in all probability, within the present year, (1849.) The clouds that have so long hung on our Missions in that quarter are rapidly dispersing. The Church will yet rejoice over her labours, her sacrifices, and even her discouragements, on the western coast of America. Nor is the day of her rejoicing, in our opinion, very far distant; already there are signs of its breaking. The men whom the Church has sent there are, we verily believe, in the language of the above article, "men fearing God, and fearing nothing else;—men who are willing to trample under foot all considerations of a temporal nature," and ready to do and suffer all things for the cause of their Master. The superintendent, Rev. WILLIAM ROBERTS, is well known to us. He is a man of untiring energy, of great administrative capacity, of unquestioned piety, and of remarkable talent as a preacher. The Church has reason to thank God, that, in his good Providence, this responsible duty of superintending this Mission, and of organizing the new Conference, has fallen into such competent hands. His fellow-labourers, we have no doubt, are equally competent and faithful in their respective spheres of duty. The appointments made at the last annual meeting of the preachers (April, 1849) were as follows:—

*Oregon City*, David Leslie.
*Salem*, William Helm, J. L. Parish.
*Yamhill*, A. F. Waller, John M'Kinney, Jas. O. Raynor, and Jos. S. Smith.
*Astoria* and *Clatsop*, to be supplied.
*Oregon Institute*, James H. Wilbur, Principal.

The statistics of the Mission, according to the last Annual Report of the Superintendent, were as follows:—

| | Whites. | Coloured. | L. Elders. | L. Des. | L. Pre. | S. Schools. | Off's & Tchs | Schools. | Ths. in L'boy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oregon City and Clackamus | 51 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 35 | 150 |
| Salem | 105 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 11 | 73 | 150 |
| Calapooya | 36 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 00 | 00 | 000 |
| Mary's River | 81 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 00 | 00 | 000 |
| Yamhill | 147 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 00 | 00 | 000 |
| Fualitine Plains | 16 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 00 | 00 | 000 |
| Portland | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 31 | 106 |
| Total | 443 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 3 | 20 | 139 | 406 |
| Last Year | 315 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 17 | 3 | 19 | 108 | 300 |
| Increase | 128 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 00 | 0 | 1 | 31 | 106 |
| Decrease | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 00 | 000 |

In the above, those schools which were discontinued in the winter are not

included. If they are added, the *total* estimate will be 13 schools, 55 officers and teachers, 334 scholars, and 756 volumes in libraries.

The OREGON INSTITUTE is one of the most important features in our Missionary work in the country. We find the following account of it in a letter published in the New-York Observer; and we present it to our readers the more willingly, as it is from an entirely unprejudiced source:—

"After crossing the prairie we entered the forest, and before dark reached the 'Institute,' where we were most cordially welcomed by the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur, principals of the institution. The following statement of facts may not be uninteresting in this connexion. After undergoing various changes, this institution seems now to have entered upon a career of usefulness exactly suited to the rising wants of Oregon. The building now occupied by the school was originally erected for the benefit of the aborigines of the country, and ultimately designed for the white population, should the former become extinct. That time has arrived much sooner than was anticipated. The building measures seventy-four feet in length, twenty-four in width, having two wings twenty-four feet square. The main building is three stories high, and the wings two stories. All is built of wood, painted white. It is now only partially completed, but when done will be admirably suited to the purposes of an academy. At present, more than eighty pupils are connected with the institution, who are divided into two departments, a primary and advanced class. The former is under Mrs. Wilbur's charge, and the latter under that of the Rev. Mr. Wilbur. I learn that the studies are the same as those pursued in the schools and academies of the Eastern States. It is the design of the friends of the institution to complete the building, secure the labours of additional teachers as soon as possible, and raise the standard of scholarship as high as is desirable.

"The building occupies an admirable site in the town of Salem, and is central, as regards the population of the Territory. This place is the head-quarters of Methodist influence. Near by the Institute resides the Rev. Mr. Roberts, superintendent of the Oregon Methodist Episcopal mission. He succeeded the Rev. Mr. Gary. Mr. Roberts is regarded as an eloquent preacher, and a most energetic business man. He is just such a man as is needed to manage the affairs of a system of intineracy, like that of the Methodist ministry. He has a good report among those of other denominations. The most prominent settlements of Oregon are now supplied with the preaching of the Gospel by the Methodists. In years past, from causes which I need not mention, the reputation of the gentlemen connected with the Methodist mission in Oregon suffered, but the tide is now changing. There can be no doubt that the Methodists in Oregon have done a great and good work for the Territory. Their voices have been raised in favour of the Sabbath, temperance, and education, while they have not failed to proclaim the everlasting Gospel. Had it not been for the mission, the country must have been comparatively destitute of Gospel ministers."

At the August meeting of the Board, the Rev. NEHEMIAH DOANE, of the Genesee Conference, was appointed to the Oregon Institute. He sailed from this port on the 16th of October, 1849 in the "Empire City," designing to take the Pacific Mail Steamer at Panama, for San Francisco, in November. He has, doubtless, before this time, entered upon his duties at the Institute.

## Art. III.—REV. JESSE LEE.

*The Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee.* By Leroy M. Lee, D. D., Richmond, Va. Published by John Early. 1848. 8vo., pp. 517.

Christian biography is among the most excellent forms of religious literature; and whoever contributes anything really valuable to its stock, deserves the thanks of the religious public. We accordingly tender our acknowledgments to the author of the work before us, for this really excellent contribution to the scanty records of early Methodism. The life of the Rev. Jesse Lee has been generally recognized as worthy of the attention of all who are curious as to early Methodist history, and several efforts have been made to give a narrative of his labours, and to delineate his character. His own "History of the Methodists" contains many important passages of his personal history; and a brief and rather meagre "Memoir," by Rev. Minton Thrift, was published a few years after his death. The "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," by Dr. Bangs, contains a pretty full account of the life and labours of Mr. Lee, though necessarily rather concisely expressed. The story of his labours and triumphs in New-England, constituting one of the most interesting periods of his life, is detailed at length in the animated sketches of the "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism in the Eastern States." Still it was felt that a satisfactory biography of a man whose career was at once so full of incidents, and so eventful in its ulterior consequences, was a desideratum.

Impressed with this sentiment, the author of the book named at the head of this paper undertook the labour of preparing the needed work. His relation to the subject of his story (being a son of a younger brother) gave him peculiar facilities for gaining the requisite information, while it increased his interest in his theme. He also brought to his work some experience in book-making, and great facility in composition, acquired by a long course of newspaper editorship. The critical reader will readily detect faults in the book; but these are only incidental, while its excellences are its great features. The style wants precision and elegance; qualities not to be acquired, except by thorough discipline and much careful practice, and then only where there is a natural aptitude for the *belles lettres*. The argumentation and the grouping of the minor subjects are often faulty, indicating a want of exact and discriminating habits of thinking. Still the plan of the work is generally good; but the writer has not escaped a very common foible,—

unnecessary fulness and prolixity. Had the book been subjected to a judicious but much-needed pruning, it might have been reduced to three-quarters its present size, without sacrificing anything valuable, and greatly to the advantage of its vigour and sprightliness. The spirit and temper of the work are highly commendable; there is a suavity and gentleness of manner everywhere manifested, that could hardly have been expected from one long exercised in the gladiatorial exercises of newspaper controversy. The book will serve to refresh and gladden the devout heart, no less than to please the intellectual and gratify the curious.

In 1774, Mr. Robert Williams was preaching and forming societies in and about Norfolk and Petersburg. In one of his itinerant excursions he passed into Prince George county, and came to the residence of a plain, but substantial farmer, named Lee. In this family the wandering evangelist found some who could sympathize with his own religious sentiments, and commune with his spirit of the deep things of the Spirit of God. A short time before this, his host, and several members of the family, had been brought to a saving experience of the grace of God, under the labours of Rev. Devereaux Jarratt, rector of Bath parish, in Dinwiddie county. At this time Mr. Lee and his wife, and two sons, became members of the Methodist Society. Soon after, Brunswick circuit was formed, and their house became one of the regular preaching-places. This was the beginning of Methodism, as an organized body, in Virginia; and prominent among its early and steadfast friends were the family of Nathaniel Lee—of whom was one whose name is a household word among American Methodists, and whose reputation is cherished as a rich legacy by the Church.

Jesse Lee was born on the 12th of March, 1758. He received the rudiments of a plain English education, and was somewhat carefully instructed in the catechism of the Established Church. He was fourteen years old when his father was made a subject of saving grace; by which event his own mind was strongly affected in regard to religious duty and experience. He was soon after decidedly awakened to a sense of sin. His convictions were deep and pungent; his prayers for pardon earnest and importunate; and he was presently enabled to rejoice in the Rock of his salvation. Very soon after, together with both his parents and a younger brother, he joined the infant Methodist Society of the neighbourhood. Thus planted in the garden of the Lord, he rapidly advanced in religious knowledge and experience, and soon became strong in the Lord. The spirit of revival was abroad in the community, and his own soul drank deeply of its sacred influences. Thus was begun a course of

religious life and of evangelical labours, by means of which his name has become precious to the hearts and memories of multitudes of his children in the Gospel.

At the age of eighteen, Mr. Lee left his paternal home, and went to reside with a widowed relative in North Carolina. A change of residence, which has often proved disastrous to youthful piety, had in this case the opposite effect. A Methodist Society had been formed near his new place of abode, to which he immediately attached himself, and of which he was soon made the leader. The duty that was assumed as a cross, proved a means of great spiritual profit. His class-room soon became too limited a field for his enlarged charity and burning zeal for souls; he held prayer-meetings in his own and adjoining neighbourhoods, and endeavoured to persuade his fellow-creatures to be reconciled to God. In this an unseen Hand was leading him in a way that he knew not, and preparing him for a still wider field of usefulness and duty. He also studied theology, not as a science, but as a system of divine truth, involving his own eternal interests and those of all men,—and, as such, he delighted to explore its mysteries and to declare its saving power. In this spirit of mind he read the word of God, till he became mighty in the Scripture; and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, he imbibed the spirit of Baxter, Doddridge, and Wesley, from their writings, till his piety glowed with a clear and steady flame. Such was Jesse Lee's theological education and preparation for the work of the Christian ministry.

When he was about twenty-two years of age, his mind began to be drawn out towards another and wider field of action. The office and work of the ministry began to assume a deep and overwhelming interest in his mind. A "still small voice" seemed to invite him to it, and a secret impulse in his heart inclined him to yield to the invitation. But when he thought of the magnitude of the work, and of its awful responsibilities, his heart misgave him; and if at any time he reasoned with flesh and blood, every motive from that source strongly dissuaded from such a course.

The subject of a personal designation to the ministerial office is often a most perplexing, as it is always a most weighty, question. Very few have refused to confess that Christ chooses his own ministers; but there is more diversity of opinion as to the mode of calling them into his service. Some have been found claiming to be so called, whose only credentials were their own assumptions. Others, with a fonder, and scarcely less pernicious enthusiasm, make the call to the ministry a merely ecclesiastical affair, as if Christ had devolved his most sacred prerogatives upon the Church, and could

not himself communicate with the individual conscience. And yet others make it a matter of merely human prudence, to be judged of and determined as ordinary matters of religious duty. All these notions are fundamentally defective, and yet each contains a portion of the truth. The call to the ministry, no doubt, proceeds directly from the Head of the Church, and is by himself communicated to the conscious perceptions of the chosen vessel of his grace. But the Church is God's own institution, and through this he delights to confer his richest gifts upon men. If the individual may be the subject of divine impressions impelling to the sacred duties of the ministry, it surely is not too much to believe that when one is so called, the Church will also be led to perceive and recognize the divine designation, and to receive joyfully the accredited messenger of the grace of God. Nor should the determination of a calm and enlightened judgment be disregarded in this matter, especially when it is exercised in perfect subjection to the word and Spirit of God.

Nevertheless, the call to the ministry is primarily and chiefly the work of the Holy Ghost, effected directly upon the heart and understanding of its subject. He causes the work of the ministry to rise up, in inviting prospect, before the soul in the hour of solemn devotion, and urges to enter the field already white to the harvest. He perplexes the spirit with partially understood intimations of prospective duty, even while the heart is suffused with an abundance of heavenly peace. He impels to the designated duty from the midst of the fulness of self-distrust; and gives a sacred delight in obedience, though labours and reproaches be the only earthly recompense.

Impelled by such exercises, and guided by the light thus shed upon his mind, Jesse Lee, after having filled the office of a local preacher for about three years, gave himself wholly to the work of the ministry. In 1782, before he had been received into Conference, he accompanied Edward Dromgoole, who was sent to form a new circuit in the vicinity of Edenton, in North Carolina. He entered upon his new employment with a sincere devotion to the cause, but with great trepidations and many misgivings as to his ability and fitness for so great a work. In this field he continued till the succeeding session of the Virginia Conference.

The Methodist itinerant ministry of that period presented many striking peculiarities. Seldom has the Church seen the example of a devotion so ardent and disinterested. The whole country was a mission-field, and the Conferences were missionary societies: but *they had no treasuries*. The preachers literally obeyed the direction given to the seventy evangelists, and

went out without purse or scrip. A preacher's outfit consisted of a horse, saddled and bridled, a pair of saddle-bags, and a Bible and hymn-book; and these he must procure for himself. Thus equipped, the devoted missionary would sally out from Conference in search of his circuit,—which often existed only in name,—in the high anticipation of his steadfast faith. When arrived within the appointed district, his next care was to gain access to the people. Occasionally, though not often, a church could be obtained; sometimes a school-house or court-house, and more frequently a private dwelling, served instead; and in default of all these, the indomitable messenger of grace would proclaim the gospel by the way-side, or on the public promenade. Having thus struck a blow, he would give out an appointment to preach in that place again after a few weeks, and then hasten away to go through the same process in another place, leaving his astonished auditors to reflect upon what they had heard. Thus he would proceed from place to place, till called back to his first appointment, continually enlarging his work till he had a sufficient number of regular appointments to occupy all his time, preaching almost every day, and traversing a wide extent of country.

For his maintenance he literally trusted to Providence, and sometimes experienced interpositions little less than miraculous. He was never burdened with the cares of a family; for if at any time a travelling preacher married, he, of course, retired from the itinerancy. Among the scattered population of Virginia,—a people proverbial for hospitality,—no stranger would be denied a welcome, and the early Methodist preachers experienced the benefit of this rustic hospitality. The country was very inadequately supplied with the ordinances of religion, and the gospel was generally listened to with sincere interest. The love of novelty was gratified by the periodical returns of the circuit preachers; and the preaching-day, in many cases, became an epoch to be anticipated and remembered with a lively satisfaction. The near conformity of their mode of worship to that of the more zealous of the clergy of the old establishment, saved the Methodist itinerants from the odium of ecclesiastical prejudices, so that they were often received joyfully by those who had before adhered to the English Church. To this unusual course of life and labour, Mr. Lee had now fully devoted himself and all his energies.

The ecclesiastical condition of American Methodism was at this time anomalous and embarrassing. In sixteen years it had grown from the smallest beginning to a very considerable magnitude, comprising over eighty travelling preachers, and fourteen thousand members of society. The war of the revolution had expelled nearly

all of the parish clergy; and the return of peace left the country without any ecclesiastical system. The Methodist preachers succeeded to the vacated places of the absconding clergy, as religious teachers: but not to their benefices, nor their ecclesiastical authorities. But the people required the sacraments from their new teachers; and being unskilled in ecclesiastical subtleties, they could not see why those who preached the word should not also dispense the sacraments of the Gospel; and many of the preachers entertained similar views. But Mr. Asbury, who was still recognized as the head of the Methodists in America, was strongly opposed to such an assumption on the part of the preachers; and in this he was seconded by most of the oldest and more influential of his brethren. However, in 1779, the Virginia preachers determined to submit to the privation no longer, and so began to administer the sacraments; but their course was disapproved by their more northern brethren, and, for a while, a rupture seemed inevitable. Nor was the difference fully adjusted till the whole affair was settled in the organization of the Church, five years afterwards.

When the celebrated Christmas Conference met in Baltimore, Mr. Lee was engaged in his labours upon Salisbury circuit; for though he had been invited to that assembly by a letter from Freeborn Garrettson, yet, on account of the shortness of the notice, and other unfavourable circumstances, he determined to continue in his work. At the close of the Conference, Mr. Asbury, now a bishop, set off on a tour to the south, intending to proceed as far as Charleston, in South Carolina. He was accompanied by the Rev. Henry Willis, one of the newly ordained elders; and passing through Mr. Lee's circuit, the bishop requested him also to join them in their expedition. They passed through Cheraw and Georgetown; and on Saturday, the 26th of February, arrived at Charleston. The next day Mr. Lee and Mr. Willis each preached to a small congregation assembled in an old meeting-house that had been procured for the occasion; the bishop attended worship elsewhere. But on the next Wednesday evening, of which public notice had been given, he began preaching in the same place; and for seven successive evenings he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to large and deeply attentive auditories. The impression was salutary, and has proved to be lasting. A work of religion began from that time, and Mr. Willis was left to cultivate the field thus opened; but Mr. Lee returned with Bishop Asbury, and resumed his toil in Virginia.

For three successive years Mr. Lee received his appointments farther and farther northward, till we find him, in May, 1789, at the New-York Conference, at which time he received his appointment

to Stamford circuit, in the State of Connecticut, the first appointment ever made to a circuit in New-England. To this event he had looked forward with much interest for several years. His mind was directed towards that part of the country at an early period of his ministry, and in a manner somewhat remarkable. While on the southern tour referred to above, at Cheraw, in South Carolina, he formed a brief acquaintance with a young man from Massachusetts, who gave him a pretty full account of the moral and religious condition of his native State. Mr. Lee immediately conceived a strong desire to visit that part of the country, and to preach to its people a free and impartial Gospel. He proposed the subject to Bishop Asbury; but the bishop thought the time had not yet come to attempt anything in that direction. Mr. Lee was forced to forego his purpose at the time, but did not abandon it. The idea of carrying Methodism into New-England possessed his imagination and his affections, as well as commanded his judgment; it haunted him wherever he went, and drew his heart away to the chivalrous enterprise. A spirit of youthful romance may have mingled with this feeling; but it is equally reasonable, and certainly not less Christian-like, to recognize in it the directing Spirit and providence of God.

The religious and ecclesiastical condition of New-England presented very little that was either inviting or full of promise. Unlike other parts of the country, it had always been supplied with abundance of religious teachers and ecclesiastical institutions. The State itself was as much ecclesiastical as political; and so far as outward things were concerned, the people were eminently religious. Every part of the land was pervaded by the ecclesiastical system; every hamlet and settlement was included in some parish. Great uniformity in doctrine and discipline prevailed among the churches, while schism and dissent were scarcely known. Congregationalism was established by law, and the churches were maintained by public provisions. Of the few dissenters found among them, the Baptists were the most numerous, and they differed from the "standing order" only as to baptism. Other sects were inconsiderable in numbers, and generally, in character such as would not have rendered them a blessing to society had they been more numerous and influential.

But the lapse of nearly two centuries had wrought great changes in the churches of New-England. The rigid spirituality of the Mathers, Mayhews, and Davenports, had given place to a less scrupulous piety, without relieving the gloomy character of their theology. High Calvinism had gone to seed among them, and was passing into the sere and yellow leaf of Antinomianism. The form of god-

liness was preserved among the people by a constrained attendance upon public worship, and by legally-enforced Sabbaths, kept with more than Pharisaic strictness,—and among the clergy, by prayers of almost interminable prolixity, and sermons surcharged with "the high mystery of predestination." But the fires of vital religion burned very low upon their altars, and the pulpit had, to a great extent, lost its command of the consciences of the people, for the power that affects the heart was wanting.

Once had the Laodicean slumbers of the New-England churches been interrupted by a revival of spiritual religion. In 1732, the "great awakening" commenced, under the labours of the elder Edwards, and continued through several succeeding years, extending into many parts of these colonies. A brighter day seemed about to dawn upon the long-benighted land; but the hopes thus inspired were doomed to be suddenly extinguished. On account of the fanaticism of some of its friends, and through the natural ungodliness of the unrenewed heart, the cause of religious revival came to be evil spoken of, and at length was wholly suppressed. Associations of ministers, while ostensibly protesting against the errors and extravagances of the work of revival, condemned the work itself. The faculties of Harvard and Yale Colleges published "declarations" against Whitefield and his teachings; and at length Edwards himself was dismissed from his charge, because the people were tired of evangelical preaching. "In Boston itself, the number of parishes in 1785, five years before Lee's arrival, was actually less than half a century before." Personal piety had also sunk to a very low point. It was commonly taught that only an uncertain presumption could be attained as to one's own relations to God, and his hopes of heaven, and only a very few pretended to "entertain a hope." Many ministers were confessedly unconverted, and some learned and wise men defended the practice of inducting such persons into the sacred office.

Very little could be expected from the theology of the New-England churches towards remedying those evils;—it possessed no recuperative power. The dogma of Calvinian predestination acted as an opiate upon the public conscience, and paralyzed the energies of the Church. Election to life, that depended solely on an unconditional decree, needed not the care of its subject to make it more sure; and sin, which could neither endanger the salvation of the elect, nor render the perdition of the reprobates more certain, naturally appeared as a matter of no great consequence. In the same proportion as the "high mystery of predestination" was exalted, the necessity and value of the atonement were overlooked, till men began

to doubt, and presently to deny, the expiatory character of Christ's death; and this was soon followed by a denial of his proper divinity, and the plurality of persons in the Godhead. Thus was Unitarianism developed. Others liked only one side of the doctrine of decrees, and so sought to exclude the other,—the *decretum horribile*, —from the system. So the number of the elect was increased, till each individual was comprehended, and Calvinism was transformed into Universalism. Thus, instead of being able to give new life to the declining spirit of the churches, the orthodoxy of New-England was itself smitten with mortal disease, and was in perishing need of a simpler and more Scriptural faith.

But the prevailing theology, though very generally professed, was not in sympathy with the public sentiment. It was received with sullen submission, rather than embraced with cordial affection. Religion, as commonly exhibited, had a most uninviting aspect; and if received at all, it was as a hard alternative for eternal perdition. Such a system of doctrines could not be relied on to regenerate a fallen people. A foreign influence was needed, and Divine Providence was preparing it, in a way that the learned hierarchs of the land of the Pilgrims little anticipated. An unheralded stranger was approaching their borders, prepared to shake this death-spell from their slumbering churches, by proclaiming a free, a full, and an impartial salvation.

It does not come within our design to trace the progress of the itinerant, as he went out on his apparently forlorn and Quixotic mission, buoyant with hope, and strong in the confidence of faith. This the reader may find briefly done in the book before us, and more at large in the spirited sketches of the "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States."* On the 17th of June, we find him preaching in the street at Norwalk. Thence his course lay along the Sound to New-Haven. From that point he turned to the west, and passed across the country to Redding and Danbury. Then he bore away southward, by Ridgefield, Wilton, and Canaan, back again to Norwalk, having formed his two-weeks' circuit, and actually introduced Methodist itinerancy into the State, though there was not a Methodist besides himself in all the region embraced in his circuit. The enterprise was alike bold in its conception, and vigorous in its execution; and it succeeded. A more timid and cautious policy would probably have led to a failure.

It is difficult, in our changed circumstances, to form an adequate notion of the perplexing embarrassments to which the work thus taken in hand exposed the herald of a free Gospel. His ministerial cha-

* By Rev. A. Stevens: (New-York: Lane & Scott.)

racter, instead of serving him as a passport to general respect and confidence, was an occasion of suspicion, because he was not of the "standing order." The term Methodist was known only as the designation of a class of pestilent heretics, who had done much harm in other parts, but from whom the Lord had mercifully protected his chosen people in New-England. Mr. Lee's coming was commonly the signal of alarm; and for hospitality he was received with a cold and suspicious civility. At Norwalk he preached in the street, because he could obtain neither a public nor a private house for the purpose. At Fairfield he obtained the use of the Court-house, where, after ringing the bell himself, he seemed likely to have the house almost wholly to himself, till the schoolmaster and several of his scholars came to his relief. At New-Haven, too, he had the Court-house; and a portion of the faculty of Yale College, and several of the students, were among his rather scanty audience: but he was permitted to lodge at the tavern. At Greenfield he was civilly entertained by Dr. Dwight, who expressed doubts of the expediency of his mission, and of its final success; and at Redding, though he enjoyed the hospitality of the venerable minister, he was not allowed to preach in the church, because his doctrines were not approved, nor his opposition to dancing, of which his host was a great advocate.

But it was soon very evident that the Gospel had power in New-England, as well as elsewhere. His landlady at Fairfield was seriously awakened under his first sermon in that place. At Stratfield (near the present city of Bridgeport) he found a little self-constituted society of serious persons, who met once a week to sing and pray together. To these, on a subsequent visit, he preached, and afterwards spoke with each of them as to personal religion; and thus, unknown to them, he held his first class-meeting on his new circuit. Out of these, soon after, he formed his first society, which, at the beginning, consisted of only three women. At Redding, the word soon took effect; and at the end of the first half-year's labour he formed his second class, composed at first of two men in that place. Soon after this a third class was formed, of two men and two women, at a place called Limestone. The gathering of these "first-fruits" indicates much more than appears in the simple fact, that a few persons had become Methodists. A wide-spread impression had been made,—the public conscience had been awakened, and there was a stirring of the dry bones. Alarm, too, had seized the minds of those whose craft was thought to be in danger. On every hand the wailing was heard,—"The societies will be broken up!" and a stubborn opposition was excited against the presumptuous intruders.

Among the vexatious annoyances in this work, was the spirit of disputation that was everywhere encountered. If the new preacher avoided doubtful points, and taught only the great and common doctrines of faith and repentance, this course occasioned suspicion, and led to inquiry. He must declare his "principles;" which, when he did declare them, were everywhere assailed by furious advocates of the "decrees." The logic of Calvinism has always laboured under the disadvantage of being less obvious than that of the opposite system; and, therefore, it has not generally been the gainer in partial and superficial discussions of its subtle questions. And in this case it suffered a further inconvenience from the fact that the people had become familiar with the arguments used in its favour, while whatever was urged on the other side was new, and apparently incontrovertible. The old foundations became unsettled, and many rejoiced to be emancipated from a system that compelled them, in their opinion, to dishonour God in order to avoid perdition. Presently the pulpits opened their batteries upon the wandering itinerants and their doctrines. The public mind became excited in regard to the questions at issue between Calvinists and Arminians; and wherever the preacher came, he was driven into vexatious disputations. Thus commenced a controversy that, for nearly half a century, distinguished the pulpit exercises and the theological literature of New-England. The early Methodist preachers were thoroughly disciplined, and not inexpert controversialists against "the decrees." The spirit of controversy gave colouring to all their teachings. The peculiar forms of expression used by the "standing order" became objects of attack; and in opposing the errors of Calvinism, sufficient care was not always used to guard against opposite, and not less pernicious errors. Through all this protracted controversy, the ancient orthodoxy gradually yielded to the aggressions of a better faith. It soon became manifest, that the doctrines of the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms could not be maintained in their original forms. At first, there were only some modifications in the manner of stating them, and a hiding of the more offensive features. But this concession to outraged public sentiment came too late to effect its purpose. Then a reorganization was attempted, and the metaphysics of Hopkinsian New Divinity were substituted for the straight-forward statements of the older formularies. The system was made the worse for mending, and the public mind was not satisfied. Revolutions seldom go backward, especially those which tend to the emancipation of mind; and of this truth the history of New-England theology affords a striking example. A change, but little anticipated by their fathers, has come upon the men of this generation, of which an efficient

cause is to be found in the labours of the early Methodist preachers.

Mr. Lee continued in his new field of labour till the next session of the New-York Conference, in October, 1790. In this time he had explored the most populous portions of New-England; had preached in all the principal places from Norwalk to Newburyport, including Boston, where he opened his message under a spreading elm on the Common; had laid out three large circuits; and, strangest of all, had gathered no less than one hundred and eighty members into his infant societies. He now hastened to greet his fellow-labourers at Conference.

There are sometimes periods in the lives of men of lofty purpose, and of strenuous heroism, when they receive at least a partial recompense for long-suffered toils and privations in the admiring approbation of those whose favour they especially value. Such was now the case with Mr. Lee. But his rejoicing was not a vain self-complacency, nor a proud exultation, as if he had achieved his conquests by his own prowess. It was an humble gratitude, that gladly ascribed all the glory to the sole efficiency of divine grace. Yet he greatly rejoiced, not only that the work had been effected, but also that he had been made the instrument by which the grace of God had been so singularly displayed. He now asked no other honour than the privilege of resuming his labours in the field of his past triumphs, —a request that was readily granted, and a strong reinforcement added. But we can follow him no further. For eight successive years his undivided energies were devoted to the cause of Methodism in New-England. He frequently traversed the whole land, from Long Island Sound to Penobscot Bay, himself heading every new incursion, and cheering on the fainting spirits of his companions in toil. During this time, Methodism became firmly rooted in that portion of the country;—the little one became thousands, and the feeble exotic was naturalized and flourished in that apparently uncongenial climate, where it still prospers in the smiles of Him who first gave it life. Long will the Methodists of New-England remember and venerate the name of Jesse Lee.

We must now contemplate Mr. Lee in other and different relations and occupations. While he was labouring in New-England he regularly attended the sessions of his annual Conference, and the quadrennial sessions of the General Conference. He felt a lively interest in all the affairs of the Church, and participated in all the discussions relative to its polity and administration. Though he approved of its original organization, he, in common with all concerned, felt that, as a system, the constitution of the Church was far

from perfect. This conviction led, at an early period, to efforts to supply its obvious defects. One of these was that the bishops, as executive officers, were compelled to use a very large discretion, in which they were neither limited by law, nor assisted by constitutional advisers. An evil of such magnitude required immediate and efficient remedies.

The first expedient resorted to, was the measure known in Methodist history as the *Council*. In 1789, the bishops brought forward a plan to constitute the presiding elders, with themselves, a legislative and executive council, with all necessary powers for the government of the Church, and the conservation of its doctrines and discipline. The plan met with some opposition, but was at length carried in the annual Conference. But in organizing this irresponsible oligarchy, and probably with an honest desire to guard against the abuses to which it was liable, absolute unanimity was made necessary to all enactments, and then its decrees were not to be binding in any district till approved by the annual Conference. This was enough to render the Council a mere child's play. It had the form of an irresponsible despotism, without any of its efficiency. The Council met only twice, accomplished nothing, and then vanished into thin air,—unwept and unhonoured. From first to last, Mr. Lee was its steady and uncompromising opponent; and when he saw it laid in inglorious repose, he rejoiced as over a prostrate enemy.

The manifest failure of the "Council" led to the assembling of a General Conference in November, 1792. A thorough revisal of the Discipline was then gone into,—not to change its fundamental laws, but to perfect its details, and give harmonious efficiency to its action. At this Conference the famous O'Kelly difficulties occurred. The design of the measure proposed by Mr. O'Kelly was to give to the annual Conferences a veto power over the bishop's appointments of the preachers to their respective fields of labour. This bold stroke at the episcopal authority was not distasteful to the majority of the preachers, who seem not to have detected its revolutionary character. Others saw in it not only a shortening of the bishop's power, but the subversion of the itinerancy. By skilful management, not less than by forcible arguments, the measure was defeated, and the Church saved. Mr. Lee had agreed with O'Kelly and his friends in the measures of reform that had already passed the Conference, and was fully recognized as friendly to a constitutional limitation of episcopal powers; but in this measure they went too far for him, and he afterwards saw cause to rejoice in his early separation from them. When they left the Conference he predicted

further troubles, and mourned the unhappy issue of that unfortunate question.

As this was the first considerable schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and almost identical in character with most that have since occurred, it may not be amiss to pause for a moment to observe its causes and designs. The Methodist itinerancy requires very considerable sacrifices of all who submit themselves to its operations; but such has been the confidence of the Church in its simple efficiency, that there has been a very general willingness to make the necessary sacrifices for its maintenance. But as no one is compelled to come under its power, nor to continue there,—and as its subjects have the power, in their aggregate capacity, to modify it at pleasure,—it is plain that the itinerancy can be maintained only so long as it enjoys the love and confidence of those who bear its burdens. It is cause of gratulation, that hitherto such confidence has always been commanded by the ecclesiastical executive. In the delicate business of fixing the appointments, unity is essential to efficiency, and efficiency to even moderate success. But O'Kelly's plan would have been fatal to that unity, and, therefore, directly destructive to the itinerancy.

But we are not prepared to go as far as our author has gone in condemning the early part of Mr. O'Kelly's course. He doubtless erred in judgment; but nothing worse than that can be justly laid to his charge in the matter of seeking this change in the Methodist economy. His subsequent course, however, was unwise and indefensible. His design was to guard against the abuses to which the appointing power seemed to be liable; and when defeated in his purpose, he precipitated the worst effects of the apprehended abuses, and sought to destroy the Church lest it should be oppressed. It is but too evident, that much of personal feeling was mingled with this dread of arbitrary power. Had Mr. O'Kelly and his friends submitted to the action of the Conference, as expediency as well as duty required them to do, they would have still been in a condition to labour for necessary reforms, while they could have continued to prosecute their calling as ministers of the grace of God. But by their defection, they at once weakened and disgraced their cause in the Church. The oft-repeated charges against Mr. O'Kelly's orthodoxy rest on rather insufficient grounds, and the best living evidence is against their correctness. A preacher, whose name is not given, and who may have been a very incompetent judge in such matters, first mentioned the subject after he had left the Conference; and from such a beginning the rumour has been perpetuated, and in the pages of this biography is assumed and treated as

unquestionable. That he used modes of expression somewhat different from those commonly employed, is granted by all,—a course that always tends towards dangerous ground, as it not unfrequently arises from a partial departure from the simple truth. If, however, Mr. O'Kelly was upright and honest when he left the Conference, his subsequent career too plainly proves, that though an honest man may give himself to a faction, yet, in it he will not long remain honest.

The sequel of this unhappy affair is full of instruction. The complaint of the dissentients was at least plausible,—much more so than those of any who have followed them first into secession, and thence into oblivion. The powers of the bishops were at that time vastly greater than at present, and a large majority of the preachers were favourably inclined to some salutary limitations. And as these confessedly proper limitations were not made, the complaint appeared to be not altogether groundless. Nor had experience then, as now, demonstrated the equitable operation of the present plan of making the appointments. The liability to abuse has been proved to be much more apparent than real, and so the causes of complaint have passed away. But with all its greater advantages, O'Kelly's plan of effecting a revolution in the Church proved a total failure. The humble and devoted servants of Christ, who alone can give stability and success to the Church, avoid the tumults of distracting changes; while the ungovernable and self-sufficient rally to the standard of rebellion, and curse by their favour the cause they espouse. This was most sadly experienced by O'Kelly. Discord soon prevailed in the councils of the "Republican Methodists," and the high promise of the beginning soon vanished. But immense harm was done to the souls of many simple ones who were stumbled and turned out of the way by these unholy strifes. It would be well for all, who may at any time meditate making a schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, carefully to study the history of this affair before proceeding in the matter. Men are not generally inclined to be alarmed at the shadows of dangers. They will plant their vines upon the declivities of the volcano, and gather fruits by the side of the upas-tree, and bless the soil that feeds them, though surcharged with the elements of death.

Intimately related to the foregoing subject, was one that afterwards agitated the councils of the Church for many years, and in which Mr. Lee became a principal actor;—the Presiding Elder Question. This was, indeed, a kindred question with that raised by O'Kelly, but not, as our author has it, *identical in principle* with it. Had this measure been proposed instead of the defeated

one, in 1792, there is little doubt that it would have prevailed. But when a factious and revolutionary minority had placed the Church on the defensive, the subject of reforms was permitted to slumber for several years. Nor did the feeble and ill-concerted movement of 1800 help the cause further than to show that it was yet alive. In 1808, the question came up on its merits, in the shape of a proposition to make the office of Presiding Elder elective; but the Church was not yet prepared for the change. The struggle was renewed at the General Conference in 1812, and though the battle was long and stubbornly fought, and the reformers seem to have had the advantage in the war of words, they were still slightly in the minority. In 1816 they were still the lesser number; but in 1820, the measure, a little modified by way of compromise, was adopted by a very large majority. It was, however, subsequently suspended, and finally given up. In the debate on this subject, at the General Conference of 1812, Mr. Lee is said to have displayed his highest and most commanding forensic abilities; and doubtless he there made impressions, that still survive in their influences, in favour of the rights of the travelling ministry.

In the quiet afforded by distance of time and change of circumstances, we may profitably review this controversy, and derive instruction from the contemplation. Methodism has always been a child of Providence; and while we may differ with our author as to which was the "right" side of this question, we doubt not that a good Providence directed the issue. A seeming defeat is sometimes the most complete triumph; and in this case the indirect influences of the expressions then made, have more than compensated for the want of direct and positive success. The contest will not probably be renewed, for the question has not sufficient interest about it to give it vitality; or if the change should be again demanded, it would not be again defeated by the same kind of influences. That the mode of appointing Presiding Elders may be changed, or that the office itself may be modified, or abrogated, is not impossible. But however that may be, the quiet of the Church will not be interrupted by the question. Things have greatly changed since that question first excited the attention of the Methodist ministry. A race of preachers has arisen, whose positions and characters are sufficient safeguards against executive oppression, were there (as we are happy to believe there is not) any inclination to such an abuse of power. An influence also is beginning to be felt from another source,—the voice of the laity can neither be stifled nor disregarded. At the same time, the office of Presiding Elder is constantly declining in relative importance in all the older portions of the country; and the

time may come, when the Episcopacy will wish to strengthen itself by a council directly representing the members of the Annual Conferences.

Mr. Lee's notions of Church government are pretty fully exhibited in the cases above noticed. A fuller illustration of the same subject is given in the history of his actions in regard to the episcopacy. At first our episcopacy was rather British than American. It originated in England, and with a venerable man whose political principles were not in unison with those of the American people. The first bishop was selected by Mr. Wesley's individual act, without the previous concurrence of those over whom he was appointed; and though that appointment was utterly void till sanctioned by the American Conference, yet the authority of the person so appointed seemed to be derived from his first designation, rather than his subsequent election. Dr. Coke was, by association and in feeling, an Englishman, and seems to have been incapable of learning the American character. Mr. Asbury, too, though much better acquainted with human character, and more assimilated to the sentiments of those who were about him, nevertheless carried some of his foreign notions with him to the end. The course pursued by Dr. Coke, as soon as he entered upon his superintendency, gave earnest of the character of his future administration. Soon after the close of the Christmas Conference, the two bishops proceeded together to the Virginia Conference. The doctor was full of zeal, and also full of his new office. He abominated slavery as became him, and pressed the new rule of Discipline relative to that subject with more ardour than discretion. Mr. Lee, knowing the peculiar perplexities in which the subject was involved, presumed, though a young man, modestly, but firmly, to oppose the furious zeal of the Bishop. For this act of temerity he was not permitted to pass without rebuke; when his name was called on the passage of his character, Dr. Coke opposed it, but afterwards prudently withdrew his opposition. There are grounds for the presumption, that this untoward beginning of their acquaintance made impressions upon both these faithful men that were not speedily effaced.

Two years later, at the Baltimore Conference, the bishop was put upon the defensive. He had been absent from the country most of the time since the organization of the Church. During his absence he continued to exercise his episcopal authority by writing letters giving directions relative to the affairs of the Church; and when he returned, he changed the places of meeting of several annual conferences, that had been fixed by those bodies at their former sessions. This was deemed a palpable violation of the rights of the

conferences, and received a most decided condemnation. Dr. Coke, though sufficiently magisterial when allowed to be so, could also adapt himself to external circumstances, and bend to the passing storm. The men with whom he had to do were made of stern stuff, though they carried warm and honest hearts in their bosoms. Satisfactory assurances were demanded, *that the offence would not be repeated;* and, lest the past should ever be used as a precedent, the bishop was required to give a pledge in writing that the same thing should never occur again. All these demands were granted, and thus a rule established, forever limiting episcopal authority in that matter. In this business, Mr. Lee, on account of his youth, took no prominent part, though he cordially co-operated with the majority of the Conference.

At the General Conference of 1796, arose a very grave and what proved a very exciting question concerning the episcopacy. Until that time, nearly all the labours of the general superintendency had fallen upon Mr. Asbury, as Dr. Coke had passed most of his time in Europe, or in crossing the Atlantic. Mr. Asbury was very desirous of some more permanent assistance, which desire he intimated to the Conference. A resolution to strengthen the episcopacy, by the election of an additional bishop, was accordingly introduced; but while it was under discussion, Mr. Asbury rose, and expressed great fears lest an improper selection should be made. The resolution was then modified, so as to make the proposed election agreeable to his wishes and feelings; and in that form was passed almost unanimously. Soon after this, Dr. Coke came forward, and "offered himself wholly to the Conference, promising to serve them in the best manner he could, and to be entirely at the disposal of his American brethren, to live and die among them." Of these important proceedings Mr. Lee was not only a deeply interested observer, but an active participant. He was of the small minority that opposed the modification of the resolution to strengthen the episcopacy, so as to submit the whole matter to Mr. Asbury. He considered the election of a superintendent one of the highest and most sacred duties of the General Conference, and such as they might not devolve upon any other body or individual. However much he loved his devoted father in the Gospel, he loved the Church, its constitution, and discipline, still more, and therefore could not be induced to sacrifice his principles to gratify his social affections.

But Dr. Coke's proposal was still more unacceptable to him. He evidently disliked the doctor's manner as a bishop, and, without questioning the sincerity of his purpose, he felt no confidence in his

pledge to abide in America, and devote all his energies to the interests of American Methodism. His sympathies and his interests, Mr. Lee believed, were all in another country. The deep-seated prejudice of the American people against the British nation, was also urged as a reason against having a subject of that kingdom for the first officer of an American Church. On this ground Mr. Asbury had often been objected to, though much more Americanized, both in manners and feelings, than Dr. Coke; and, therefore, it was thought highly inexpedient that the Church should now look only to foreigners for her superintendents. Writing to one of his colleagues, soon after this transaction, Mr. Lee remarked, "I still say, *no more English bishops* . . . . . I wish for an American superintendent, equal in power with brother Asbury." In that brief sentence he expressed his whole heart in the matter. Upon that position he had placed himself; and to fix that as the policy of the Church was his most strenuous purpose. There was, probably, something intended by the collocation of his terms,—ENGLISH BISHOPS,—*American superintendents.*

Powerful and well-directed as was Mr. Lee's opposition, the influence of the bishops was still too great for him. The Conference finally accepted Dr. Coke's proposal, and no new bishop was chosen. But this defeat had much of the character of a victory; for though Dr. Coke was reaccepted by the Conference, yet he came back shorn of his power, and degraded to the condition of a mere assistant bishop. The spirit of the debates had affected the minds of the Conference; and though their reverence for the venerable men with whom they were dealing induced them to retain the incumbent of the episcopal office, their jealousy of encroachments upon their rights led them to bind him, hand and foot, before he was received again among them. Some years later, the last vestige of power was taken from him, though his name was retained among those of the bishops, with a note appended, declaring him virtually deposed.

The action of the General Conference in the case of Dr. Coke is especially worthy of attention, as serving to illustrate the mutual relations of the episcopacy and the assembled representatives of the ministry of the Church. Dr. Coke was never accused of any crime, nor yet put upon his defence, judicially, for any mal-administration. The Conference treated him as a tenant-at-will in the episcopal office, and judged of his continuance in it as of a question of mere expediency. "*It was thought best,*" is the cool language of Mr. Lee, in his History of the Methodists, "for Dr. Coke to be no longer considered a superintendent of the Methodists in the United States."

And yet no complaint was made by Dr. Coke or his friends that he was wronged, or the fundamental law of the Discipline violated. These precedents completely cover the action of a recent General Conference in a similar exercise of its high authority; and perhaps no man contributed more largely to the influences that governed and saved the Church in 1844, than he who long before had laboured to diffuse the spirit of true liberty in the Church, and to maintain the authority of the presbytery over the episcopacy. The friends of real Christian liberty, as it is set forth and defended in the Methodist Discipline, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the memory of Jesse Lee.

It is also gratifying to perceive, that the doctrines he taught and impressed on the minds of his cotemporaries are still cherished among his successors; and that the kinsman who has now the honour to be his biographer, is also the exponent and advocate of his enlightened and liberal views. We are decidedly pleased with Dr. Lee's statement, as qualified by himself, of the ecclesiastical constitution of Methodism:—

"The General Conference, as the source of law and authority in the Church, is represented so entirely in every department of the ecclesiastical government, that it may be almost said to be *everywhere*. In the person and power of its representatives, the authority of the General Conference is felt in every ramification of official influence. The bishop is the first and highest executive officer of the Church. In the absence of the bishop, the presiding elder stands forth as his accredited representative; and he, in turn, is represented by the preacher in charge, who transmits to the class-leaders the authority to supply his place in carrying out the designs of the organization in spreading Scriptural holiness in the earth. Thus from the fountain of power [*Croton?*] there is a regular transmission of official authority to the very extremities of the system."—P. 138.

This statement, though just, admits of an interpretation that would seem to imply an almost absolute executive power in the episcopacy; but such an interpretation is guarded against by our author. In a note at the bottom of the page, he inserts, with approbation, the following remark from the Life of Rev. W. Watters: "But while he [the bishop] superintends the whole work, he cannot interfere with the particular charge of any of the preachers in their stations. To see that the preachers fill their places with propriety, and to understand the state of every station or circuit, that he may the better make the appointments of the preachers, is, no doubt, no small part of his duty; but he has nothing to do with receiving, censuring, or excluding members; this belongs wholly to the stationed preacher and members." The authority of the General Conference is communicated to the presiding elders, or stationed preachers, through the bishops, only so far as their particular fields

of labour are concerned. The authority of all ministerial officers of the Church is derived directly from the General Conference, agreeable to the fundamental laws of the Church. An incumbent may be displaced or superseded, but the superior minister has no right to seize and appropriate to himself the functions of the office thus vacated.

We must pass over briefly, or wholly omit, several important passages in the history of Mr. Lee. His connexion with the episcopacy forms an interesting and rather curious chapter in our early history. It is a maxim among politicians, that a first-class civilian, who has been long and intimately connected with the issues of the times, does not make the most available candidate for the high places in the gift of the people. The very actions that render such a one illustrious, incur the displeasure of those who differ with him in opinion; whereas, were he less conspicuous, he would escape that odium. Such was Mr. Lee's case relative to the episcopacy. He had been a prominent actor in all the great questions that had risen in the Church since its organization; and in advocating his own opinions he had opposed many, who, on that account, would be less inclined to elevate him to the highest place in the Church. Still he had the fullest evidence possible, next to an election, that he shared, in an eminent degree, the confidence of his brethren.

Mr. Lee's relations to slavery possess a high degree of interest, which is rather increased than diminished by the lapse of time. Dr. Lee moves rather awkwardly about this subject, and his remarks and disquisitions are curious and amusing. He is evidently an admirer of the subject of his narrative, and his better judgment, as to the "delicate question" of slavery, seems to be on the side espoused and advocated by his illustrious kinsman. But he is a Virginian, and has the misfortune to live among circumstances that render it a crime to speak against the "peculiar institution of the South." To commend the course of Jesse Lee relative to slavery, and not condemn slavery, would require more skill in hair-splitting than falls to the lots of most mere mortals. The book is a real mosaic,—now all southern, and now as wholly northern: now Virginian of 1780, and now Virginian of 1848. In South Carolina it would be an incendiary publication, suitable to be placed with the Methodist Discipline in the *Index Expurgatorius;* and at Baltimore it must appear as a very poor attempt to whitewash a rotten system. Still, it may be adapted to the transcendental geniuses of the Old Dominion.

From the beginning, Methodism has been hostile to slavery; and nowhere else has that feeling been more clearly manifest than in

Virginia. In 1780, the Virginia Conference acknowledged slavery to be "contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society,—contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion;" and they recommended to all their friends to emancipate their slaves. The prevailing sentiment of the Church at that period was openly and most decidedly averse to "African slavery." This was but the legitimate fruit of the character and action of the Church. Opposition to slavery was an original element of Methodism, and "the extirpation of the great evil" was among its primary designs. But while there was entire unanimity thus far, there was always much difference of opinion among good antislavery men, as to the best method of accomplishing a purpose at once so necessary and so difficult; and, therefore, it is not wonderful that Mr. Lee differed with some of his brethren on this subject: nor does such a disagreement cast a shadow upon the good name of either party. But we esteem it alike unjust and cruel, to attempt to make Jesse Lee the prototype of modern pro-slavery Methodists. At such an imputation the spirit of the good man, it may be fancied, would be disturbed in the repose of Paradise; and his sons in the gospel, the Methodists of New-England, would be aroused to vindicate his fair reputation. It is now declared, on the fullest evidence, that he was both a non-slaveholder from principle, and an advocate of emancipation. In 1798, while travelling with Bishop Asbury through Virginia, he paid a visit of several days to the residence of his father. The object of this visit, says his biographer, "was to importune his now aged father to provide for the emancipation of his slaves." Mr. Lee himself, in the account given of this visit in his journal, remarked, "I wished him to make his will, for the peace of them that might live after him, and for the sake of his negroes, who are yet in slavery; but he was not determined about it." The pious and humane purpose of the son was not effected,—the old man died, as he had lived, a slaveholder. "He left a will, and distributed his servants among his descendants." But the pious son was saved from the double sorrow that would have fallen upon him, had he survived his father. In that case, he would, perhaps, have become legally possessed of one or more slaves; but all the laws of the Commonwealth could not have made him a slaveholder in fact. His conscience, enlightened by the word of God, and quickened by the Holy Ghost, was his only law; and no civil institution could compel him to sin against his own soul. Had all his successors in the ministry been equally true to God and Methodism, a very different state of things, in relation to slavery, would have been effected.

There are several other particulars in the history of our illustrious subject that we have marked for comment; but we must pass them by, and hasten to conclude our remarks. Mr. Lee left his favourite field in New-England in 1797, to accompany Bishop Asbury on his tours of episcopal visitation; and for three successive years he traversed the whole extent of the country from Georgia to Maine, assisting the bishop in all his duties, so far as compatible with his non-episcopal character. This was evidently designed by Bishop Asbury as an apprenticeship for the episcopacy, and doubtless Mr. Lee also so understood it; but the General Conference of 1800 thought differently, for, on the third balloting,—the second having resulted in a tie between Mr. Lee and Mr. Whatcoat,—the latter was declared duly elected. Suspicions of something unfair in the canvass were expressed at the time, and have never been entirely dissipated; but we will not stir the ashes that bury this unpleasant affair. All the parties to those transactions now sleep together in the grave, and we trust their spirits rest together in Paradise.

At the close of the General Conference Mr. Lee returned once more to the Virginia Conference, where, for sixteen successive years, he performed the duties of a travelling preacher with characteristic zeal and fidelity. During this period he was four times chosen chaplain to Congress, the duties of which office he performed faithfully and acceptably. In 1815 he was appointed to Fredericksburg, which was included in the Baltimore Conference, and the next year to Annapolis, in Maryland. While there engaged in his official duties, near the last of August, he passed over to the Eastern Shore, to attend a camp-meeting near Hillsborough. Here he preached his last sermon. Soon after preaching he was attacked by a violent fever, which terminated his active and useful life on the twelfth of September, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his public ministry. As his life had been one of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of his divine Master, so his death was full of assurance and radiant with hopes of immortality.

As a Christian, Mr. Lee was distinguished for the soundness of his conversion, the steadiness and strength of his faith, the cheerfulness of his piety, and his rigid conscientiousness. As a minister of the Gospel, he professed to hold his commission directly from the Head of the Church, and his labours are the best evidence of his calling. He was a man of superior natural abilities, which were strengthened and improved by cultivation,—a good speaker, and an indefatigable labourer. In his intercourse with his brethren he was frank and familiar, though, by the silent power of his presence, he exercised a commanding influence among them. Few men

have done so much to give shape and character to Methodist polity; for though often defeated in the specific measures he advocated, the spirit of his policy nearly always prevailed. He lived in the heroic age of Methodism, and was himself a chief among the great men of his times. He was, emphatically, a man for his own times; and having faithfully and successfully served his generation, he rested from his labours, and his works follow him. His memory and his example remain, and will long be cherished by those who come after him.

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## Art. IV.—ON THE INTERPRETATION OF MARK ix, 49, 50.

[Modified from the German of Bähr, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July, 1849.]

This passage is acknowledged by all commentators to be dark and difficult. Any new light that may be thrown upon it cannot fail to be acceptable; and we hazard the following views as a contribution to its interpretation. To us, at least, they are more satisfactory than any exposition of the passage we have met with.

The passage reads:—"Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.

"Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἄναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλας, καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις."

"*For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.*

"*Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.*"

Nearly all interpreters refer the words, "salted with fire," to the punishment of the wicked in hell; and their main difficulty consists in connecting this predicate with the subject "every one,"—and also in making a clear sense for verse 50 in connexion with verse 49 thus understood. We hope to avoid the whole difficulty, and to show a clear and beautiful connexion in the whole passage, by explaining the *salt of the sacrifice*, and its spiritual import—a point which has not heretofore been adequately cleared up.

Before entering directly upon our exposition, we must call attention to the fact, that the passage before us is not an isolated one, but

forms part of a connected discourse of Christ *to his disciples*, commencing with verse 33, and ending with verse 50. In verses 33, 34, we are told that the disciples *disputed* for supremacy;—this gives occasion to the whole discourse, in which Christ inculcates upon the disciples humility and self-abasement, (35–37,) and, further, forbids them to offend any of His *little* ones. And in addition to self-abasement, he enjoins, as inseparable from it, self-denial and self-sacrifice, (42, 43,) to avoid the most fearful risks, (44–48.) Then immediately, connected by γάρ, comes the passage before us, which *ends*—by pointing to the spirit of dispute that gave occasion to Christ's injunctions—in the final exhortation, εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *have peace one with another.*

Having thus shown the connexion of the passage, we proceed with its exegesis. It appears to be clear that the leading thought of verse 49 is to be found in the *salt of the sacrifice*, which is presupposed as a significant act. We inquire now into the meaning of that rite, as here alluded to in its significant sense. The clause καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται, *and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt*, is taken from, or, at least, clearly refers to, Levit. ii, 13—καὶ πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται, *and every offering of your sacrifice shall be salted with salt.* But the salt used in that sacrifice denoted *the covenant of Jehovah with Israel;*—as is sufficiently clear from the remainder of the verse,—οὐ διαπαύσατε ἅλας διαθήκης κυρίου (בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֶלַח) ἀπὸ θυμιαμάτων ὑμῶν, *ye shall not suffer the salt of Jehovah's covenant to cease from your offerings of sacrifice.* Now that this very meaning, and no other, is implied in the passage of Mark before us, lies in the very nature of the case. Christ, who quoted the words of the law, knew well their full import in their connexion with the passage which he cited; and the disciples to whom he spoke, holding the law to be of divine origin, could have ascribed to the rite of salt, thus alluded to, no other sense. According to this view, no credit whatever is to be given to that interpretation of the passage* which attributes to the *salt of sacrifice* the import of *seasoning*, and seeks the origin of the rite in the gross anthropomorphic notion that salt is as much a requisite to God's enjoyment of the food offered to him as to man's. Even if (which we do not grant) such ideas prevailed among the heathen, nothing is more certain than that the Mosaic Law knew nothing of them. The distinct expression, *salt of the covenant of Jehovah*, at once and utterly excludes all such conceptions; but, in addition to this, in Levit. ii, 11 (just before our cited passage) all *leaven* in the meat-offerings is prohibited, although it

* De Wette, i, 2, p. 189.

is precisely leaven that makes bread agreeable to the taste. The prohibition of the *leaven* has just as much reference to seasoning as the command of the *salt*,—that is, none at all. According to the law itself, then, the salt of sacrifice is the *salt of the covenant of God.* But we can obtain a more definite idea of its application in the passage before us, by ascertaining *why*, and *how*, it has this import. For this purpose, let us turn to Numbers xviii, 19, and 2 Chron. xiii, 5: in both these passages the phrase בְּרִית מֶלַח, *covenant of salt*, obviously means, from the connexion, a covenant *indissoluble, irrevocable, unceasing*, and *everlasting.* And, as salt is a specific preservative against corruption, decay, and dissolution, its use to symbolize a covenant incorruptible, undecaying, and indissoluble, was altogether natural. To this day, in the East, salt is the symbol of friendship, of harmony, and of covenant agreement. But there is another point, perhaps still more striking. In the sacrifice, the salt was expressly declared to denote the *covenant of God with Israel:* and this covenant, in its very nature and object, was a covenant of *holiness.* For it was to make them "*holy*" that God chose Israel from among all nations; to this people He was the "Holy One;" and, in regard to other nations, they were the "holy people." The very substance and basis of the covenant was,—"*Be ye holy, for I am holy.*" Now the peculiar appropriateness of "salt" to symbolize the "holy" character of the covenant lies in this, that its power to preserve from decay and dissolution consists in the fact that it removes, or eats away, what is *unclean and corrupting;* it keeps together whatever it preserves, by taking away the material and germ of contamination. In a word, it preserves, because it purifies. Now purity, among the Hebrews, was considered partly as a condition of holiness, and partly identical with holiness. The salt, therefore, in the sacrifice, was the natural symbol of the "covenant of holiness." The very object of the sacrifice was to renew the sundered relations of the people to Jehovah, the "*Holy One:*" and the salt was the special seal of the holy and sanctifying union with Jehovah negotiated in the sacrifice. The sacrifice, of itself, denoted a complete *surrender* to Jehovah; but the addition of the salt imparted to it the character of holiness, and, therefore, the proper and appropriate consecration.

Keeping this view of the salt of the sacrifice in mind, let us now resume the examination of verse 49, in the passage before us. It has two clauses,—"*for every one shall be salted with fire—and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.*" The first question to be settled is, In what relation do the two clauses stand to each other? Obviously, ἁλισθήσεται, (*shall be salted,*) in the first clause, corre-

sponds to ἁλισθήσεται in the second. But the word clearly derives its use in the first clause from the second: for the latter is quoted from the *law*, where it has a definite and ascertained meaning. We infer, therefore, that the first clause is to be interpreted by the aid of the second; and, in fact, that the two clauses are not co-ordinate, but that the first is *dependent* on the second. Some (Lightfoot, for example) render the connecting καὶ by *but;* which is clearly inadmissible. Olshausen inserts διὰ τοῦτο after καὶ, making the second clause to be—"and *for this reason* must every sacrifice be salted with salt;" and he supposes that the first clause gives an authoritative explanation of the "salt of sacrifice." In our view the dependence of the two clauses is just the opposite of this. The only true view of the use of the καὶ is that advanced by Fritsche and De Wette, namely, that it is equivalent to the Hebrew כ *exæquationis*, and may be rendered "*just as*," (Cf. Job v, 7;)—a sense lying, not in the particle itself, but in the *parallelismus membrorum*, (parallelism of clauses.)

Under this relation of the two clauses, the meaning of the verse is, "*as*, according to the law, *every sacrifice must be salted with salt, so should also every one* of you *be salted with fire.*" Further, πᾶς (*every one*) is parallel with πᾶσα θυσιά, (*every sacrifice,*) and πυρί (*with fire*) is parallel to ἁλί, (*with salt.*) As, in the preceding verses, Christ had enjoined the sacrifice even of the dearest objects, (*a right hand, a right eye,*)—that is, an unconditional and unlimited self-denial, which is the very *essence* of sacrifice,—so here, quite naturally, he compares "*every one*" of the disciples to a sacrifice. In making the *fire* parallel to the *salt*, he pre-supposes an affinity between them; an affinity which must lie in the power of purification. We have already seen that this power is attributed to "salt;" it is also attributed to "fire," (Zach. xiii, 9; 1 Pet. i, 7; 1 Cor. iii, 15; Rev. iii, 18.) Especially worthy of remark is Matt. iii, 11,—"*He shall baptize you . . . . with fire.*" Baptizing is done with water, but its object is purification: (Eph. v, 26; 1 Pet. iii, 21:) so the fitness of the expression, "to baptize with fire," may be inferred from the fact that fire also has purifying power. Altogether analogous to this is the phrase, "to salt with fire." Salting is done with salt; but as fire has a purifying, nay, even a *preserving* power, (1 Cor. iii, 13, 15,) the expression may be used, "to salt with fire."*

If our view be correct, the sense so generally given to this passage by the commentators,—that πῦρι here refers to hell-fire, and "the being 'salted with fire,' imports that, as to their beings,

* Plin., Nat. Hist., xxxi, *Salis natura est per se ignea.* Olshausen, i, 556, "salt may be called a bound-up fire."

they shall be preserved, even as salt preserves things from corruption, that they may be the objects of the eternal wrath of God"—is utterly untenable. Apart from all other objections, according to this view, the salt preserves the *corruption* of the damned; while, on the contrary, its preserving power lies in the very fact that it *destroys* corruption. Moreover, as has been said, the word ἁλισθήσεται must have the same sense in both clauses; if taken, as it must be, in *bonam partem* in the second, it must be also in the first. True, the repeated mention of πῦρ ἄσβεστον, *unquenchable fire*, may have suggested the phrase, "salted (πυρί) with fire," instead of "salted (ἁλί) with salt;" but it by no means follows that the word, in this new connexion, has the same force as in the foregoing, especially as no attributive like ἄσβεστος, or γέεννα, is employed. On the contrary, the very mention, by Christ, of the destroying fire may have given him occasion to pass to its opposite, the purifying and preserving fire. The passage, therefore, does not, as the Romanists suppose, give any countenance whatever to the doctrine of purgatory.

Our view, then, of the sense of the 49th verse, may be thus expressed: "Every one (of you) must become a personal sacrifice; but as, under the law, every sacrifice required the consecrating salt, the symbol of the holy covenant, so also must every one (of you) be purified by self-sacrifice. The discipleship of the Lord consists in continual self-denial and sacrifice, which is inseparable from continual purification. And this process of purification, so far from being destructive, is precisely the process that conserves unto true, everlasting life." Thus understood, the passage is a brief and pregnant summary of all that Christ had said, (verses 33–48;) and, in common with all pregnant passages, it is for that very reason obscure, especially when torn from its connexion. The want of self-denial and humility, he had said, leads to everlasting corruption, where "their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" but continual self-denial, on the other hand, leads, by means of the purification that is inseparable from it, to everlasting life. That is, in the condensed, symbolical language of the text, πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, "*for every one shall be salted with fire.*"

The 50th verse falls in naturally with our interpretation of the 49th, as addressed to the disciples: "*Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness,* (that is, its peculiar properties,) *wherewith will ye season* (ἀρτύσετε) *it?* (that is, restore its virtue.) *Have* (ἔχετε) *salt in yourselves, and have peace* (εἰρηνεύετε) *one with another.*" No one will deny that ἔχετε and εἰρηνεύετε are addressed to the disciples; and if so, so must ἀρτύσετε be, and, with it, the whole passage. The same expression is used, though in a different con-

nexion, in Matt. v, 13: "*Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?*" And here the very object of discipleship—to be the "salt of the earth"—is connected with humiliation, self-denial, and a peaceable spirit. In Luke xiv, 33, 34, the connexion is still closer: "*Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Salt is good, but if*," &c. So, also, in the passage before us, whoever is "salted with fire," thereby becomes himself a "salt" to the earth; but if he lose this salt—by losing the spirit of humble self-sacrifice—nothing else can replace it; his discipleship is lost, and himself with it.

How naturally, then, comes on the concluding injunction, "*Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.*" "Keep the spirit of self-denial and of self-renunciation: keep it in yourselves: it is indispensable to your discipleship. And let it show itself in your humble bearing: not in *disputing which shall be greatest*, (verse 34,) but in having *peace one with another.*" The close connexion of the two clauses, "*Have salt*," and "*Have peace*," must not be overlooked. Where salt is, there is peace: for salt does not separate, but binds together. Strikingly illustrative of this is the custom of the Arabian princes, who seal their covenants and agreements by strewing salt over bread, with the formula, "Salaam! (peace!) I am the friend of thy friends, and the foe of thy foes." In a society whose members are striving for supremacy, instead of peace, there will be constant strife; but where, with self-sacrificing lowliness of heart, each "esteems his brother above himself," *there* peace will have her abiding-place.

Thus, it appears to us, the several clauses of this passage are placed in clear and unforced connexion with each other; and the passage itself, with the preceding context. We may therefore rest our interpretation here, without examining all the various expositions that have been given, as none of them secure such a connexion satisfactorily.

## Art. V.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE LATE DR. RICHARDS.

*Lectures on Mental Philosophy and Theology.* By James Richards, D. D., late Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, New-York. With a Sketch of his Life, by Samuel H. Gridley, Pastor of the Presbyterian Congregation, Waterloo, New-York. Published by M. W. Dodd, New-York, 1846.

The time has been when it was supposed hardly possible for the American Church to produce a book on any branch of divinity, which might be regarded as a standard. Everything American must, *per se*, be dwarfish. Even religion was doomed to live on exotics. A domestic imprint was enough to prejudice irreparably any work on the higher themes of theology or philosophy. If it were not authenticated by a European stamp, it could be scarcely worth reading; so that, if the manuscript were made in this country, the author must needs cross the Atlantic to publish it, or he might calculate with certainty on utter neglect. The minister, the student in theology, and the private Christian, were alike adjudged safe only when walking in the light of some European rabbi.

But matters are undergoing—if, indeed, they have not already undergone—a most pleasing revolution. Religious books of American origin, and many of them of a very high character, are rapidly multiplying. There is, indeed, scarcely any branch of Christian theology upon which home authorship has not poured additional light. Biblical criticism, sacred geography, archæology, history, astronomy, and the like, have all come in for their share of attention, and have been treated with distinguished ability. Commentaries, bodies of divinity, and essays on particular points of Christian doctrine, experience, and duty, have been flowing out from the American press, and adding to our stock of theological literature. In all this we rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.

Cherishing these views and feelings, we hailed with great satisfaction the publication of the volume named at the head of this article. And though an earlier notice might have been in many respects desirable, we deem it better to give our readers some account of the book and its author at this late period than not at all. The author of the Lectures was evidently a man of deep piety, sound sense, and considerable learning. In mental philosophy and Christian theology, especially, his friends would, we suppose, claim for him the greatest distinction. Herein, doubtless, he chiefly excelled.

It was a reasonable presumption on the part of Dr. Richards'

friends, that the Christian public would wish to know something of his personal history. Preliminary to these Lectures, therefore, and as an appropriate introduction to them, the Rev. Samuel H. Gridley, of Waterloo, N. Y., has furnished a very simple and concise memoir of their lamented author. He was born in New-Canaan, Conn., Oct. 29, 1767, and was the eldest son of James Richards and Ruth Hanford, who, though in humble life, were blessed with a numerous and somewhat distinguished progeny. Ruth Hanford is represented as a woman of "vigorous intellect, of consistent piety, and of uncompromising faithfulness in all matters of social duty." The subject of this biographical sketch, though a weak and feeble boy, was remarkable for his studious habits. His fondness for study and his activity of mind procured for him the place of common-school teacher, when only about thirteen years of age. Still, however, his friends, probably from inability to support him, seem to have cherished no early design to give him a public education. His father allowed him, when only fifteen years of age, to leave home and seek such employment as might suit his own inclination—an example which we should not think it very safe to follow. In the present instance, however, it seems to have led to no unfavourable result. James apprenticed himself to the cabinet and chair-making business, and was successively employed in Newtown, Danbury, and Stamford, in his native State, and in the city of New-York. While in Stamford, and in the nineteenth year of his age, he was made the subject of a gracious change, and immediately commenced a new life. A paragraph occurs here in the Memoir, over which we cannot pass in silence. Taken altogether, it is one of the most remarkable with which we remember to have met in the whole course of our reading. Referring to this early part of Dr. Richards' Christian experience, his biographer says:—

"In speaking of his feelings previous to his conversion, and in connexion with it, he once said in substance as follows to one of his classes in the lecture-room in the Theological Seminary at Auburn:—'I had long cherished the idea that I could be converted when I pleased, that faith preceded conversion, and that, by exercising it, I could lay God under obligation to give me a new heart. The time for the experiment at last came. My sins found me out, and I attempted to believe according to my cherished notions of faith, and thus induce God to give me the grace of regeneration. For several days I struggled and struggled in vain. I began to see my own impotency, and consequently my dependence on the sovereign interposition of God; and the more I saw, the more I hated. I became alarmed in view of my enmity, and began to feel I had passed beyond my day of grace, and was rapidly sinking to hell. But at length my soul melted, and the method of salvation I had hated became my joy and my song.' In accordance with the foregoing, (continues Mr. Gridley,) he was accustomed more familiarly to say, 'I was *born* an Arminian, and *lived* an Arminian; but, obstinate free-willer as I was, at length by sovereign power

and mercy I was brought to *lick the dust of God's footstool*, and accept of salvation *by grace.*'"—Pp. 12, 13.

Though this extraordinary paragraph relates to the early religious experience of Dr. Richards, it is not the language of an untutored young man, in the nineteenth year of his age. Were it so, we could readily excuse it. But it is the language of a learned professor of Christian theology, and the President of the Auburn Theological Seminary. It is, if the biographer have reported correctly, the deliberate utterance of the class-room, where the lecturer, free from excitement, was imparting instruction to candidates for the Christian ministry. Viewed in this light, we repeat it, the paragraph is most extraordinary. It would seem utterly impossible that a man of Dr. Richards' attainments could entertain such ideas of Arminianism as those which are developed in the preceding quotation. With one single exception, it is, from beginning to end, a tissue of misrepresentation. The candid examinations of the learned theological professor at Andover, the Rev. Moses Stuart, conducted him to the conclusion, that had Arminius himself lived in the present age, he would have been considered "a moderate Calvinist." But the character imputed to Arminianism by Dr. Richards would make it incomparably worse than even the worst possible form of Socinianism. Did Arminius teach, do any of his accredited followers now teach, that a sinner may be converted just when he pleases, and that, by the exercise of faith, he can lay God under obligations to give him a new heart? We ask for specification—for book, chapter, and verse—which, we are quite sure, will never be given us. We know that certain modern divines have taught the doctrine of self-conversion, and have maintained, or rather *attempted* to maintain, that sinners have "natural ability" to change their own hearts. But, surely, these are not Arminians. So far from it, that they would probably consider themselves slandered were their names forced into such a category. Whether Dr. Richards would sympathize with these divines, we know not; and certainly have reason to hope he would not. But as to his being a "free-willer," we know not how he could ever have been a more "obstinate" one than he was at the time of delivering these Lectures. In the three which professedly treat upon the will, he everywhere maintains its perfect freedom; and in the one entitled "Ability and Inability," he asserts the same thing in almost every possible form of expression. Take the following examples:—

"All who sit under the sound of the Gospel may come [to Christ] if they *will:* a thousand and a thousand times have they been invited and commanded to come, and receive the gift of eternal life."

"Nor, in the next place, is it the want of *natural powers:*—by which I mean those powers and faculties that belong to them as men, and which are necessary to constitute them moral agents, or free and accountable beings—such as an *understanding*, to perceive the difference between right and wrong; and a *will*, to determine their own actions in view of motives. Destroy either of these faculties, and they would no longer be accountable, nor their actions subject to any moral regulation. Without *understanding*, they would hold no higher place in the scale of being than the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; and without *will*, or the faculty of determining their own actions, they would be incapable of freedom, and bound by no law. We want no proof of this statement; the bare mention of the case is sufficient."—P. 482.

It seems, then, that the sole reason why the sinner does not come to Christ, is, that he wants the will to come. And yet the will is perfectly free,—that is to say, the sinner can, at pleasure, "determine his own actions." He can, of himself, determine to come to Christ—repent, believe, and obey. Now it would, we apprehend, be impossible for the doctor to find an evangelical Arminian on earth who has such extravagant notions respecting the freedom of the human will. And if the doctor himself were ever a more "obstinate free-willer" than he was at the time he delivered this lecture, it would certainly be difficult to conceive terms adequate to express his obstinacy. But let us see how this same subject is regarded by Arminians—those "obstinate free-willers."

Our eighth article of religion, entitled, "Of Free Will," runs thus:—"The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will." Such were the deliberately expressed views of the early Reformers, and such are the views of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We hold that man, in his fallen condition, is weak and powerless; so as to be utterly incapable of taking even the first step in his return to God. In the language of the late Dr. Fisk, "It is not pretended that any intellectual faculties are lost by sin, or restored by grace; but that the faculties that are essential to mind have become corrupted, darkened, debilitated, so as to render man utterly incapable of a right choice without prevenient and co-operating grace. As muscular or nervous power in a limb, or an external sense, may be weakened or destroyed by physical disease; so the moral power of the mind, or inward sense, may be weakened or destroyed by moral disease. And it is in perfect accordance with analogy, with universal language, and with the representations of Scripture, to consider the mind as susceptible, in its essential nature, of this moral deterioration. The simple state-

ment of the matter is, *the soul has become essentially disordered by sin;* and as no one can prove the assertion to be unphilosophical, or contrary to experience; so I think it may be shown from Scripture that this is the real state of fallen human nature. And it may also be shown that this disorder is such as to mar man's free agency. There is a sense, indeed, in which all voluntary preference may be considered as implying free agency. But voluntary preference does not necessarily imply *such a free agency* as involves moral responsibility. The mind may be free to act *in one direction*, and yet it may have so entirely lost its moral equilibrium as to be utterly incapable, of its own nature, to act in an opposite direction, and therefore not, in the full and responsible sense, a free agent. The understanding may be darkened, the conscience seared or polluted, the will, that is, the power of willing, may, to all good purposes, be enthralled; and this is what we affirm to be the true state and condition of unaided human nature."*

All of this the writer might affirm with the utmost confidence, for it is the exact teaching of the inspired volume. By nature, we are "without strength," being "dead in trespasses and in sins." "Without me," says the great Teacher, "ye can do nothing." And elsewhere, on the same principle, he affirms, "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." "It is God," says St. Paul, "that worketh in us both to will and to do." In the common fall we lost both the ability and the inclination to serve God, and for both we are dependent on him. This is Arminianism; certainly a very different thing from what Dr. Richards—provided he be correctly reported—would represent it to be.

We have intimated, that, in one single point, the doctor does no injustice to Arminians. They do, so far as we are informed, universally hold that "faith precedes conversion;" understanding conversion to be equivalent to, or identical with, regeneration. The word has not, we know, as used by our Calvinistic brethren, a very fixed and definite signification; as they sometimes use it in one sense, and sometimes in another. But as Dr. Richards speaks, in the same connexion, of "inducing God to give him the grace of regeneration," and to "give him a new heart," it is probable that he uses the two words as signifying the same thing. If so, we suppose we must infer that the doctor did really hold that a sinner is regenerated before he believes! We know that he holds to justification by faith, —that is, to justification consequent upon faith; for he maintains the doctrine, strongly and clearly, in his two admirable lectures on the subject. We should be glad to know, then, what relation the

* Calvinistic Controversy, p. 160.

doctor supposed regeneration to sustain to justification. He could not, of course, hold with most approved divines that it is a concomitant of it; for, in that case, it must *succeed*, rather than *precede*, justifying faith. According to this teaching, then, the three things, so far as order of time is concerned, stand in the following relation to each other,—regeneration, faith, justification; faith a fruit of regeneration, and justification a fruit or consequence of faith! Now all of this may be sound theology, for aught we know, in the school to which the biographer belongs, and to which, possibly, his subject belonged; but, really, we have not so understood the oracles of God, and especially as interpreted by the steady voice of Christian experience.

There are several other things in the ill-timed and singularly offensive paragraph which we have quoted from the Memoir, that might justify still further animadversion; but, having noticed the more exceptionable points, we gladly drop the subject. In truth, to be obliged to say a single word in the least disparaging to the memory of the venerable Richards, has been exceedingly painful to our feelings. But perhaps, after all, the biographer, rather than his subject, is to blame in this matter; for it may well be doubted whether the doctor himself would have ever sanctioned the publication of anything so inexcusably offensive to his Christian brethren. We are glad, then, to return again to the Memoir.

Having found peace with God, young Richards regarded himself as divinely called to the Christian ministry, and immediately entered upon a course of preparation therefor. Under the instruction of Dr. Burnett, of Norwalk, he completed his preparation for college, and then went through the freshman year at Yale; when, his money failing, he returned and put himself again under the tuition of Dr. Burnett,—his diminished expenses being now generously defrayed by certain pious female relatives. Having abandoned all hope of a full college course, he next put himself under the instruction of the late celebrated Dr. Dwight, then teaching an academy at Greenfield, Conn., and there remained till he obtained license to preach the Gospel. After filling several short engagements, he accepted a call, in 1794, to become the pastor of a congregation in Morristown, N. J. Here he exercised his ministry with great fidelity and success till 1809, when he was called to the pastorate of the Newark Presbyterian Church, as successor of the late celebrated Dr. Griffin, then recently elected to a theological professorship at Andover. In this new and somewhat difficult position, his reputation as a divine continued steadily to advance; so that, in 1815, he received the degree of doctor in divinity from two colleges,—Union and Yale. Being regarded as a man of uncommon theological attainments, young men

looking to the Christian ministry frequently availed themselves of his instructions, and studied under his direction. This circumstance brought him still further into public notice; so that in 1823 he was unanimously elected to the Theological Professorship in the Auburn Seminary, where, for upwards of twenty years, he was not only regarded as the head of the institution, but took an active and prominent part in training young men for the work of the ministry. The Lectures now before us, we suppose, with many others, were delivered during his connexion with this "school of the prophets;" and have, since his death, been selected and arranged for publication.

The preceding history suggests one obvious reflection. It has been seen that Dr. Richards did not obtain, in early life, what is commonly called a finished education. His actual connexion with a college extended through one year only. To some men such a failure might have been a serious misfortune;—whether it were so to him is really problematical. He was bent on being a scholar—on acquiring that kind and degree of knowledge that would make him useful to his fellow-men; and it is by no means improbable that the deprivation to which we have just referred, while it increased his solicitude, greatly stimulated his exertions. What he might have been had he secured a more regular training, it is, of course, impossible to say; though we cannot help presuming that, in that case, he might have acquired much less distinction than he actually did. Certain it is, that many men who have been eminently successful in literary and philosophical pursuits, and who have exerted the widest and most salutary influence in the world of mind and morals, have been utter strangers to what is popularly denominated "a liberal education." They were, as the phrase is, self-made men. Energy of character supplied the place of outward facilities. Were it necessary, we might multiply examples. They might be found in ancient as well as in modern times,—in our country, and in almost all others.

But the fact must not be abused or misapplied. No fair inference can be deduced from it unfriendly to literary institutions. If, without these, some men have risen to great eminence, such has not been the case with the majority. Those elements of character which take men upward, independently of such helps as are found in institutions of learning, are rarely met with, and should, perhaps, be regarded as exceptions to a general rule. Some men have travelled safely and expeditiously by night; but who would think of concluding from hence that the sun is no blessing to the world of travellers? Because individual minds are so constituted that obstacles operate upon them as stimulants, or because men have sometimes risen to eminence, in

spite of apparently insuperable impediments, no one is authorized to argue against the value of those aids and facilities which are always found, in a greater or less degree, in well-conducted public schools.

Before we discuss the Memoir, it may, perhaps, be proper to say, that the last days of Dr. Richards corresponded well to the general tenor of his active and useful life. He was employed in the appropriate duties of his professorship, nearly up to the closing scene; so that it was almost literally true of him, that

"He ceased at once to work and live."

It was very apparent to his friends, for a long time, that he was ripening for heaven; that his habits of thought and feeling were becoming more and more devotional; and that his sympathies with the celestial world were more and more active and influential. Thus he went on, till he quietly reached the end; and, on the 2d of August, 1843, entered into his rest.

We have already intimated that Dr. Richards excelled chiefly in Mental Philosophy and Christian Theology. The duties of his professorship naturally led him to these pursuits, and the industry with which he prosecuted them is evident from the volume before us. The Lectures are twenty-four in number;—eight are devoted to the discussion of important questions in Philosophy, and the rest to Divinity. The first three in the series relate to the Human Will,—that real *crux philosophorum*. The lectures by no means attempt anything like a systematic essay on the subject. The aim of the lecturer, as an undeviating follower of Jonathan Edwards, seems to have been merely to place in a little stronger and clearer light certain fundamental points of Edwards' metaphysics. That distinguished writer, it is well known, identifies *desire* and *will;* the latter being, according to his theory, concerned in all our preferences, choices, likes, and dislikes,—to whatever objects they may be directed. Conformably with this view of the subject, Dr. Richards classifies the acts of the will into "immanent" and "deliberate;" by the former of which he means those mental states or moral affections which contemplate no action as their immediate result; and, by the latter, those "imperiate" and "determinate" acts of the will which have immediate reference to our own conduct. Volitions of the one class remain in the mind, and do not flow out into action; those of the other are closely connected with all our formal and deliberate movements. Of these two classes the lecturer says:—

"Though admitted to be *exercises* of the same faculty, and to be phenomena of the same generic character, yet they are clothed with very different circum-

stances; and we shall find, upon examination, that what is true of the one is not always true of the other, and that in several important particulars."—Pp. 107, 108.

Accordingly, he proceeds to state the several particulars in which he supposes the two classes of volition to differ from each other. But the principal point which he labours to establish is, that virtue and vice are properly predicable only of these "immanent volitions" or acts of the will. He maintains that they are the seat of all culpability and praiseworthiness; while the deliberate acts of the will do not constitute, but merely indicate, the moral character of the agent. Nor will he admit that man has any such power of introverted action as will enable him to change these inward habits of feeling, or "immanent volitions." They arise spontaneously in view of their object, and are just what they are, independently of all deliberation and choice. But still Dr. Richards thinks that his view of the subject need create no difficulty on the score of moral agency and accountability. He says:—

"Our affections are as much our exercises, and the exercises of our will, as our deliberate choices or volitions; and altogether as much the immediate and proper object of command. Nay, a regard is had to them in every command which God gives, while his law is summed up in two great precepts, immediately addressed to our hearts:—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind, and strength, and thy neighbour as thyself.' ..... The truth is, that in every exercise of the will, the agent acts freely; and *his* act is to be judged of by its own nature. If it be a deliberate act, we decide upon its character, so far as it has any, by the principle or motive which governed it. If it be a deliberate act, it is, nevertheless, a free act, arising spontaneously in view of its object; and if it be of a moral character, this character is to be determined by comparing it with the law of duty."—Pp. 149, 150.

So as we can perceive, then, the question which the doctor so earnestly discusses has no immediate or necessary connexion with moral character. It seems to be almost purely psychological. For, if our affections are wholly voluntary and unconstrained, we are unable to perceive that it makes any appreciable difference whether they are exercised in immediate view of a given object, or are put forth by a deliberate and reflective act of the will. As a question in mental philosophy, the point may be deserving of consideration; but in no other view does it strike us as being particularly important. It should not be forgotten, however, that Dr. Richards was strictly Edwardean in his views of the human will;—maintaining that motives have an absolute control over all its volitions. These motives are extraneous to the mind, and are all arranged "in number, measure, weight," by a foreign hand. The will has no self-determining power. It is free; but its freedom is that of the pendulum of the clock, which vibrates freely because the extrinsic force is sufficient

to *make* it do so. The only difference is, one acts under a law of mechanics; the other under a supposed law of mind. It is really cheering to know that views so utterly inconsistent with human accountability, and so subversive of the whole moral government of Him that sitteth on the throne, are now abandoned even by many Calvinists.

The two lectures "ON CREATION" exhibit the author's metaphysical powers to great advantage. If not the strongest, they are among the strongest, in the whole series. Dr. Richards shows, by arguments which to us seem absolutely conclusive, "that created substances are possessed of properties and powers which are inseparable from their very being; or that, in truth, there are no created substances; and, if no created substances, no creation,—and that consequently the whole system of things, if things they can be called, is only God in operation, or God in exercise."—P. 180. But the doctor, in replying to an objection which he foresaw would be made by necessitarian Calvinists to his theory, fully commits himself to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Calvinistically understood; and thus, in effect, completely neutralizes his whole argument. The following is the passage to which we refer:—

"It is asked, if creatures act from the intrinsic powers of their own being, or from the constitution of their being, if this does not render them virtually independent of God? The argument is, if creatures may act without the immediate agency of God in them, and upon them, causing them to act, what control has God over them? How do we know but that they will get away from God, or, at least, counteract his will? Our answer is, That, in giving creatures their existence, God gave them such a constitution, and surrounded them with such influences, as necessarily to secure that course of action, or that precise development of their powers in every instance, as his infinite wisdom and goodness had predetermined. His *decretive will*, therefore, in regard to them, will most certainly be executed, and with no more difficulty on this supposition than any other."—P. 182.

Here we confess ourselves utterly mystified. We are wholly unable to account for the lecturer's anxiety to exculpate the Moral Ruler of the universe from all *immediate* agency in the conduct of men. The idea that God should be *directly* concerned in those wicked actions which are constantly taking place in our fallen world, seems to be absolutely shocking to the good feeling of the author. But why so? What matters it whether God do a thing immediately, or only mediately? Is he not in either case equally the author? How does the number of intermediate agencies or instrumentalities in the least change his relation to that thing? If they are all selected and arranged by his own hand, and so selected and arranged, whether few or many, with a view to a specific end, God's moral connexion with that end is, so far as we are able to see, precisely the same as though it were brought about by the direct exertion of his Almighty power.

Thus, certainly, we always judge of human responsibility; and God himself has set us the example of so judging.

Take a single instance. To secure a particular end, King David found it needful by some means to get Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba, out of his way. But how should he do it? To lay violent hands on him himself, seemed hardly consistent with the honour and purity of his throne. Besides, he must not appear a monster of cruelty in the eyes of his subjects. Hence, the end must be secured by a series of intermediate agents; and it is not impossible but that the royal murderer, blinded by passion, really supposed his wily scheme would, somehow, make others responsible for the bloody deed. Accordingly, matters were so arranged that Uriah must certainly fall by the hand of the Ammonites; and yet fall in such a way that no responsibility might *seem* to attach to the throne of Israel. David did not himself do the deed; he only "surrounded" the case—to adopt the language of the lecturer—with "such influences as necessarily to secure" the end. But God charges the crime directly upon him, as much so as if he had perpetrated it with his own hand. The prophet Nathan said to him, under divine instruction, "*Thou* hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword, . . . . and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon." 2 Sam. xii, 9. Tested by the principle here laid down, the theory of Dr. Richards appears bad enough.

Lectures sixth, seventh, and eighth, "On Second Causes," advocate doctrine substantially the same with that of the two on Creation. While, in those last named, the author endeavours to make it appear that in the visible creation there is something distinct from God, something *ab extra* in relation to him, possessing neither his substance nor his attributes, but endowed with properties and attributes essentially its own,—in the others he maintains the efficiency of second causes, showing that these causes are causes *per se*, operating by their own inherent energy, and operating as truly in their humble spheres as does even the Great First Cause in the mighty works which he performs. It seems, however, by no means to have been the design of Dr. Richards merely to maintain a simple fact in speculative philosophy. He had altogether higher and nobler ends in view. He evidently had a painful impression that much of the current philosophy tended directly to compromit the character of the divine Being, by making him a party to the conduct of wicked men. Revering that character, he would do all he could to clear it from so false an aspersion. Utterly rejecting the Pantheistic idea, that

> "All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul,"

he contends that subordinate agents are invested with a power of their own, and are accordingly to be held accountable for their conduct. That any one should even attempt to maintain that the divine efficiency is *immediately* concerned in the production of moral evil, seems to give our lecturer, we repeat it, the most exquisite pain. With Elihu, in the drama of Job, he is ready to exclaim, "Far be it from God that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should commit iniquity." And he sustains his positions with rare power of argument and felicity of illustration. Before his acute and vigorous logic, all the fundamental doctrines of the necessitarian school became "as the chaff of the summer threshing-floor." Want of space alone prevents us from copying several examples, particularly from the third and last lecture on the subject.

But after all,—can the reader believe it?—the doctor abandons the argument! Not, indeed, formally and professedly, but by plain implication. So, at least, it seems to us. He makes concessions which are fatal to his whole case. Though he would maintain the efficiency of second causes, and the consequent strict and proper accountability of man, he must not abjure his Calvinistic creed. God *has* foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and the lecturer must take heed to express his full and thorough conviction of the fact. The "decrees" encompass all, direct all, govern all,—first, last, intermediate—world without end! Hear what he says on page 231:—

"Man always acts under the influence of motive, when he acts voluntarily; and when he does not act voluntarily, he acts under the influence of causes, either within or without, which are adapted to his various powers and susceptibilities. These causes are all known, measured, and appointed by the divine Wisdom, and their influence is just what God expected and intended. Everything, therefore, goes on according to the divine Counsel; and, so far as this statement is concerned according to a previous arrangement in the unsearchable wisdom and boundless power of the Great First Cause. Man, in these circumstances, will neither do anything, nor forbear to do anything, which had not been previously provided for in the nature of his being and in the objects which surround him."

Though parts of the phraseology in the above quotation are somewhat equivocal, there is perhaps no reason to doubt that the author intended to express in a guarded way his entire approval of the Calvinistic view of predestination. That is to say, he meant to concede the truth of what Calvin so explicitly and emphatically asserts, namely, "that nothing can come to pass but was ordained of God." What is gained, then, though the efficiency of second causes—as Dr. Richards uses the phrase—be fully established? Are not these second causes just what God designed they should be? Can any

one of them perform a function, varying in the slightest degree from its specific and unalterable allotment? Did not God select and arrange them, "from all eternity," with a view to the accomplishment of this particular end? What a pity that our excellent and venerable author should involve himself in such palpable contradictions and absurdities! The whole argument looks much as would an effort to reconcile the ancient with the modern system of astronomy. There are some reasons for supposing that the *earth* is the centre of our system, and that the sun, moon, and stars perform a daily revolution around her;—therefore, I profess to be a firm believer in the ancient astronomy. But, then, the reasons for embracing the modern system are too strong to be resisted; and, hence, I cordially receive the doctrine of Copernicus and Newton,—not doubting that the *sun* is the centre of our system, and that the earth, moon, and stars, turning upon their own axis, perform an annual revolution around him. Now, what would be thought of a man who should deliberately put forth and solemnly profess to believe propositions so utterly inconsistent with each other? Would his absurdity be greater than that of the man who professes to believe in the real efficiency of second causes and the true accountability of man, on the one hand, and in the divine decrees, Calvinistically understood, on the other. They are clashing theories, incapable of reconciliation. If the one be true, the other cannot be.

The lecturer now enters another and somewhat different field. Hitherto he had consulted only what he supposed to be the decisions of philosophy touching certain matters which he regarded as having more or less connexion with the teachings of the Christian pulpit. Proceeding now to the consideration of topics of a more purely theological character, he makes his appeal to the Book of God. Lectures ninth and twelfth, inclusive, turn upon "The fall of man," and his consequent "natural depravity." It is, however, deeply to be regretted—and the doctor himself in some sense participates in the regret—that he has allowed his philosophy considerable scope in his disquisitions upon even these topics,—a result which he thinks to be almost, or quite, unavoidable. He opens the discussion in the following words:—

"Were it possible to consider the Scriptural account of the fall apart from all human philosophy, I should think it extremely desirable. First, it would evince a proper disposition on our part to submit to the testimony of God; and, secondly, it would be likely to conduct us to a true and safe result. But, in present circumstances, I know not that this can well be expected. Every man has his own philosophy, and he can hardly escape its influence if he would. Insensibly to himself, and almost *necessarily*, he brings it to bear on the interpretation of the Sacred Text; and hence such a variety of interpretations of passages relating to the subject before us."—P. 236.

We cannot go the whole length of the sentiment here advanced. That every one is under a strong *tendency* to listen to the whispers of his philosophy, when he attempts to understand and explain the Word of God, is readily granted. Nothing is more natural than that it should be so. But we cannot admit that there is any sort of "*necessity*" in the case. Were this the fact, it would have been well if philosophy had never had being; and it would be the duty of the Christian world to enter upon a war of extermination against it. For, if philosophy *must* meddle with such matters, the sooner she is out of existence the better. The simple disciple of the Saviour, unread in mental and moral science, would be much the more safe interpreter of the Word of God. Not only would "a little learning be a dangerous thing," but "much learning" would make a man so "mad," that he could not divest himself of his philosophical biases in interpreting the Sacred Writings! Now, we do not believe this. We cannot see why a man may not lay all of his philosophy at the foot of the cross, as well as his riches, and take the Bible just as it reads. Newton did thus, Locke did this, Hale did this;—and we know no reason why others may not do it. If, as a late able writer* in this Journal supposes, the distinguishing characteristic of Methodism be "*religion without philosophy*," we pray that the characteristic may never be forfeited. "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord."

We are happy, however, to say that Dr. Richards supposes and maintains that the fall of man was wholly the result of second causes. To make God "immediate" author, would involve the most shocking absurdities. But then this position would have stood just as well without the aid of the lecturer's philosophy. The declaration of the great Teacher, "An *enemy* hath done this," should place the point beyond all question among true disciples. Upon whomsoever rests the blame, no portion of it attaches to the Throne eternal. God cannot be the author of sin. All his attributes are outraged by the supposition. But here again our author falters. He builds the castle of truth with one hand, and then demolishes it with

* We would not, by any means, be understood as approving all the views of the writer in question. His article, (the first in the October number, 1848,) "*What is Methodism?*" is, on the whole, a most valuable production. Indeed, few more ably written or profoundly interesting have ever appeared in this journal. We trust that Methodist preachers, especially, have read it carefully. If, however, the writer mean to condemn all philosophy, even when put in its proper place—as some seem to suppose—then, certainly, we must dissent from him. Nor can we sanction his sweeping condemnation of theological schools. To argue against the use of a thing from the abuse of it, has never been considered as having the sanction, not to say of sound philosophy but, of common justice.

the other. Just as his "philosophy" is about to achieve an important victory, she deserts her colours and flies off into the ranks of the enemy. Following her cowardly example, the doctor says,—

"But if this reasoning be just, then second causes only were immediately concerned in producing the fall, for no others are mentioned as acting in the case. I say *immediately* concerned; for it is not denied that God himself, the Great First Cause, was remotely concerned. It was a part of his counsel; and the second causes in the case owed their existence to him, with all their powers, and to him it belonged to bound or restrain their influence at pleasure."—P. 243.

But notwithstanding these occasional speculative aberrations, the lectures on the fall of man and his consequent depravity are, in the main, very excellent. It must, however, always be understood, that when we commend we do not mean to sanction the use of certain forms of expression which very frequently occur in all of these lectures, and for which we should certainly be glad to substitute a more simple and Scriptural phraseology.

In regard to the *extent* of the atonement, which is the subject of the thirteenth lecture, Dr. Richards is full and satisfactory. To show that Christ did really die for the whole human family, and with a view to render salvation possible to all men, he quotes the same Scriptures, and uses many of the same arguments, which are commonly met with in the essays of Arminians on the same subject. Indeed, though he makes no specific allusion to them, it is very apparent that he has closely read Watson's Theological Institutes. While the lecturer doubts whether the doctrine of a limited atonement was held at all in the primitive Church, he demonstrates by documentary evidence the most clear and conclusive, that the early Reformers taught the direct opposite of it. Thus also with their immediate successors.

But Dr. Richards' inconsistency still cleaves to him. Though he believes that Christ died for all men, he nevertheless restricts "the *ultimate* object of his death" to his "sheep," his "Church," his "friends;" leaving the rest—it would be difficult to tell where. At least, it was never his "ultimate object" to benefit them in the least by his death. How strangely the following reads, after an elaborate argument in favour of a universal atonement:—

"Doubtless, Christ died with an intention of saving those who were given him in the covenant of redemption; they were the seed to serve him, promised as a reward for his agony and bloody sweat; and he looked to their salvation as the fruit of his sufferings, and as the joy set before him. But such an ultimate design of his death, which included the application which should be made of it by the sovereign and discriminating grace of God, hinders not the availableness of his sacrifice in relation to all, nor throws the least suspicion upon the doctrine which we have advocated in this lecture.

Because he died with the declared design of saving his people, does it follow that he had no other design? Because this was an ultimate end sought in his death, is it a just consequence that he could have had no other end, either immediate or ultimate? Doubtless, whatever follows as the proper result of his atoning sacrifice, he sought more immediately or remotely as an end of his undertaking in this infinitely solemn and amazing tragedy."—P. 321.

Now, in view of the foregoing, whether the fault be justly chargeable upon the lecturer or upon the reader, one can hardly avoid exclaiming, Alas for the weakness of the human understanding!

The next three lectures may be properly classed together. They turn upon those kindred and closely connected topics, "Election" and "Effectual Calling." It cannot be said, however, that the author produces anything new or striking upon either the one or the other. He pursues a beaten path; employing arguments and illustrations which have, in substance, been employed a thousand times before; and, we may add, which have as often been answered. His starting point is Acts xiii, 48: "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." An effort is made—we cannot say a strong one—to show that τεταγμένοι and its cognates mean preordination. Indeed, we are strongly inclined to think that the doctor could not have been fully satisfied with his own conclusions; for in neither of the passages which he quotes has the word the sense of predestination. And we think we hazard nothing in saying that the word, when used by itself, never has that signification in the New Testament. Accordingly, when St. Luke wishes to convey the idea of preordination, he combines it with a preposition, and uses a compound verb: "And hath determined the times *before appointed*," προτεταγμένους. Acts xvii, 26. This was really *preordination*, and the apostle so denominates it. But in the text now under consideration, he speaks not of *pre*-ordination, but of *ordination* only.

The two lectures "On Justification"—the seventeenth and eighteenth in the series—are, in the main, not only unexceptionable, but truly able. Both the ground and the instrument of the sinner's pardon and acceptance with God are stated with much force and perspicuity. In his description of justifying faith, especially, the lecturer is most happy. The thing is made so plain, that no candid and discriminating mind can fail to comprehend it: but then, even in these lectures, the author has committed some unaccountable, perhaps we might say, inexcusable, errors. How he could have imagined that Arminians are disposed to "bring in the system of human contrition and human endeavour as making a part, and a prominent part, of that righteousness, on account of which a sinner is to hope for the absolving sentence and final approbation of his

Judge," (p. 382,) is to us utterly astonishing. He says, in so many words, "that this spurious notion of justification is to be found not only in churches which are professedly Arminian, and where the sentiment is openly avowed and defended, but in other churches also." To what "other churches" he refers, we know not; certainly we are under no obligations to defend them. But so far as the Methodist Episcopal Church—which is usually understood to be Arminian in her doctrinal views—is concerned, we deny the position in toto. The imputation is both cruel and unfounded. It is at war with our articles of faith, with our acknowledged standards of doctrine, and, we may add, with all our feelings as professing Christians. Nor can we excuse the lecturer on the supposition that he refers to some anti-evangelical sect of Arminians, which may have existed in some distant age and portion of the world. The charge is a general one. Dr. Richards makes no discriminations. All Arminians, of whatever time or place, fall equally under the censure. We doubt, indeed, whether *any* class of them ever avowed sentiments so grossly anti-Scriptural. Be this, however, as it may, to charge the M. E. Church with attempting to maintain such views of justification as those stated above, is as unjust as it would be to charge her with being Pelagian or Socinian in her fundamental creed. And, if such be her faith, she is utterly unworthy of any place whatever in the "Evangelical Alliance." Let her affiliate at once with the "Mother of harlots!"

We must also strongly protest against the lecturer's Antinomian notion of an eternal justification. In his estimation, the sinner's pardon is "absolute" and "unconditional." He expressly says, p. 387, "That justification, once passed upon the sinner, is passed forever. The eternal Judge, when he absolves him, and grants him a title to life, does not do it hypothetically—suspending the favour, or the continuance of it, upon conditions yet to be performed." It would be difficult, we apprehend, to imagine anything in respect to justification more dangerous or unscriptural than the position here advanced. Dangerous it must be; for he who adopts it can hardly fail to act under the impression that nothing he can do, or omit to do, will in the least endanger his justification. Peter forfeited not his, by denying his Master with oaths and imprecations; nor David, by indulging his wicked passions in the matter of Uriah and Bath-sheba! And the very fact that it is dangerous, most clearly shows it to be unscriptural. Nor is this a mere matter of inference. The Bible is everywhere most palpably in conflict with the notion of an absolute, unconditional, eternal justification. All the passages which the lecturer quotes in maintenance of his theory, are susceptible

of a very different interpretation; while a multitude of others can never be made, by any fair process of exegesis, to harmonize with it. Instance the following texts: "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever." "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, . . . . . in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in the sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die." And especially would we direct attention to the closing part of the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Here the great Teacher tells us—after stating that the lord of the servant in the parable resumed his demand against him, the same demand that had been formally relinquished, because he refused to forgive his fellow-servant—"So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses."

The two lectures on prayer—nineteenth and twentieth—the one on prayer in general, and the other "On the Prayer of Faith" in particular, can hardly be over-estimated. Simple, plain, practical, and yet closely critical, they are among the very best things we ever read on the same subjects. Alone, they are worth more than the price of the whole volume. Would that every Christian in our land might read them.

Of the lecture "On Apostacy"—the next in order—which is chiefly an exegesis of Heb. vi, 4–6, we have neither space nor inclination for an extended notice. Dr. Richards takes the old Calvinistic position, that the defining terms used in this much-controverted text do not amount to a delineation of Christian character; and that, consequently, "the falling away" spoken of, means nothing more than such an abjuration of the Christian faith as might be made by any unconverted man, who had enjoyed great religious advantages. He gives no countenance to the exposition, which teaches, that, though the apostle does describe Christian character, he by no means intimates that Christians ever do, in fact, fall away; but only, *if they should*, they could not again be recovered. The idea that the apostle speaks hypothetically—putting a case which is physically possible, but morally impossible; and putting it with a view to awaken fear, and thus prevent the evil against which he would caution the Hebrews—the doctor shows to be utterly inconsistent with the scope and design of the apostle, as well as the very nature of the case. Touching the injustice of this modern exegesis of the passage, the lecture will be found to contain some valuable criticism, as well as argument. The very moment, then, that this being "enlightened," "tasting of the heavenly gift, the good word

of God, and the powers of the world to come," &c., are shown to be descriptive of saving religious attainments, the text goes with all its force against the doctrine of unconditional perseverance. But, if the terms here employed do not describe Christian character, then, certainly, Christian character is nowhere described in the New Testament; for terms of higher or stronger import are nowhere to be found. To have the "eyes of the understanding enlightened," to be "turned from darkness to light," to "have the Spirit of Christ," to "taste that the Lord is gracious," and the like, are, in all other connexions, understood to describe Christian character; and if the same terms, or still stronger ones, used in the text under consideration, are to be understood differently—then farewell to the best established principles of Biblical interpretation!

The only remaining lecture is entitled, "Ability and Inability." If we remember rightly, this discourse was first published in pamphlet form, some twenty-five or thirty years since. It was then read extensively, and evidently had some effect in modifying the doctrinal views of the Calvinistic Churches in this country. At any rate, our impression is, that, from the time of its publication, special prominence was given to the then comparatively novel doctrine of the sinner's "natural ability and moral inability," as well in the ministrations as publications of our Calvinistic brethren. Sinners were exhorted with unprecedented urgency to repent and turn to God; and were told that they *could*, if they *would*, do so. They were told that all the inability that existed in the case was a want of disposition; and the greater this species of inability, the greater the sin. This we suppose to be the teaching, in substance, of the lecture under review. The *whole* theory considered, however, we cannot perceive that it in the least helps the poor sinner, or at all increases the conviction of his moral responsibility. For is not this "inability," *alias* "want of disposition," wholly invincible? Has God furnished the unregenerate, the non-elect, the reprobate, or whatever else one might please to call them, with any aid by which this inability may be overcome? Can sinners *will* to come to Christ, in any good sense of that phrase, till God, by a "sovereign and discriminating act of grace," *makes* them do so? And will he do this for any but those "who were chosen in Christ from before the foundation of the world?" The only candid answer that can be given to these questions, by the advocates of the new theory, must place the sinner's inability just where it was placed by old-fashioned Calvinism. To tell him, then, that he can repent, if he will, is to mock him—is, in fact, a mere play upon words. The position, when detached from this specific and favourite con-

nexion, and placed in another, is not only admitted, but boldly advanced, by Dr. Richards himself. In his lecture "On Apostacy," he condemns, in the most pointed terms, the notion of some of his brethren that Heb. vi, 4–6, is to be understood as implying a natural ability finally and totally to backslide; or, in other words, a physical possibility of "falling away" from a state of grace. After pointing out, in strong language, the absurdity of supposing that the apostle would warn Christians against an apostacy which they knew never would—not to say *could*—happen, he proceeds to say:—

"Nor will it relieve the difficulty, in our apprehension, by resorting to a distinction sometimes made, that a thing may be physically possible, while it is morally impossible. For supposing an event to be physically possible while it is known to be morally impossible, or morally certain that it will never occur, can it, in these circumstances, be an object either of hope or of fear? Surely it will not be pretended that I can hope for an object which I know to be unattainable, let the cause of its unattainableness be what it may. And with as little justness can it be said that I can fear an object which I have the highest assurance will never exist. Did ever a man hope for the recovery of the finally lost, who firmly believes in the doctrine of eternal punishment? Or did ever a man fear that saints will fall from the fruition of heaven, who has not one doubt of the permanence of their bliss? The thing is in a high degree irrational, and can never take place while the laws of the human mind remain what they are."—Pp. 458, 459.

We have no further reply to make to the lecturer's views of Ability and Inability. Dr. Richards has answered himself!

We hope our brief review does not appear captious, or in the spirit of fault-finding. With all frankness and candour, we have felt nothing like this spirit. We venerate the memory of the late pious and learned president of the Auburn Theological Seminary, and we have a high opinion of these lectures. They contain a great amount of exceedingly valuable and interesting matter, and we trust they will be extensively read. But, at the same time, we believe that they contain some errors; and, so believing, we have taken the liberty to point them out. In all of this we have aimed to be guided by the golden rule—to do to others as we would be done unto.

## Art. VI—LOWELL'S VISION OF SIR LAUNFAL.

*The Vision of Sir Launfal.* By James Russell Lowell. Cambridge: published by George Nichols. 1848.

We live, it is often said, in an age of *steam;* but this same steam, which excites the spleen of the croaker, prints our Bibles. While the energies of men are exerted with increasing intensity in the accumulation of material good, while in one aspect of life men seem in danger of becoming themselves mere thinking machines for the acquisition of money, there is another and a blessed influence at work; —a tendency that awakens bright hopes of the future. We live as truly in an age of *spiritual*, as of *outward* activity. If, as yet, we have produced no rivals of the giants of English literature who made the seventeenth century illustrious; if there are none who can follow the flight of Milton, as he "rises with his singing robes about him," none who can soar with Shakspeare "into the highest heaven of invention;" yet there are now thousands who listen with rapt attention to their harmonies, where once only could be found rare admirers. Never before have the lofty minds and large hearts of the world been brought into so near contact with the people: never before have the new creations of genius been scattered abroad so freely in the humblest walks of life. And never before has there been so high an average culture of mind and heart, or so much general moral and mental activity, as at the present day.

Even the popular taste for Poetry is so largely on the increase, that we may soon have reason to call this a poetical as well as a mechanical age. Nor is there necessarily any antagonism in these tendencies. It is to this blending of the actual and the ideal, that we look forward with hope. When this union has been harmoniously accomplished, material wealth shall be sought for spiritual uses; outward prosperity shall be made to minister to inward culture; "divine discourse" shall incite "brave resolution;" high purposes exact earthly drudgery:—

> ——"We may do
> Our Father's business in these temples mirk,
> Thus swift and steadfast; thus intent and strong;
> While thus, apart from toil, our souls pursue
> Some high, calm, spheric tune, and prove our work
> The better for the sweetness of our song."

Yes; amid the noise and discordant jars of life, how much we need the sweet harmonies of song! Would that we could give the love of

poetry to all who are flushed with the fever of life, or harassed by its anxious cares! As we look on the editions which flood our land, it is a cheering thought to us that many a son of toil will have his heart lightened by the poet's buoyant inspiration, and his soul elevated by the celestial visions which first came to the poet's mind in hours of midnight thought.

Far enough shall we be from ranking poems indiscriminately under the head of "*light literature;*" unless the grocer's scales are to be the test. To us they are a very serious kind of literature. A bad poem may do far more harm than a bad sermon; for it may have a thousand times as many readers: while, on the other hand, a poem of high purpose may be the source of incalculable blessing. We cannot, therefore, but rejoice at the elevated moral tone to which the poetry of the day has risen. We need not now look on the beautiful creations of our poets with the feeling with which we gaze on the Laocoon, admiring the art, but shuddering at the serpent. Since the era of Wordsworth, we have had many a fair example to show us how near to each other "the kindred fountains of sanctity and beauty" may be, and how sweetly their waters may mingle.

Lowell has written very few lines which we would wish to blot. Unfortunately, he has partially fallen into the hands of a *clique* who arrogate to themselves all the Christianity, as well as the anti-slavery sentiment, of the land; and they have infected him with some of their own prejudices and ultraisms. With this exception, however, his poems breathe a true Christian spirit. The sentiment of human brotherhood, arising from our common relation to the universal Father, finds in his verse a fuller and more constant expression than in that of any of his contemporaries. Between him and his brother poet, Whittier, there is a striking difference. The latter oftener makes every line of his song flash with indignation, and stirs all the heroic within us against wrong: Lowell loves rather to turn away from the sight of evil, and indulge his bright visions of the perfect good. He chooses oftener to sing of "the better day coming," than to denounce with Whittier's fiery lyrics the wrongs of the present. This we think the instinct of his poet nature. Still he has much, also, of the instinct of battle in him, as that curious medley of broad humour, keen wit, over-abundant satire, and honest invective, the "Biglow Papers," clearly shows.

There is in Lowell a happy union of qualities not often found together. He unites enthusiasm and calmness, vigour of thought and grace of diction, strength and harmony, a reverent love of duty, in its sternest aspect, a delicate sensibility to beauty in its every form. When we add to these high qualities the advantage of youth,

we know not, if he will only be patient, and resist the temptation of writing too fast and too much, any place among our poets to which he may not aspire. His last poem is certainly his most perfect production, and has won from no partial critic the high praise of comparison with Coleridge's "Christabel."

"THE VISION OF SIR LAUNFAL" is founded on what Lowell calls the "Mythology of the Romancers." It was a tradition that the San Grail, or Holy Cup, which was used by our Saviour at the last supper, was brought by Joseph of Arimathea into England; where it remained in the keeping of his descendants, until one of them forfeited the condition attached to its possession—purity of heart. From that time it disappeared, and thence became an object of search for the chivalrous knights. The plot of the "Vision" is very simple. Sir Launfal, on one of those bright days of June, when it is

> ——"The high tide of the year,
> And whatever of life hath ebb'd away,
> Comes flooding back, with a ripply cheer,"—

and when

> "The soul partakes the season's youth,"—

remembers the keeping of his vow; and, calling for his golden spurs and richest mail, declares that there "shall never a bed be spread" for him until he has commenced his journey. As he lies on the rushes outside the castle gate, slumber descends upon him, and this vision comes. Forth from the castle he seems to spring on his charger, with his flashing armour illumining the dark gateway. As he passes, he beholds a leper crouching by its side, and tosses him "a piece of gold in scorn," which the leper raises not from the ground;—saying,

> "That is no true alms which the hand can hold."

Years roll on in the moments of his dream, and, after many a weary pilgrimage, he has come back from his search, "an old bent man." It is mid-winter as he reaches his castle; and he sees

> "The great hall-fire, so cheery and bold,
> Through the window-slits of the castle old,
> Build out its piers of ruddy light
> Against the drift of the cold."

But he is driven away by the servant from its gate,

> "For another heir in his earldom sate."

Little however did the loss of his earldom now affect him; for his heart was changed since he had set out on his journey; its deepest affections were on other objects.

"No more on his surcoat was blazon'd the cross,
But deep in his soul the sign he wore,
The badge of the suffering and the poor."

As he sits musing by the castle gate, seeking

——"Shelter from cold and snow,
In the light and warmth of long ago,"

he is startled by a voice asking, "For Christ's sweet sake" an alms. Behold, there again is the leper, "lank as the rain-blanched bone." His heart is touched; he "parts in twain his single crust, and breaks the ice on the streamlet's brink;" thus sharing his humble fare with the outcast. As with words of love he gives him to eat and drink, suddenly the leper is transformed, and stands up before him glorified; and

"A voice that was calmer than silence said,
'Lo, it is I, be not afraid!'
In many climes, without avail,
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;
Behold, it is here,—this cup which thou
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now."

Sir Launfal awakes, exclaims that the Grail is found in his castle; bids the servants hang up his armour; and so changed is he by the vision, that the grim castle gates are opened to the sunshine, and welcome every wanderer. He holds his wealth but to bless; considers himself the steward of Heaven's bounties:—

"And there's no poor man in the North Countree,
But is lord of the earldom as much as he."

The Poem is divided into two parts; to each of which there is a Prelude of exceeding beauty. The first has a description of summer, and the second of winter, scenery,—vying with each other in picturesque naturalness. To say that they are the finest pieces of descriptive poetry we know of in the compass of American literature, is indeed high praise; but let no one pronounce it *too* high till he has read them. We hesitate to take out a mere fragment from these perfect pictures; but we will try to separate from the winter scene this sketch of frost-work:—

"Down swept the chill wind from the mountain peak,
* * * * * * *
The little brook heard it and built a roof,
'Neath which he could house him, winter-proof;
All night by the white stars' frosty gleams
He groin'd his arches and match'd his beams;
Slender and clear were his crystal spars
As the lashes of light that trim the stars;

He sculptured every summer delight
In his halls and chambers out of sight;
Sometimes his tinkling waters slipt
Down through a frost-leaved forest-crypt,
Long, sparkling aisles of steel-stemm'd trees,
Bending to counterfeit a breeze;
Sometimes the roof no fretwork knew
But silvery mosses that downward grew;
Sometimes it was carved in sharp relief,
With quaint arabesques of ice-fern leaf;
Sometimes it was simply smooth and clear,
For the gladness of heaven to shine through, and here
He had caught the nodding bulrush tops,
And hung them thickly with diamond drops,
Which crystall'd the beams of moon and sun,
And made a star of every one:
No mortal builder's most rare device
Could match this winter-palace of ice;
'T was as if every image that mirror'd lay
In his depths serene through the summer day,
Each flitting shadow of earth and sky,
Lest the happy model should be lost,
Had been mimick'd in fairy masonry
By the elfin builders of the frost."

The Poem is studded all over with gems. We must resist the temptation to illustrate our praise, or we shall find ourselves compressing the poem into our pages. We only indulge ourselves with one more picture. The camels in the desert are seen passing over the "red-hot sands,"—

"To where, in its *slender necklace of grass*,
The little spring laugh'd and leapt in the shade,
And *with its own self like an infant play'd*,
And waved its signal of palms."

But, after all, it is not on its felicity of illustration, grace of metaphor, or picturesque description, that we rest the claims of this poem to the highest beauty; but on its elevated tone, and on the spiritual lesson it teaches. It is the beautiful lesson so often taught by our Saviour, and most affectingly when he said,—"*Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me.*" It is this spirit of universal love that hallows the humblest objects, and invests with beauty every child of God. We cannot but repeat the expression of our joy in the diffusion of works of poetry breathing so much of the Christian spirit over the land; bringing the enjoyment of such sacred beauty within the reach of all. The friend of humanity, as he looks over the list of our American authors, may well exclaim, "Blessings on the Poets!"

One single remark we feel compelled to add in regard to a sentiment in the poem. In an important sense it is true, that

> "The holy Supper is kept indeed,
> In whatso we share with another's need;"

for in every act of charity there is present somewhat of the spirit which hallowed that sacred scene. But we need not say that for us, the solemn, dying injunction of our Blessed Lord,—"*This do in remembrance of me*,"—fixes our minds upon something higher even than the exercise of brotherly love; and it is "in remembrance of Him" that we keep his Holy Supper, a perpetual memorial of his precious death until his coming again. The passage quoted affords an illustration of the unchurchly spirit to which we have before alluded, as characteristic of Mr. Lowell,—a spirit which deprives him, we are sure, not merely of religious, but of poetical, sympathy with the very highest feelings of Christian humanity.

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## Art. VII.—THE CONDITION OF THE DEAD.

No man can be indifferent to his own destiny. Whether our existence is limited by the bounds of human life, and, if not, in what state we are to be placed after death, are questions of profound concern. And we think the prevailing sentiment of the race in regard to these questions has leaned strongly toward the truth. Though the ancient heathen had not sufficient data upon which to base an enlightened theory, they cherished the idea of the soul's future existence with desire and hope, though not with a settled faith. Socrates, who was in advance of his predecessors, could say on the near approach of death, "I hope I am now going to good men, though this I would not take upon me peremptorily to assert; but that I shall go to the gods,—lords that are absolutely good,—this, if I can affirm anything of this kind, I would certainly affirm. And for this reason I do not take it ill that I am to die, as otherwise I should do; but I am in good hope that there is something remaining for those who are dead, and that it will then be much better for good than for bad men." Plato and other philosophers entertained and taught the same sentiments. Many, however, held the doctrine in less confidence, and corrupted it with various and contradictory speculations.

What was here faintly indicated, was more fully stated and established in the writings of Moses and the prophets. Hence the Jews

regarded the immortality of the soul as a fixed truth, of fundamental interest. It was a prevailing sentiment among them at the time of Christ; only the Sadducees denying it. But their conception of the doctrine lacked definiteness and precision. They saw it through a glass darkly, as they did many other truths. But when the "Desire of nations" appeared, the scales fell from the eyes of men, and immortality was brought to light. Nevertheless, it has not escaped the criticisms of infidelity, nor the speculations of philosophy. Nay, in common with other developments of Scripture which lie nearer the range of human comprehension, it has been attacked, denied, modified, and explained away, even by persons and parties claiming the Christian name. We have not room to go into the history and merits of all the various theories that have been offered; nor is it desirable. Our purpose is to consider a single principle, assumed by certain dissenters from the faith of the Church, namely, that *the soul dies with the body, and remains unconscious until the resurrection.*

Perhaps it may be well to say in the outset, that this is no new doctrine. In the third century an Arabian teacher, against whom Origen wrote, maintained that the soul dies and sleeps with the body, but is again raised with it at the last day. The same sentiment occasionally appeared afterwards. In the twelfth century Innocent III. condemned it; but in the sixteenth, it was again taught by Anabaptists and Socinians with much assurance. William Coward, a London physician, revived it in the seventeenth century, when it ran another race of considerable popularity. In all these cases it was so successfully resisted by the force of argument, that it was repudiated as a dangerous error. But its last defeat had hardly been forgotten, when some doctrinal adventurer proclaimed it to his friends as a discovery of his own; and thus it passed along from one to another, until it became the stamped feature of a party, and is now advocated with energy and show of argument worthy of a better sentiment. We propose, therefore, to take a brief review of the grounds of our faith, and of the claims of the veteran heresy so lately revived, for the benefit of any who may have been harassed with the catchwords and shrewd sophistry employed in the discussion.

The principal argument advanced from the Bible in favour of the death of the soul, and the one upon which others depend for their validity, is derived from these words:—"But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." This is said to be addressed to the "*whole man*;" and, therefore, it is inferred that the soul dies as well as the body. Nor is the inference destitute of plausibility.

With this explanation of the penalty of sin established, it is not difficult for the advocates of this theory to find Scriptures directly to their purpose. For example, Jacob said, "I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning." Now, understanding the pronoun "I" to embrace the whole man, in accordance with the foregoing construction of the Divine threatening, this passage is directly to the point. The same may be said of the declaration of the Psalmist, "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence." And, "The dead know not anything," is a favourite clause of the same class. But who does not see that they prove nothing until it is demonstrated that they refer to the *souls* of the persons concerned, as well as to their bodies? This is the point in dispute; yet, in all the arguments we have seen, it is assumed as a matter of course.

By considering some of the first references to man, it will be manifest that the terms by which Infinite Wisdom designated him did not embrace his entire composition. It is said, "The Lord God formed *man* of the dust of the ground." Here the term *man* refers to the body only; for it is added, "and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and *man* [this same being] became a living soul;" that is, he became inspired or animated by a living soul. That the term has a wider meaning in the threatened penalty may not therefore be true, and needs to be proved. But, if we may be allowed to prove a negative, it will be easy to show that the death threatened, so far as it involves dissolution of being, relates to the body only. The curse pronounced after the transgression was, no doubt, in strict accordance with the curse threatened, and may be taken as its explanation. Let us hear it. Unto Adam the Lord said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Now, who is this "*thou*," thus doomed to toil and death? There is no room for mistake. He can be no other than the man the Lord made "of the *dust* of the ground." The spirit did not come from the ground, and therefore cannot "*return*" to it. Nor is it dust. It is from another source, and of a different nature. The language is explicit, and would seem to have been employed with direct reference to the assumptions to which we object.

In significant accordance with this exposition, death has reigned until now, and the words of inspiration describing it are peculiarly pertinent. Thus Job says, "Now shall I sleep in the dust, and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be." Here is direct reference to the curse, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return;" and hence the "*I*," the real sufferer, is no other than the man

which was formed of the dust, and destined to return to it. Again he says, "So man lieth down and riseth not; till the heavens be no more they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." The Scriptures make frequent allusions of this kind to the body, but never speak of laying down the spirit in the dust. To construe this, and other language employed to mark the same event, to comprehend more than is embraced in the curse, as guarded and explained after the transgression, is contrary to every just principle of interpretation. All agree that temporal death is the result and fulfilment of that curse. Why extend the execution beyond the sentence? But there are many Scriptures which cannot be thus perverted on any pretence whatever. For instance, "Then shall the dust *return* to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Could language declare the separation of the soul and body at death, or their respective destinations, more distinctly? Taken in connexion with Gen. iii, 19, to which we have before referred, this passage furnishes an infallible guide in the explanation of all other Scriptures relating to the same great change.

The representation of death as a state of sleep has been much relied on in this discussion in all ages. Our reply is, *first*, if death be what we have described it, no terms of designation can alter its nature or extent. That is, if it only relate to the body, as we have shown, calling it by other names does not extend its import. It is death still, and means no more than that the body returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it. Besides, sleep does not necessarily imply unconsciousness, and if allowed to relate to the soul, does not prove that it dies with the body. But our final remark, to adopt the language of Dr. Dick, is, "When the dead are said to be asleep, a metaphor is used, founded upon the striking resemblance between death and sleep, which is called by the poet, *mortis simillima imago;* and at the same time, in this as in other instances, by another trope, a part is spoken of as the whole. The dead are said to sleep, and be unconscious and inactive, because these things are true of their bodies. It is worthy of attention, that similar language has been adopted by other nations besides the Jews, and is in common use among us, although we believe, as well as they did, that souls are active in the invisible state. We should think that man reasoned very inconclusively, who, when he heard us saying of the dead, that they are ignorant of all that is passing on earth, should infer that we supposed either that their souls had died with their bodies, or that their faculties were dormant, and their consciousness was gone. Every man would perceive in this case the folly of making common language, founded as it evidently is upon

appearances, the standard of our philosophical or metaphysical opinions. It is equally improper to interpret thus the language of Scripture, which adopts on this occasion the style of common conversation, as it is acknowledged to do in speaking of the apparent motion of the sun around the earth."

The accommodated use of the term *soul* has also been pressed into the service of this strange hypothesis. Its primary meaning is well understood; but, like most other terms, it is frequently used in a qualified sense, to be ascertained by the context. Thus it is said, "Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the *souls* that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to the land of Canaan." Here the word is used to denote their children. The Psalmist, speaking of the affliction of transgressors, says, "Their *soul* abhorreth all manner of meat;" meaning that their trouble was so excessive as to render food loathsome. "Deliver my *soul* from the sword," evidently refers to the body, the spirit not being susceptible of injury from that instrument. Many other applications of the term might be named where the sense is definite and unmistakable, but none where it necessarily implies the literal death of the soul. We will only mention one more. The Saviour admonished his disciples not to "fear them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." The term is used here in its primary sense, and can mean nothing but the spiritual, animating, immortal part of man. What is said of it is exactly in place here, namely, that men are not able to kill it, though they may kill the body. But this is not true if the soul dies with the body; for then, in killing the body, men kill the soul also.

It is argued, from certain indications of aversion to death on the part of ancient worthies, that they did not believe in the consciousness of the dead. That they possessed as clear views of the subject as have been enjoyed since their day, is not probable. But if those who employ their aversion to death as an argument against the immediate happiness of the righteous dead, will consider their own experience prior to their new discovery, and the present experience of the more pious, they will see its utter futility. The love of life is instinctive, and is much strengthened by its tender and endearing relations. The agonies of death are terrifying, and it is natural, therefore, to wish the conflict postponed, however bright the prospect beyond, particularly to those who enjoy health and prosperity. Besides, all good men have important ends they wish to accomplish before they die. It would be marvellous if in such circumstances

they did not desire to live. The ancients were men of like natures with ourselves. Let them not be misconstrued.

With these few glances at the arguments for the death of the soul, we propose a brief survey of the Scripture doctrine on the subject. All we know of the future is due to Divine revelation. No man is competent to testify in this case, having never been in circumstances to discover the truth. But God has seen fit to reveal so much, that it would seem difficult for us essentially to misapprehend our destiny. We fear the blunder arises from attempting to walk by sight rather than by faith. It is not easy to form an idea of the spirit's separate existence. Our ideas of thinking, acting, and feeling are all connected with the body. When we look at the body, after the spirit has left it, and see no signs of life, we do not make the proper distinction between that piece of earthly machinery and our friend who inhabited and used it. Because we have seen him in the body, and never saw him anywhere else, it is natural to suppose he must be there now, in a state of sleep or death, and quite unnatural to suppose him active and happy in an unembodied state. But we should never forget that the dulness of our apprehension does not alter the truth. Nor should we imagine for a moment, that it is any more difficult or wonderful for God to sustain and bless or curse human spirits out of the body than in it, though we cannot comprehend how it is done. We have never conceived yet how he sustains unembodied angels. He who created and preserves the one is equally able to sustain the other; and our ignorance of their particular mode of existence, or place of abode, should not be allowed to neutralize our faith in the disclosures of inspiration concerning them.

That the souls of men do not die with their bodies, is explicitly revealed: "Then shall the dust return to the earth *as it was*, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it;"—not "as it was before it was created," as certain *soul-sleepers* have added. This is a vain expedient to escape the force of the passage, and indicates its applicability to the case. "The spirit shall return to God who gave it." This is definite and direct. How dissimilar to the conceit of men, that it shall perish! But it is not more explicit than other Scriptures. When Jesus was expiring on the cross, he cried with a loud voice, and said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my *spirit*." What could he have meant, if his spirit was to die with his body, as we are told it did? Why not commend his body to his Father also? When Stephen was stoned, he called upon God, saying, "Lord Jesus, *receive my spirit*." He certainly had no idea that his soul was about entering upon the sleep of ages. If any presume to reply,

that *spirit*, in these cases, means *breath*, we pity them. What concern could they have had about the last breath of air they breathed? Air is air, whether breathed first or last, or not at all, and has no more to do with the spirit than earth or water.

The Hebraic designation of dying is in remarkable accordance with these petitions, namely, "he gave up the *ghost*;" which means no more nor less than *soul*. But what can such language import if the soul and body go to a common grave?

God said to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," though they had been dead many years. But when Christ was attacked by the Sadducees, who were the Materialists and "Soul-sleepers" of his day, he quoted this passage to confute them, adding, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;" which was virtually declaring that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were still alive, in a spiritual state. This silenced the Sadducees, and is entitled to respect from their successors.

The prayer of Simeon is not less appropriate. He was a just and devout man, and the Holy Ghost was upon him. Going into the temple, he found the child Jesus, for whose appearance he had been long waiting, and taking him up in his arms, he prayed, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Did he prefer utter death to a life so honourable and happy? Incredible! He must have beheld a better country, even an heavenly. Had he desired to remain under circumstances so exhilarating, it would not have been surprising, however firmly he believed in the fruition of the spirits of "the just made perfect;" but, considering the felicity of his condition, his prayer evinces the strongest faith in, and the clearest perception of, that blessed state it is possible to conceive. The freezing thought of ceasing to think of God, and the ravishing truths of his word, for unnumbered ages, we think, never entered his pious mind.

The account given of the rich man and Lazarus places the subject in a still clearer light. Of Lazarus it is said, he "*died*, and was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom." Abraham testifies of him, in reply to the prayer of Dives, "Now he is comforted." The force of this declaration may be better seen from the whole sentence: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." To pretend that this is a parable does not diminish its force. If, as we believe, it is an historical statement, it teaches us what has occurred to others, and leaves us to infer what may occur to ourselves. But if it be a para-

ble, it is only the similitude of a solemn reality. Parables were employed by Christ to illustrate the truth, and make it more forcible,—not to misrepresent and weaken it. If this statement be a parable, it is a faithful representation of the facts to which it relates, and proves beyond reasonable doubt that the souls of the pious enter immediately into active blessedness at death, and that the souls of the wicked are tormented in hell; and that there is to be no reversion of their condition. It cannot be made the representation of anything in this world, because the persons concerned are said to have died, and the world of spirits is clearly designated as the scene of the transaction described. Nor does it represent anything *beyond* the judgment; because, while the one was comforted and the other tormented, the rich man had five brethren alive on the earth, under the tuition of Moses and the prophets, and, therefore, eligible to salvation. We take this account, then, as the unequivocal testimony of Infinite Truth to the consciousness of the dead, and the diversity of their condition, according to their probationary deportment.

Whether Lazarus was one St. John saw in holy vision, is left to conjecture. But he declares, "I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." "These," said one of the elders, "are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." Here we find persons from all nations, and tongues, and people, sanctified through the atonement, and in a glorified state, of whom it is said, "They are before the throne" of God, and shall "hunger no more, neither thirst any more." At another time, John "saw under the altar the *souls* of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them *that dwell on the earth?* And it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." If it be objected that this is a symbolical representation, we ask whether it symbolizes truth or falsehood, facts or fiction? If the former, then it is exactly to the point; for the persons it specifies belong to the human family, and yet are divided between this and the spirit world at the same time, and are equally in a conscious state. The assumption that it is prophetic, and not historical, does not detract from its force, allowing it to be true.

The order of God in this respect is one. If the souls of good men will live with Christ one thousand or ten thousand, years hence on their separation from the body, they do so now. But if they do not, and will not, till reunited with their respective bodies, John saw no beings, and heard no such language as he describes. If he did, no matter in connexion with what age of the world, then the souls of the pious do not die, nor do they sleep in unconsciousness. Subsequently, this distinguished saint heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." "*From henceforth*, that is," says Dr. Clarke, "from this *time*, *now*, *immediately*. It was a maxim among the Jews, that as soon as the souls of the just departed from this life, they ascended immediately to heaven."

The appearance of Moses to Peter and others, furnishes another substantial proof of our faith. Says Matthew, "And behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, talking with him." Elias appeared, no doubt, in the same body that was translated. His appearance, therefore, has no bearing on the question. But this was not the case with Moses, who, according to the Scripture account, was buried "in the land of Moab." The advocates of the sleep of the soul attempt to avoid the argument drawn from this appearance, by presuming that the Lord raised him from the dead, but they give no proof. By a similar presumption, they might account for many other facts which stand opposed to their hypothesis. But mere presumption cannot be allowed in questions of this nature. We know that Moses died and was buried beyond the reach of human knowledge. And Jude informs us that Michael disputed with the devil about his body, but there is not the first hint given in the Scriptures that he was raised from the dead. Nor does it seem likely that God would thus distinguish one with whom he was wroth, and whom he forbid to enter the promised land; or at all probable, had he seen cause for doing so, that he would have kept it a profound secret.

The announcement of Christ to the thief on the cross is too definite to be invalidated by any sophistry that can be devised: "And Jesus said unto him, Verily, I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in *paradise*." It is impossible to make words express the immediate spiritual entrance of the dying thief into conscious communion with Christ, more closely than they do it here. And the force and adaptation of them to our object, cannot be better exhibited than by stating the attempts made to evade them. "*To-day*" is said not to mean this literal day, but some time within three days. The object of this perversion is to strengthen the *guess* that the thief

was one of the many saints that came out of their graves at the resurrection of Christ. So here we have another resurrection conjectured to meet the difficulty. If our fanciful Neologists are not careful, they will yet imagine that the resurrection is past. Such is the tendency of error. But they have not done with the passage. They alter the punctuation, thus: "I say unto thee to-day, shalt thou be with me in paradise." That is, I am speaking to thee to-day, and not yesterday or to-morrow. This needs no comment; nor does that other, which construes *to-day* to mean some two thousand years hence, at the day of judgment. Such expositions have been made, and they indicate the clearness with which immortality is revealed in the sacred records.

The statements of St. Paul are also decisive: "For me to live is Christ, and to die is *gain*." But this cannot be, if to die is to lose all conscious being. A life of pain even is better than no life. "The thoughts of the righteous are right, and they are precious unto him." What good man would not be pained at the idea of being blotted out of the universe? Is there one on earth who would account it "*gain?*" God's people are a happy people; they prize existence. Their willingness to leave the world does not arise from their having no pleasure in it. Certainly not. But they see a better country. The thought of going immediately to paradise is delightful to them, and they sympathize with the Apostle when he says, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." Yes, "to depart and *be with Christ.*" What could be more significant? To perish in the grave,—so as to be utterly extinct,—would not be "far better." It would be preferable to the abiding wrath of God, but would stand next in the list of evils to which men are supposed to be liable.

In another place he says, "We are always confident, knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord: (for we walk by faith, not by sight:) we are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be *present with the Lord.*" This explains why he considered death to be gain.

On this passage Dr. Clarke remarks: "We see plainly that the apostle gives no intimation of an intermediate state between being at home in the body, and being present with the Lord. There is not the slightest intimation here that the soul sleeps, or, rather, that there is no soul; and when the body is decomposed, that there is no more of the man till the resurrection. I mean according to the sentiments of those who do condescend to allow us a resurrection, though they deny us a soul. But this is a philosophy in which St. Paul got no

lessons, either from Gamaliel, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, or in the third heavens, where he heard even unutterable things."

Again says the same Apostle: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have [not, shall have at the resurrection] a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." We know there is provision made in heaven for souls after their present dwelling is taken down. An eminent writer explains the text thus:—"The Apostle also alludes to the ancient Jewish tabernacle, which, on all removals of the congregation, was dissolved, and taken in pieces; and the ark of the covenant, covered with its own curtains, was carried by itself, and when they came to the place of rest, then the dissolved parts of the tabernacle were put together again as before. When we consider this simile, in connexion with the doctrine of the resurrection, we shall see that he intends to convey the following meaning: that as the tabernacle was taken down in order to be again put together, so the body is to be dissolved in order to be re-edified; that as the ark of the covenant subsisted by itself, while the tabernacle was down, so can the soul when separated from the body; that as the ark had then its own veil for its covering, so the soul is to have some vehicle in which it shall subsist till it receives its body at the resurrection."

But it is vain to multiply proof-texts. If what have been suggested are not sufficient, we despair of proving anything by the word of God. Those who will not believe a sentiment thus established by the concurrent testimony of prophets and apostles, and even of Jesus Christ himself, are just suited to believe, without a particle of evidence, that Moses and the thief were raised from the dead, the annihilation of the wicked, or any other oddity which may flatter their ambition or conceit. We will therefore only add, that the sentiment of the Church finds singular confirmation in the entire absence of any allusion to the resurrection of the soul. It is a remarkable fact, that there is not an intimation of such a phenomenon within the lids of inspired truth. So that if the soul dies with the body, infidel France was right in declaring death to be an eternal sleep. But the body is mentioned repeatedly as the subject of resurrection. Says St. Paul, "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your *mortal bodies* by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." In the same chapter it is added, "We groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our *bodies*." In another letter he answers the question, "With what bodies do they come?" by declaring, "God giveth them a body as it pleaseth him:" but not a word is said about raising the soul from

the dead, which seems quite irreconcilable with the doctrine we oppose.

The theory under consideration is one of peculiar danger, not only on account of its striking hostility to the plain declarations of Scripture, and its detraction from the principal motives to piety, but for other tendencies to which it is justly chargeable. It rests on a false principle of exegesis, which, if generally applied, would unsettle the foundation of the whole fabric of Christian theology. This accounts for the fact, that those who embrace it become equally heretical on other points. Though they may appear to retain evangelical views, closer examination will show that they hold them in a new aspect, and with qualifications which destroy their vitality, and in effect discredit their truth. The literalism of interpretation necessary to an appearance of proof, generally leads to false notions of future punishment. Hence it is that those who believe in the sleep of the soul, hold with equal confidence to the annihilation of the wicked, and to kindred sentiments little better than infidelity itself. Were it proper, startling facts might be adduced, but we forbear.

Its danger is further indicated in its truckling to the vain philosophy of this world. Christianity is purely a matter of revelation. Its great principles depend on the word of God for their support. However useful philosophy may be within its legitimate province, it is blind here. The fact that it does not see the truth, or that the truth blasts its idle pretensions, does not invalidate the teachings of revelation. Any system, therefore, which follows its flickering glimmer, in opposition to the clear announcements of the Bible, is to be suspected. Let God be true, though human philosophy sink to oblivion. Religious truth never interferes with philosophy, while philosophy keeps within proper limits. Our objection to invoking its aid, in a matter of this nature, is not to its being employed in confirmation of revelation, so far as it goes,—though this, however useful in some cases, is like lighting a taper to see the sun,—but to introducing it as a witness against revelation, where it has no suitable means of knowing.

That we do not mistake the character of this system, is evident from the alliances it forms. It is a trite proverb, that men are known by the company they keep. It is not less true of theological opinions. Their friends and patrons are drawn to each other by a sort of elective affinity, which strongly suggests the moral genus, at least, to which they belong. Now, if any will take the pains to try the theory in question by this rule, he will see cause of suspicion. For it is a fact fully demonstrable by its history, that it is regarded

with special favour by those to whom the cross of Christ gives particular offence. Those, for example, who deny any future existence, and discard all real religion, rejoice to meet their friends (the Sleepers) half way, and congratulate them on their progress. Other latitudinarians, the very enemies of Christ, mingle in the joy, and are glad to see their neighbours "getting out of the leading-strings of the Church," and thinking for themselves. Such praise wears a suspicious appearance. We commend the fact to the consideration of those whom it especially concerns.

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## Art. VIII.—LIVING AUTHORS OF ENGLAND.

*The Living Authors of England.* By Thomas Powell. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1849.

The department of literary criticism is one of the most difficult paths of human labour. It is, indeed, as Sir Thomas Browne calls goodness, a "funambulatory track." The bridge Al Sirat, more slender than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, affords a not more insecure footing. And as the souls of the faithful would never be able to pass that bridge without angelic assistance, so no man living should attempt criticism who is not sure of being waited on by the heaven-descended virtues of charity and modesty. If he does, he will be sure to fail; and there are none the world respects less than those who fail in commenting on the failures of others.

An author who makes contemporary authors his theme, places himself in the delicate position of using for himself only what they can spare without loss. He has no right to make them subjects for dissection while they are yet alive. He cannot be *of* them, and live *upon* them; just so far as he does so, he renounces the dignity of authorship, and takes an inferior grade. He becomes what Charles Lamb might denominate, "the lesser flea that lives upon other fleas." For he is presumed to know the hardships of literature, the labour of invention, the inconvenience of a reputation for wit, or other intellectual qualities, the poor reward—all that makes the profession of letters one in which success is most rarely achieved; and when it is achieved, consisting only in the world's expectation of newer labours still to be undertaken. All this he must be presumed to know.

There is a passage in Carlyle's "Life of Schiller," which, in this connexion, will serve as a preparative to the remarks we intend to

make upon the "Living Authors of England." It is written in the author's first and best style, and is worth remembering, not only for its truth, but as a fine piece of impassioned declamation:—

"If to know wisdom were to practise it; if fame brought true dignity and peace of mind; or if happiness consisted in nourishing the intellect with its appropriate food, and surrounding the imagination with ideal beauty, a literary life would be the most enviable which the lot of this world affords. But the truth is far otherwise. The man of letters has no inscrutable, all-conquering volition, more than other men; to understand and to perform, are two very different things with him, as with every one. His fame rarely exerts a favourable influence on his dignity of character, and never on his peace of mind: its glitter is external, for the eyes of others; within, it is but the aliment of unrest, the oil cast upon the ever-gnawing fire of ambition, quickening into fresh vehemence the blaze which it stills for a moment. Moreover, this man of letters is not wholly made of spirit, but of clay and spirit mixed: his thinking faculties may be nobly trained and exercised, but he must have affections as well as thoughts to make him happy, and food and raiment must be given him, or he dies. Far from being the most enviable, his way of life is, perhaps, among the many modes by which an ardent mind endeavours to express its activity, the most thickly beset with suffering and degradation. Look at the biography of authors! Except the Newgate Calendar, it is the most sickening chapter in the history of man. The calamities of these people are a fertile topic; and too often their faults and vices have kept pace with their calamities. Nor is it difficult to see how this has happened. Talent of any sort is generally accompanied with a peculiar fineness of sensibility; of genius this is the most essential constituent; and life, in any shape, has sorrows enough for hearts so formed. The employments of literature sharpen this natural tendency; the vexations that accompany them frequently exasperate it into morbid soreness. The cares and toils of literature are the business of life; its delights are too ethereal and too transient to furnish that perennial flow of satisfaction, coarse, but plenteous and substantial, of which happiness in this world of ours is made. The most finished efforts of the mind give it little pleasure, frequently they give it pain; for men's aims are ever far beyond their strength. And the outward recompense of these undertakings, the distinction they confer, is of still smaller value: the desire for it is insatiable, even when successful; and when baffled, it issues in jealousy and envy, and every pitiful and painful feeling. So keen a temperament, with so little to restrain or satisfy, so much to distress or tempt it, produces contradictions which few are adequate to reconcile. Hence the unhappiness of literary men. Hence their faults and follies.

"Thus literature is apt to form a dangerous and discontenting occupation, even for the amateur. But for him whose rank and worldly comforts depend upon it, who does not live to write, but writes to live, its difficulties and perils are fearfully increased. Few spectacles are more afflicting than that of such a man; so gifted and so fated; so jostled and tossed to and fro in the rude bustle of life, the buffetings of which he is so little fitted to endure. Cherishing, it may be, the loftiest thoughts, and clogged with the meanest wants; of pure and holy purposes, yet ever driven from the straight path by the pressure of necessity, or the impulse of passion; thirsting for glory, and frequently in want of daily bread; hovering between the empyrean of his fancy and the squalid desert of reality; cramped and foiled in his most strenuous exertions; dissatisfied with his best performances, disgusted with his fortune, this man of letters too often spends his weary days in conflicts with obscure misery: harassed, chagrined, debased, or maddened; the victim at once of tragedy and farce; the last forlorn outpost in the war of mind against matter. Many are

the noble souls that have perished bitterly, with their tasks unfinished, under these corroding woes! Some in utter famine, like Otway; some in dark insanity, like Cowper and Collins; some, like Chatterton, have sought out a more stern quietus, and turning their indignant steps away from a world which refused them welcome, have taken refuge in that strong fortress, where poverty and cold neglect, and the thousand natural shocks which flesh is heir to, could not reach them any more."

We have quoted this passage at length, for the purpose of contrasting the spirit in which it is written with that which is manifested in the "Living Authors," &c. This volume contains notices of upwards of thirty writers, all but a few of whom are little known here, and of several of whom we now hear for the first time—three hundred pages of critical remark, amusing anecdote, and personal gossip. The criticism is merely a reckless scattering of opinions, sometimes just, often contradictory, but based on no principles, and leaving no clear impression. The anecdotes have mostly been quoted in the daily papers; they are amusing, but evidently mere stories.

If our remarks at the outset be correct, it is sufficient to estimate a work of this kind by the *spirit* in which it is undertaken—its moral character. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to that.

The introduction includes brief notices of several of the elder writers who "belong more properly to the last generation;" Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Proctor, Moore, Landor, and Rogers. From what relates to Wordsworth, we extract the following:—

"In person he is tall and largely framed; his eyes have a peculiarly thoughtful expression—they seem the seat of contemplation, not of observation; and being deeply set in his head, give to the whole contour of his face a physical expression admirably in keeping with his idiosyncrasy. The finest likeness of him is a three-quarter portrait by one of the most gifted of modern artists, Margaret Gillies. This represents him in his parlour at Rydal Mount, with the beautiful lake scenery in the distance, seen through the window; an open book is before him. He is looking up at some one to whom he is explaining a passage in the volume, which, it is almost unnecessary to add, is his own poems.

"In private life he is an example to all men, obliging, charitable, and courteous; he is always happy to see any visitors whom the fame of his genius inclines to call on him, and shows his garden and grounds with the gusto of a connoisseur, and the affection of a parent. Every tree has a living interest in his eye, and he is on speaking terms with every natural object in the country. Hills, woods, and waterfalls, are his companions, and he resents an indignity offered to them with as much energy as though they were of his own household. He visits London, generally, every other year, where he remains for three or four months, one of the most venerable of lions. We regret to add, that his health has lately been very much impaired, and aggravated by the death of his only daughter, Mrs. Quillinan, who died of consumption.

"Owing to his careful husbandry of a small patrimony, and his frugal habits, he has a moderate competency. Till four years since he was a dis-

tributor of stamps, which office he resigned in favour of his son, upon his own appointment to the Laureateship."—Pp. 28, 29.

"Accustomed to live secluded from the world—coddled up by a few old and withered spinsters—the poetical mind of this fine writer has become narrowed, till it has lost most of that vigorous and embracing universality, and scorn of conventionalism, which made him in his inspired moments utter—

> "We must be free or die,
> Who speak the language Shakspeare spoke—the *faith*
> *And morals* hold that Milton held—" P. 30.

Setting aside the manifest wrong done the poet in misquoting the lines,—

> "Must we be free or die, who speak the tongue
> Which Shakspeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
> Of earth's best blood:—have titles manifold!"—

setting aside, we say, the question whether a critic has a right not only to alter lines and words, but also to italicise words for no apparent reason—even admitting the truth of what is here said respecting the man who stands at the head of our living poets, both by rank and age, (he being now fourscore years old,)—we must regret the necessity which could impel any man to write these sentences. There are two sorts of necessities—one arising from without, the other from within. In this case we can conceive of no pressure from without which could urge a writer, animated by the sympathy for men of letters which inspired Carlyle, in the extract given above, and, indeed, throughout his eloquent biography of Schiller—to write so flippantly of a great poet's declining years.

And yet this writer bears no malice in his heart against the poet, of whom and whose family circle he speaks so very freely and decidedly. On the contrary, he professes to venerate him exceedingly; and in another place, where he gives another description of him, in the more picturesque style, actually leaves it to be inferred that he has written a sonnet upon the poet's portrait:—

"Seated on the sofa, with one leg crossed over the other, and with his hand buried in his bosom, sits an old man, with a few straggling gray hairs on his forehead, dressed in tolerably well-worn black, his deep-set eye, gray and abstracted, as though in some speculation lost! he rises, his figure is tall, broad, and gaunt, his deep guttural voice seems to come from the depths of his heart, and the impressive tone he speaks in gives an emphasis even to the commonest of commonplace; he is reciting a passage from Milton; he has got the first edition in his hand, and is demonstrating to an attentive listener that the 'blind old man' intended an emphasis to be laid on every word beginning with a capital, excepting at the commencement of each line; he slightly stoops, but it is a trifle for so old a man, and his venerable face seems to light

up at the sound of Milton's verse, and to bring back with them all the dreams of his youth, when, wandering with Coleridge, Southey, and Lamb, they held high converse with the mighty dead.

"We have only seen one portrait of the fine old poet that at all gives any idea of him; a friend of his was so pleased with it that he sent the artist a sonnet, which we must find space to quote:—

"We die, and pass away; our very name
Goes into silence, as the eloquent air
Scatters our voices, while the wear'ed frame,
Shrouded in darkness, pays the grave's stern claim,
With the blank eyes deep fix'd in death's blind stare.
These sure were thoughts to plunge us in despair,
But that the artist and the sculptor came—
Then living music flows from buried lips,
And the dead form throws off the grave's eclipse!
O! blest magician, that can fix for aye
The fleeting image; here I seem to gaze
On Wordsworth's honour'd face, for in the cells
Of those gray eyes, Thought, like a prophet, dwells,
And round those drooping lips Song like a murmur strays."—Pp. 240, 241.

We can reconcile these contradictions only by supposing a simple want of perception in the writer, of that respect with which individuals, bred in gentle society, instinctively regard the feelings of others, and especially of those who are exalted by age, genius, and character.

The paragraph upon Rogers is another example of similar wilful or unconscious departure from the manners of that class of society for whom poets write:—

"It was told me by a friend of the bard, the beau, the banker, that the poet's uncle adopted him and his brother, and took them into his banking-house. After some time he detected the elder one in writing verses: the horror-struck merchant, when he died, allowed the detected verse-maker a certain annuity, leaving the business and the bulk of his fortune to Samuel, with the remark that he would never be a poet. We are entirely of the uncle's opinion, and boldly avow our belief that no spiteful nature can, by any process of sublimation, be raised into the poet; Mr. Rogers, therefore, must be content to stand or fall by his own nature—he has the reputation of being a great wit, and of having made some of the severest of modern jokes."—P. 34.

The want of perception above mentioned is here so marked, as to leave an impression upon the reader precisely opposite to what was apparently intended. Again we have Dickens thus "summed up:"—

"To sum up his capabilities in a few words: as a man, he is good-tempered, vain, fickle, which makes him at times appear to be insincere; on the other hand, it must in justice be stated, that he forgets with kindly facility an offence; but the impression on the minds of those who have known him longest is,

that he is deficient in all those striking qualities of the heart which sanctify the memory of man."—P. 177.

And yet there is no consciousness of impropriety manifest in the sketch; a simple attempt at impartial analysis, that is all.

We take another instance from the writer's attempt to sketch Talfourd:—

"The learned sergeant is jovial and hospitable, and has the reputation of having been the liberal friend of many necessitous men of genius. We give this as we heard it from his own family, but we regret to add that we have been informed by others, that the author of Ion has the peculiarity of forgetting his friends when they are in poor circumstances. We may mention as an instance, the case of the author of Rimini. He has, however, many excuses, he has felt himself the privations of poverty—has a large family—lives expensively, and is fond of luxurious dinners. He gives excellent parties, and at his table we have spent some pleasant hours, and met many illustrious men of letters."

This is Mr. Powell's way of requiting people who allow him the opportunity of meeting "illustrious men," and "spending pleasant hours" at their houses.

There are many more quite as striking instances as these in the volume—*one* which is too mean to be quoted. We feel confident that we have given enough to justify a decision against the work on account of its character—its want of manners—want of that which is want of sense.

And we further wish to render it clear to our readers, why we have deemed it necessary to write at all respecting a work of which we are forced to judge so unfavourably. Since its publication, Mr. Dickens, either provoked by Mr. Powell's account of himself, or, as his *non*-admirers in this country understand it, glad of an opportunity for a sneer at the American press, has thought it necessary, through a friend here, (Mr. Clark, of the Knickerbocker Magazine,) to caution our public against the author of this volume, in language by no means equivocal. Whether he was right in so doing, or whether the terms of his letter might not have been more dignified, we need not now decide; but we confess that his severity of language does not surprise us much, after reading Mr. Powell's volume.

Now this is a free country, open to all comers, and where all writers have equal rights. But is it a place to which London writers, between whom and one of the first of their own class, hitherto deemed respectable, there would appear to be still open a serious question of veracity, can come and raise themselves, *per saltum*, to the same rank they might occupy in our esteem if no such question existed? and that by the publication of books which

must be condemned on their own merits, and for the spirit in which they are written? We apprehend, most decidedly, not.

Charity begins at home. There are plenty of writers among us of more power to interest readers, and *gentle* readers, than the author of this volume, and who are known to our best writers, not from having written flippantly of them, but for the resolution with which they have always, through the lowest employments of literature, and against the heart-sickness of hope deferred, endeavoured to preserve their own self-respect and the esteem of others. It seems to us very plain that, at least, there is no discriminating charity in taking by the hand and encouraging to success in letters those whose performances give no high promise, while so many such as these are hardly able to earn their daily bread.

The true charity would lead us to a precisely opposite course, and it may not only justify, but require severe impartial criticism, and terms of condemnation as decided as those we have here used. Had the work not proceeded from one of the most respectable publishing houses in the country, and were it not likely, from its very title, and the nature of its topics, to be widely circulated, it would not have been necessary to notice it. As it is, it has been treated leniently in this article.

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## Art. IX.—EGYPT AND ITS MONUMENTS.

*The Monuments of Egypt: or, Egypt a Witness for the Bible.* By Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 8vo., pp. 256. 1850.

A book on ancient Egypt is eminently needed, as well by the scientific as the "reading" public. The production required should not be a compilation exactly. It should be rather a *digest* of the facts known, together with an explanatory commentary; in short, an orderly arrangement of the aggregate results of exploration, with a history of the explorations themselves. A mere compilation, where the materials are so immense, would be cumbrous if complete, and if imperfect, would be useless or worse. It might be convenient, yet only, at best, in a mechanical way.

But the convenience chiefly requisite is of a different, an intellectual nature. Materials so copious, so various, so peculiar, call for arrangement, for co-ordination upon some self-consistent and intelligible principles. We do not mean that old theories, whether

philosophical or Biblical, should be recklessly reiterated, or new ones devised without preparation. The preparatory process known in natural science as a catalogue *descriptive* and *comparative* would suffice for the present. This would perhaps properly confine itself to collecting and collating the *facts*, the monuments of all descriptions, together with the most authoritative *opinions* respecting their appropriate characters, destinations, and developments. The whole would be interspersed advantageously, if only for popular use, with a running commentary or criticism, suggesting the various analogies between the successive specimens of the same art, between contemporaneous forms of the different arts, and, in fine, between the several artistic and industrial phases, the monuments and the manners, of Egyptian life.

We may illustrate by an example. Compare the two most conspicuous of these arts, namely, Writing and Architecture, in their primary stages,—the former of Picture-writing, the latter of the Pyramids. The Picture-writing, which denotes the object by its simple image, is manifestly the rudest, the most *material* mode of representation. So the pyramid is the most obvious in shape, and the most merely *masonic* in style, of all the species of structure, not only Egyptian, but imaginable. The erections of children are always pyramidal. Now this comparative observation would of itself, apart from historical evidence, tend to show that the two forms must have emanated from one and the same condition of the national mind. It would do much more and better than this. In the first place, it would demonstrate that this mental state was one of extreme and imbecile infancy. And, in the next place, it would furnish, in these three correlative starting-points, at once the *cause* of the progression which the facts exhibit in all the monuments, and the *key* to its interpretation in the two descriptions in question.

Having established these fundamental standards, such a synopsis as we have in view would easily indicate the historical order of the respective series. Meanwhile, it would expose and exclude a thousand puerile controversies still agitated by even the latest writers: such, for instance, as whether the symbolical was not anterior to the picture form of Hieroglyphics. That is, whether the human mind does not proceed from the abstract to the concrete, instead of the well-known reverse. Indeed, this preposterous error was carried still further. Even the Enchorial or alphabetic form was supposed to be the earliest, until the error was dispelled by the discoveries of Champollion, who, remarkable to say, at first inclined to this opinion himself. But the error, though nearly routed in regard to the art of writing, remains rampant in respect to most

other of the monumental series, and to the civilization generally of ancient Egypt. Egyptian wisdom, Egyptian art, Egyptian science (!) even, continue to be descanted upon, in mystical raptures, by philological pedants; who, if they knew how to be consistent, would either admit the orang-outang, in virtue of its figure, to a place in the human family, or recognize the polity of an ant-hill, and the geometry of a bee-hive, as respectively the highest models of civilization and of science: for the earlier arts of the Egyptians, while much less ingenious, were little more intellectual, in any proper sense of the term.

Supposing, then, the two parallels of synchronism thus slightly indicated to be drawn out through the whole mass of monuments in the two classes referred to, the other forms of art and life would now spontaneously class themselves in corresponding array. Thus an additional, and still more searching light would be directed across the chaos. The several series in their relative bearings would form reciprocal guarantees for the correctness of each, and guardians against error in any. With such a conception of the subject, no wild speculations, such as the notable one respecting the Zodiac of Dendera,* would be possible. A glance at the state of any of the arts or productions of a long posterior period, would satisfy that the Egyptian mind must, in the extreme antiquity attributed to this curious piece of workmanship, have been utterly incapable of even its geometrical combination, perhaps of its mechanical execution; to say nothing of the astronomical proficiency which it implied. In a word, by this double line of procedure, these invaluable records of early humanity might be put into a shape fit for the investigations of science: for science has hardly yet commenced in the subject of "Egyptology." Thus arranged, they would also be both attractive and useful to the popular mind, which soon tires of the miraculous when it is without *meaning*—nay, which tires of the wonderful just in proportion as it is monstrous. For the mass of mankind are so thoroughly of the celebrated sentiment of Terence,† that they hold it to be true conversely, and deem *all* things to be foreign which do not concern humanity.

Some such task as we have been attempting to sketch seems to have been contemplated by Bunsen,—if we understand the prolix

* When this zodiac was discovered it was thought that the temple on whose ceiling it was sculptured was so ancient as to explode the Scriptural chronology at once. M. Jomard made it three thousand years old; M. Dupuis, four thousand; M. Gori, seventeen thousand! But lo! when Champollion learned to *read* it, he found inscribed the name of *Augustus Cæsar!*

† Nihil humani a me alienum puto.

programme of his "Egypt's Place in the World's History." The idea is undoubtedly a philosophical one; but we cannot help thinking that the execution will, like the idea, be drowned in the author's *plan*. Like a true German, Bunsen seems determined to discourse *de cunctis rebis*, if not indeed, occasionally, *de quibusdam aliis*. But, whatever may be the value of his bulky tomes when completed, they will not afford a precise, perspicuous synopsis of the whole subject, such as seems to be requisite for this country especially.

It was with no ordinary interest, therefore, that we first heard the announcement of the work placed at the head of this article. Both the promising title, and the name of the author, gave us hope of a work that would, to some extent at least, realize our idea of a work on "Egypt and its Monuments." When we say that we find ourselves somewhat disappointed, our readers may, perhaps justly, lay the fault to our expectations. They may have been over or under the proper exigences of the subject or of the times,—or, perhaps, entirely wide of both. It was in order that our expression of disappointment might not be misinterpreted to the disparagement of the book, that we have detained the reader so long with our own view of the task, before giving him some account of Dr. Hawks' conception of it. He sets it forth in his Introduction as follows:—

> "On such a subject as this book presents, to have attempted originality, would unavoidably have been to commit error; *for* its simple object was to collect into a plain and comprehensible compend, the results of the research of many different inquirers in the field of Egyptian archæology."—P. 13.

And on this view of the case, he disclaims, with a becoming modesty, the title of "author," pretending only, as he expresses it, "to the humble office of a *compiler*." But even a compilation, consulting the researches of the leading inquirers, and collecting their results, would go far towards fulfilling the scheme above suggested. At all events, the basis would be properly laid in the collection of facts: and there would be wanting but the *rationale*,—which, to be sure, is the part of Hamlet in this monumental drama. The idea of Dr. Hawks, then, as suggested in the Introduction, (for it will be seen that he afterwards recedes from it, apparently at least,) is quite appropriate as far as it goes. Nor does it by any means preclude, as he appears to think, the possibility of originality. It is precisely here, indeed,—in developing new views or ideas, not in recovering pre-existing facts or monuments,—that originality is, strictly speaking, attainable at all. And we think much too well

of Dr. Hawks to believe that the attempt, if made in this instance, must have led to "unavoidable error."

But Dr. Hawks seems afterwards, as we have intimated, to recede somewhat from the design which he had previously laid down. In the opening chapter his aim is re-stated, with what the lawyers call a "material variance:"—

"The object of the present volume, therefore, is neither to afford a connected history of Egypt, nor to furnish the reader with a satisfactory explanation of every inscription or representation on the walls of its venerable ruins. Its less ambitious, and it is hoped not less useful aim, is to bring forward, in an intelligible form, certain *facts* that appear to be well attested, and thus to afford to the reader the means of judging for himself how far they furnish illustration of, or give direct confirmation to, the truth of events recorded in the Scriptures."—P. 19.

In the latter sentence the character and contents of the book are exactly defined. Let it be judged, then, for what it is, and for what it accomplishes.

The first "fact" adverted to, is the antiquity of the *art of writing* in Egypt.

"Of the very great antiquity of writing among the Egyptians, and of their consequent early possession of books, little doubt seems now to be entertained among the learned. The inkstand and the stylus are found on monuments which carry us back to a period anterior, as is supposed, to the time of which we have any recorded history. But on this subject we are not left to a mere inference from monumental remains. The earliest writings of the Egyptians are believed to have been contained in their sacred books. For our knowledge of these writings we are indebted chiefly, and indeed almost entirely, to Clemens of Alexandria. He is entitled to belief, as having been a resident in Egypt, if not a native, eminently learned, and of unimpeachable Christian character. His life terminated between the years of our Lord 200 and 220; and he states that in his time the Egyptians had forty-two sacred books. These books were divided into several classes; one, for instance, was on medicine; another on astronomy; a third was on the hieroglyphical art, and consequently taught the rudiments of Egyptian writing; a fourth class was devoted to religious worship, while another comprised the sacerdotal books, and bore the general name of Hieratic writings. These last, as Clement states, treated of 'the Laws, the Deities, and the entire education of the Priests.'

"The only portion of these writings of which the moderns are as yet possessed, is in what Champollion called the 'Ritual,' and Lepsius named 'The Book of the Dead.' It was originally found in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, in the form of a hieroglyphical papyrus. Its pictorial ornaments showed that it treated of ceremonies in honour of the dead, and the transmigration of souls. Afterward, Champollion found a much more perfect copy in the museum of Turin: this has been published by Lepsius, with the remark that 'this book furnishes the only example of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic times.' It possesses one peculiarity that is significant of its great antiquity; it is written in the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, while in all the other extant remains of Egyptian literature, the hieratic character is employed. This difference is important in other aspects, to which we advert not here, as the object now is simply to illustrate the fact of the great antiquity of the art of writing in Egypt."—Pp. 19–21.

Dr. Hawks seems here to imply that the *Sacred Books* afford proof more conclusive than "mere inference from monumental remains." But how is the existence of these books to be assigned positively to any limit of antiquity anterior, or even equal, to that of the monumental "inkstand?" The popular tradition of their delivery by Thot, several thousand years before Menes, will hardly do it. It was to this end, apparently, that Dr. Hawks introduces the celebrated papyrus scroll found in a tomb, of probably the twelfth dynasty, at Thebes, and after in a more perfect copy in the Museum of Turin. The proof of its extreme antiquity is placed by Dr. Hawks, in the fact that it employs the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, and not the hieratic. But the monuments themselves present, we believe, no inscriptions of a period earlier than the appearance of the writing implements: the elder pyramids have, or had originally, none. And then there must have been a long interval between the hieroglyphics on the monuments, and the transcription of them upon papyrus, which is the point of the argument. It is true that the existing manuscripts are mostly written in a form of hieroglyphic, undoubtedly later than the monumental, and named the *Hieratic*. But this would evidently avail nothing, except it could be shown, which it cannot, of some papyri of the latter description, that they approximate at least to the period of the inkstand. More especially so, when, on the other hand, the primitive hieroglyphic was employed occasionally down to the decline of the Lower Empire. The Theban or Turin papyrus, then, does not add, or even approach, at least through the form of the writing, to the attestation already furnished by the implements of the art themselves. The utmost it does, in this respect, is to allow the evidence to slide back to any point of antiquity which might be indicated by the *subject* of the scroll.

But the doctrines contained in this scroll prove, it seems to us, still less to the purpose. The subject is held, on all hands, to relate principally to the transmigration of souls. By Champollion, the discoverer of the Turin copy, and the first decipherer, the ceremonies were deemed of a liturgical character, and he accordingly named this papyrus roll a Ritual. Dr. Lepsius, on closer examination, thought the contents rather a description of the peregrinations, real or imaginary, of the soul after death, and preferred the designation of "Book of the Dead." May we, too, not be excused a passing conjecture, in a matter where the highest doctors thus differ, and where there remains, in fact, so large a verge for disagreement?—for it is admitted that not a single paragraph or section of the celebrated record has as yet been interpreted completely. May not the

ceremonies, then, be rather of a symbolical and semi-dramatic character and purport, like the "Mysteries" of classic paganism; which are known, in fact, to have had their origin in Egypt? The scenes, so far as ascertained by either Champollion or Lepsius, seem to coincide essentially with what we know of the Græco-Roman mysteries; and more particularly still, with the Egyptian mysteries of Isis, as unveiled to us by Jamblichus, Plutarch, and Apuleius. Nor is there any authority, we believe, for supposing that the rule of secrecy was, at least in earlier times, so rigorous in Egypt, as to forbid their commitment to writing. Reason would suggest, on the contrary, that this policy could only prevail when the secret had been imported; or rather, when it became necessary, through the progress of popular intelligence, to surround proportionally with mystery and terror the doctrines of a declining faith. But no exigence of this nature could have been experienced, even to the last, under the indigenous growth of the mysteries, and the imbecile credulity of the mind of Egypt. Another feature of probability is, that this conjecture would reconcile the subject to the character of "ritual" assigned it by Champollion, whose broadly philosophical sagacity should never be slightly rated: for the priests were the performers in those "mystic rites." The view in question would also explain and exclude certain notions which we must consider fantastic, or at least German, in the Lepsian interpretation. For instance, the human figure, which is depicted as following the procession of the corpse, and naturally deemed by Champollion to be a clerical personage, is pretended by Lepsius to be the soul itself, offering up prayers and invocations (which are given in the text) for . . . whom or what, shall we say? The coffin, or the corpse? For the soul should know that they were now as impertinent in reference to the one as the other of those material objects. Be this as it may, the main idea of transmigration is a conception relatively late in the development of a people; much later in Egypt than probably the pyramids, which were designed, on the contrary, to preserve the *same* body for an expected resurrection after three thousand years. And if the construction we have hazarded be well founded, the presumption of antiquity dependent on the *subject* of the papyrus, would be brought down to a period much lower still: for the metempsychosis must have existed in doctrine long before it was represented in action. The conclusion is, that the record in question falls still further short in its subject than in the character of the writing, of being as early a witness to the antiquity of the art as the inkstand and stylus of the monuments.

Again, as our author seems to suppose the Theban scroll to prove much more than it could, so, on the other hand, he allows

the writing implements to pass for much less. In fact, the existence of the stylus and inkstand presupposes the prevalence, probably for a long period, of the hieroglyphic character. For they are not things contemporary; they do not stand in the relation of cause and effect, as the author's statement seems to imply. They are, on the contrary, *successive* developments of the art. Indeed, the several intervening steps can perhaps be traced. The hieroglyphic proper was an *engraving*, as the name imports; it had originally no use of pen, ink, or papyrus. The carving was next coloured, to give the objects distinctness. So true is this, that it gave its still visible origin to the art of painting, as well as of writing, in Egypt; as it must have done, indeed, in every other country where these arts have been indigenous. In the recent excavations of Nineveh the pictures exhibit the same counter-sinking in the wall, and even the sculptures the same traces of paint as are found in the tombs and temples of Thebes. At this stage the graven images were coloured diversely, in direct imitation of the objects to be represented. In process of time, however, it was perceived that the mere figure or outline would suffice to designate the objects. This would occasion the primary step in achromatic picturing; which, like our modern engraving, was done in a single colour, or rather in none at all, for such is black accounted. Here came in the inkstand. But this was not all. There was an interval still before the use of the stylus and papyrus. The colouring being thus uniform, it could not fail to be remarked that the carving, the *articulation*, so to say, of the *body* of the object, which had been hitherto the guide of the infant colourist, was now useless. From this, therefore, which was termed the "pure" form of the hieroglyphic, the natural tendency was to a mere outline, which accordingly received the name of "linear;" and was in turn the transition to the *curvilinear* or running-hand called hieratic. We have thus observed the *intagliation*, as it is termed, gradually recede from the excavation of the full figure to the delineation of a faint outline. The next step was, that this line itself was conceived to vanish from the stone, and the human intellect thus landed "high and dry" upon a plain surface. Looking around from this vantage-ground, the convenience would soon occur to it of a surface,—not, as hitherto, immovable, difficult, and exposed,—but a surface at once pliable, portable, and preservable. Here was the conjunction of the hieroglyphic with the combination of inkstand, stylus, and papyrus; and afterwards, of course, their collective offspring, the sacred *Books*. Now, if the author had taken his stand beside the early monument containing these implements, and extended backwards the long series of this painfully

slow progression, he would easily have gained the conception himself, and brought his readers to the conclusion, that the art of writing must have originated far within the primeval ages.

These remarks, however, are not intended to censure Dr. Hawks. We do not forget that his work is but a "compilation," and believe that he has met with nothing of this minuteness in his authorities. Our object has been chiefly to vindicate the claims of such a commentary as we suggested in the opening of this article.

Next in the author's selection of "facts" respecting the antiquities of Egypt, is the evidence of a nature properly *historical*. First in this class are the fragments of Manetho. Touching the personality or credibility of this writer—who is known to have been long disputed in one or the other particular, or confounded insidiously with an impostor who stole his name—upon these points, we say, the statement of Dr. Hawks is very creditably impartial. He does not dissemble that the decision of the learned is affirmative upon both particulars. But we hardly think him accurate in styling Eratosthenes and the author of the "Old Chronicle" "*abbreviators* of Manetho." The "Old Chronicle" was written by Apollodorus of Athens, a continuator of the chronological labours of Eratosthenes;—the two being, perhaps, the most erudite scholars of the most erudite age of Greece. In Egyptian history they were both original inquirers, and for consecutive periods; by the direction, too, we believe, and under the patronage, of the reigning sovereigns of the country. They had neither of them probably ever read Manetho;—certainly not Eratosthenes, who seems to have written about the same time. Having thus been independent of, and parallel with, the Egyptian historian, the general coincidence between their respective "lists" of dynasties is highly important, not merely to the confirmation of the facts related, but also to the vindication of the fundamental authority of Manetho. For if the Greeks could be passed for "abbreviators," they would be but the elephant placed upon the tortoise; the latter being set afloat already on the baseless fabric of an imposture.

Dr. Hawks further cites from an author whom he omits to name, a passage which seems to us singularly impolitic and imprudent from the pen of a defender of the Bible. Speaking of the authenticity of dynasties and individual sovereigns in Egyptian history, this writer proceeds:—

"But on such information, even when free from doubt and most accurate, little real value can be set; while the Bible supplies, either by express statement or obvious implication, *facts and principles*, which constitute *genuine history*, and go far to give the past all the value which it can possess for the men of these times."—P. 23.

Observations of this sort compromise the cause they seek to serve. In a *scientific* point of view, (and that is the sole point of view in which such subjects are to be regarded,) "such information," when its accuracy is *assured*, instead of being of "little real value," is to be prized "above rubies." The Bible needs no attempts like this to forestall the discoveries of men of science, or to depreciate their value, for *fear*, apparently, that they may conflict with its claims. Such attempts savour too much of what we call the "Jesuitism" of justifying the means by the end,—a pious fraud. For a "pious fraud" is no less a fraud, when pretending profanely to sustain the Bible, than when perpetrated for the sake of a Society. On the contrary, the offence seems aggravated in direct proportion to the difference of sanctity and majesty between the objects.

Our author next treats of the *hieroglyphics*,—their several species, and the history of their interpretation. His sketch of the history is, in the main, both discriminating and impartial; and his exposition of the varieties, or rather gradations, of the hieroglyphic art itself, is clear in statement and neat in expression. Here, indeed, in the arrangement of materials the most chaotically unpropitious, in an order so lucid and natural as to be completely intelligible—the peculiar talent of the author seems to lie. And this only makes us regret the more that he has not drawn upon the materials before him more freely; and, above all, that he has not tried to extract from them a language more instructive still, as well as more accessible, than that of the hieroglyphics. Let us attempt to show how the hieroglyphics themselves might be made to disclose these more important secrets, by interrogating them not as conventional signs, but as historical facts. As a collateral result, we may perhaps obtain such an exposition of the system, in the former character also, as Dr. Hawks does not appear to have found among the numerous sources of his work.

In analyzing the Egyptian, or any other naturally developed system of writing, *i. e.*, of representation, there are three points of consideration to be steadily kept distinct; namely, the Things signified, the Principles of signification, and the Signs. These three elements have each their appropriate laws, and their progressive modifications; the modifications being produced by the alternate action and reaction of the first and third elements with the human mind, and in the successive directions of the second. When distinctions so fundamental continue to be unobserved or confounded, we need not be surprised to find that clouds of mysticism still overhang the subject of Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

First, as to the *things signified*, which are the foundation of all.

The earliest to engage the consideration of the human mind were, of course, the mere *physical* objects. Next to these, in order, would be the *relations* between two or more such objects; that is, their resemblance in one or more qualities. Between these relations themselves, again, a more *abstract* class of resemblances or relations arise, and the consideration of these would form the third step. The first class we shall distinguish as Physical Objects: the second, as Ideal Objects: the third, as Abstract Objects. These three categories of *mental* objects have each a second aspect, which constitutes, in fact, the essential means of transition from one to another of the stages. The subdivisions, with the course of transition, may be indicated thus:—

1. The Physical object *and* its quality; which, by conjunction with a similar quality and object, give origin to the ideal object, called relation.

2. The Ideal object *and* its quality; which, with the like concurrence of an ideal quality and object, give rise, in turn, to the sort of objects we have termed abstract.

3. The abstract object *and* its quality. Beyond this there are no gradations of *kind*, but only of degree, of complication. The conclusive reason is, that the mind is now removed completely from contact with matter; whereas, in the second stage, its combinations were only half independent, the Ideal arch upon which it stood, so to speak, abutting immediately upon Physical objects. These are, therefore, the principal and progressive stages through which the human intellect must have passed, not only in the formation of this, but of every other art and science of the past. They are even the poles round which it must continue to revolve, from the cradle to the grave of all civilization. For if the reflecting reader will try to imagine a phenomenon of matter or mind not included in one or other of these successive categories, he will agree, we think, that the future can, no more than the present, present us anything beyond an unfolding of these eternal types or forms, which seem to be laid in the constitution of our sublunary system.

Now this being the order of conceiving and *considering* the various objects of human knowledge, it was necessarily that of *representing* them too. The *principle* of the representation was accordingly three-fold: by Imitation, by Association, and by Analogy. Like the things to be represented, these modes have each, of course, a double aspect.

There is an *imitation* by Similarity and by Suggestion; that is to say, by putting the full image to signify the object itself, or merely some principal feature or quality. For example, the Egyp-

tians, to indicate the *sun*, described a circle; and drew a bearded man bound, to denote an *Asiatic prisoner;* or a bird with fire-coloured feathers, (the flamingo, perhaps,) to denote the quality *red*. This expedient of direct expression, it is plain, is only applicable to the first of our categories.

There is an *association* by Participation and by Production; that is to say, a part or quality of the object, and consequently of its image, may signify the whole, or a whole object may represent the idea of one entirely distinct, but connected with it by the relation of cause and effect: this is the method appropriate to the second of our categories. It may be exemplified as thus: Egypt was represented by a crocodile, because a characteristic object, and *part* of the country; and a cat might stand for the moon, because its eyes were remarked to become dilated at the full, the one incident being supposed an effect of the other: or, again, a lion signified the Nile rising,—perhaps because the appearance, at the time, of the constellation of this name above the horizon of Egypt coincided with, and was thus thought to *produce*, the overflowing of the river.

There is, thirdly, an *Analogy* proper, which expresses either of the Ideal objects upon which it abuts *through* the other, and a more complex analogy, which represents a distinct object of the same class by means of either of the former to which it may be related by causation. The representation here, we have said, was "through" the Ideal objects, not *by* them, as in the preceding stage of the Physical: for how make an ideal object or relation a *sensible* sign? The only expedient possible could be, if these objects had established signs of a nature to be subjected to sense. This requisite was, in fact, prepared in the semi-material symbols of *words*. But the representation of oral words by each other, could only be through a resemblance of *sound*, whether in whole or in part, or in production. Accordingly, the Egyptians, to write the Abstract notions, for instance, of "good," and of "creation," depicted a lute and an eye, because the names of these objects, viz.: *nefru* and *iri*, had respectively the same syllabic sound; and the homophony in other cases turned upon the initial articulation merely. Here it will be perceived we have reached the final form of graphical representation, so familiar to our readers as the Alphabetic: reached it, too, by a progression, no step of which is conventional or artificial, but all quite spontaneous, nay, necessary.

Having thus defined the different descriptions of objects to be signified, and the different modes of signifying them, together with the correlative order of succession in each series, it is now not difficult to explain the system and history of the instruments, *the signs*,

whether in ancient Egypt or elsewhere. Indeed, we venture to hope the reader is already in fundamental possession of the whole, and shall, therefore, content ourselves with identifying the designations attested by tradition, and affixing them to the appropriate divisions of this analysis. This last degree of verification will be visible to sense in the annexed rude scheme of the entire exposition:

| *Things to be signified.* | | *Principles of signification.* | | *Signs.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Physical: | Object or Quality. | Imitation: | Similarity or Suggestion. | Hieroglyphics: | Curiologic = pure picture; or, Tropical = linear picture. |
| Ideal: | Quality or Object. | Association: | Participation or Production. | Characters: | Tropical = ideographic; or, Symbolic = allographic. |
| Abstract: | Object or Quality. | Analogy: | Homophony or Derivation. | Letters: | Hieratic = phonographic; or, Enchorial = epistolographic. |

We must here commit this outline to the reader, and invite him to compare it with the other representations of this curious subject. The terms we have mostly adopted he will find more fully discussed in the admirable Warburton; who gave, we do not hesitate to affirm, among unavoidable errors, a more *philosophic* account of the hieroglyphic system nearly a century ago, than has appeared, after all the parade of discovery, in any subsequent writer, of whom at least we are aware, to this hour. We do not except the latest (and not the least ostentatious) of them, the Chevalier Bunsen; who, however, if we remember, deigns to make no mention whatever of Warburton. Among the errors alluded to in this vigorous intellect, was his division of Egyptian writing into four, instead of three kinds. And this recalls us to Dr. Hawks, who adopts, from Mr. Gliddon, an error of the same nature; only with the aggravation of applying it to one of the kinds, and subdividing the Symbolic forms into *four*, instead of two. We might proceed, in the light of the foregoing explanation, to point out many others, not only in our author's compilation, but in the most eminent of his originals. And such an exposure, however invidious, might serve to shield the theory that accomplished it from being charged, by those who are better judges of names than of things, with presumption. But, wanting space, we can give no further assurance than that, if any of our *critical* readers will be good enough to show the defects of said theory by argument or fact, we, on our part, stand engaged to make *him* better acquainted—not by any means with the philosophy of Egyptian hieroglyphics—but with the real state of his knowledge upon the subject.

From the hieroglyphics, the author passes to a general sketch of the situation and climate of Egypt, as bearing upon the singular

preservation of its monuments, the principal localities and specimens of its ruins, and the state of the arts of design. Under this head we quote the following passage, descriptive of the subjects selected to decorate the interior of the tombs. It may also be taken for a sample of Dr. Hawks's neat and lively style:—

"Again, there are the family vaults of the wealthy, the priesthood, the military, &c. These are sometimes very extensive, consisting of various rooms connected by galleries, with the walls of the apartments covered with paintings. The scenes delineated most commonly have reference to the operations of ordinary life. The deceased is represented with his family around him; sometimes they are at the banquet, sometimes listening to music, or amusing themselves with the dance. Again, he is seen in the country, hunting, fowling, or fishing; next, he is superintending agricultural labours. In short, almost every species of mechanical trade is depicted in the tombs: all are scenes of activity, and it has been well said, that 'everything in them savours of life, but the corpse.' The predominant wish seems to have been, to banish from them all that could suggest the idea of death; and the only explanation that offers itself of this singular custom is, that the proprietor of the tomb employed himself, while living, in the preparation for his posterity of what may be called a pictorial autobiography. . . . . With the dead it was usual to deposit, in the tombs, articles of luxury on which they had set a value while living; and in the case of the humble artisan, the tools or utensils which he used in life, were laid with him when he rested from his toil. Hence various objects of interest have been found in the tombs. Elegant vases of granite, alabaster, metal, and earth, are abundant in the various museums of Europe. The tools of the mason and carpenter, articles of household furniture, models of boats and houses, the pallets used by the sacred scribes, with their cakes of ink and reed pens or brushes, with various other articles, are by no means uncommon. Books written on rolls of the papyrus are also found, sometimes enclosed in the swathings of the mummy, sometimes in hollow cases of wood or in earthen jars."—Pp. 76, 77.

It was in this manner the papyrus roll above referred to, named the Book of the Dead, had been preserved. It will be observed, by the way, that Dr. Lepsius' interpretation of the scroll, as describing the dismal peregrinations of the soul after death, does not tally very well with the preceding description of the tombs, which seem to have been fitted up, on the contrary, for cheerful and permanent habitation. Nor do we agree with Dr. Hawks, that these scenes had any biographical design. This, like so many more of our modern notions concerning Egypt and antiquity in general, belongs to what might be termed the *ex-post-facto* philosophy. But the matter is too large for our space. With respect to the implements, &c., too, found in these tombs, it is to be observed, they are not peculiar to Egypt; such things are found as well in the tombs of Etruria, of Greece, of Mexico, and down to our own Indian mounds along the Ohio and the Mississippi. The different degrees of an infant civilization make the observed diversity in the character of the contents. Thus the "brush," in the above enumeration, found accompanying

the cake of ink, affords a curious proof of the practice of mono-chromatic colouring, which we have represented as one of the early stages of the monumental hieroglyphic art.

Thus far for some of the objects of art, both fine and useful. Another extract or two respecting the artists and the execution:—

"In inspecting the specimens of sculpture and painting presented in the remains of ancient Egypt, one is forcibly struck with the manifold defects to be found generally alike in the design and execution; and these are the more surprising, when occasionally some specimen is met with *confessedly* of high merit, as exhibiting practised artistic skill. It is observable, also, that these better specimens are delineations of something other than the human figure. Perhaps a reason for this may, to a certain extent, be found in a consideration of the purpose to which the Egyptians applied the arts of design. The effort was not with them to speak through the eye to the imagination; theirs was the more matter-of-fact business of addressing the understanding. . . . In fulfilling their design, therefore, it was more important to convey the idea correctly, and avoid mistakes, than it was to produce a finished work of art. Hence, the representation of the human figure seldom affords *proof* of elaboration in its execution; a very rude sketch was sufficient to show that nothing but man could be meant by it; commonly the face and lower limbs are in profile, while the body is presented with its full front: proportion, also, is sometimes utterly neglected. In fact, the rough drawing served but to spell the word man, while the hieroglyphics above it informed him who could read them, who or what the man was. But in the very same picture, perhaps, containing a rough sketch of the human figure, birds or other objects would be represented, drawn with great spirit, and coloured with a minute attention to nature. Accuracy of delineation was resorted to when such accuracy was necessary to guard against mistakes, and it was *therefore* required to show the species of the bird represented," &c.—Pp. 78, 79.

We have allowed the author to state his explanation at length, as the fact is one of the most interesting and uniform in the palæology of the arts of design. His conjecture may be well-founded, at least "to a certain extent," as he limits it himself, with that wise sobriety of statement which marks the man who understands and attends to the value of words. But supposing the defects in question to be owing directly to the unartistic purpose of the Egyptians, still it would not follow that they had the power to do better. On the contrary, the absence of this purpose proves the absence of the corresponding power: the latter is father to the other. Moreover, how was it more necessary, for even this merely designative purpose, to be nice in the delineation of the lower animals than in that of man, seeing the former might be indicated as well as the latter, and usually were, in fact, hieroglyphically, by name? Again, in Nineveh, Khorsabad, Persepolis, &c., where there were no hieroglyphics to affix, and no arrow-head or other characters are found employed, we believe, the late explorers all remark the same disparity of execution.

The truth is, that the cause is to be sought in a deeper philosophy. It arises jointly from the nature of the subject and of the artist. The human figure is immensely the most complex, and proportionally the most difficult to express, of any in the animal kingdom. And, then, this difficulty is vastly aggravated when man has *to sit for himself.* For this is strictly his intellectual condition, until he be brought round to a position, so to say, without himself, by mounting, gradually, the scale of objects, from the inanimate up to the progressively more organized. This position of self-portraiture, of self-contemplation, was first, in the history of humanity, attained in ethics, as well as in art, on the glorious soil of Greece. Here it was that men first understood the difficulty of *knowing themselves* sufficiently well to have made the maxim an injunction from the temple porch of the god of philosophy.

We had almost forgotten to confess to our readers that there is an appendage to the work of Dr. Hawks, which usurps a full moiety of the elegantly bound volume. Like Pope's grub in amber, the first emotion it inspires is the question, "how it got there." It is entitled, "Journal of a Voyage up the Nile, made between the Months of November, 1848, and April, 1849." The *writer* makes a much larger figure in his own Journal than do Egypt and its monuments. On every page, nay, almost in every paragraph, we find his "dragoman," his "boats," his adventures, in a word, by flood and field; not forgetting his frequent encounters and familiarities with "young English noblemen." Then, in the scientific controversies respecting Egypt, *he* finds no difficulty. With the "Hieroglyphic Dictionary and Grammar of Champollion" in hand, he moves through the labyrinth of monuments with the familiarity of a high-priest of the 18th dynasty. And for the poetry and philosophy, his guide-books are, avowedly, Moore's Epicurean and the Travels of Miss Martineau!

Glancing through his pages we encounter the following allusion:—

> "Had you been here [he is in the midst of an apostrophe to the reader] in the time of the Trojan war, you might have seen the elegant form of Memnon, standing erect in his car, and his two hundred chariots and twenty thousand horseman, *which were levied to accompany Achilles* to the plains of Troy," &c.—P. 121.

The reader perceives that our traveller has read Homer. Ay, and he quotes him at the bottom of his page; but he assumes the reader to be, like himself, too familiar with the text to require chapter and verse for so novel a reading.

[The writer of the above article having filled up all the space allotted to him without characterizing the higher and holier range of Dr. Hawks's labours—the illustration and confirmation of the historical records of the Pentateuch—we add a few words, (and we regret that they must be but few,) to indicate his mode of procedure. The subject is opened, in the fifth chapter, with some well-considered and judicious observations on the nature and value of *incidental* testimony, such as that about to be adduced. The Bible, in giving the history of the Hebrew race, gives also, incidentally, a *part* of the history of the Egyptians. Now, if modern discoveries in Egypt

"bring to light historical events which synchronize with the relation of them given in our book; or if they illustrate, in hundreds of particulars, national usages, or manners, or arts, all of which are found to harmonize with what our document casually illustrates of customs, &c., among the ancient people to whom it incidentally refers; then cumulative testimony is afforded thereby to the truth of our document, so far, at least, as our book and the monuments professedly speak of the same thing."—P. 87.

Dr. Hawks is well assured that the Bible "does not *need* this cumulative testimony to its authenticity." But it has been boldly asserted that the Egyptian monuments directly contradict the truth of the Bible,—and that, too, while the *certain* correctness of some of the hieroglyphical interpretations is only assured by their correspondence with the Bible narrative. Our author proposes, then, to go through the fragments (and they are but fragments) of history preserved in the monuments, and to compare them—even though in isolated parts, gathered here and there—with the history preserved in the Bible. He takes up successively the history of Abraham, of Joseph, of the Bondage, of the Deliverance, and of the Wanderings, and finds, in each, coincidences of that most striking class—the undesigned—so numerous and so obvious, when once brought out, as to furnish a very large stock of cumulative testimony. As a specimen of the argument, we quote the points selected from the history of Abraham, and illustrated from the Egyptian remains; namely:—

"*That Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.*"
"*That Lower Egypt was then dry.*"
"*That its kings were known by the name of Pharaoh.*"
"*That domestic servitude then existed there.*"
"*That there was famine in Canaan and abundance in Egypt.*"
"*That Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.*"
"*That Pharaoh wished to place her in his harem.*"
"*That there was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation then manifested.*"
"*That his gifts were sheep, oxen, he and she asses, men and maid servants, camels, gold, and silver.*"
"*That Abraham accepted these gifts.*"—P. 94.

In the treatment of this branch of the subject, Dr. Hawks's admirable faculty of lucid arrangement and distinct statement has full play; and he proceeds, too, with a calm confidence of the strength of his positions, that cannot fail to inspire his readers—such of them especially as have been somewhat startled by the bold asseverations of the infidel school of Egyptologists and their train of ignorant imitators—with a similar confidence. The ninth chapter gives a brief summing up of his results, from which we quote, in conclusion, the following sober, manly, and discriminating passage:—

"We have, we are well aware, done but little more than furnish a few items, and those of a general nature, of the mass of testimony which might easily be adduced. We are not without the hope, however, that enough has been presented to show that the boast is premature which proclaims that Egyptian discoveries have proved the Bible to be false. The geology and chronology which are established (as it is said) by the soil and monuments of Egypt, are the strong grounds on which those rely who would condemn the Scriptures: but to our minds, we are free to confess, were both these grounds much stronger than they are, the conclusion would be most unphilosophic that the sacred history is untrue. For what are the facts? We have shown a great many particulars in which, undeniably, the testimony afforded by Egypt to our narrative, is too marked to be accidental. Hundreds of circumstances, some of them singly of small importance, and all casually introduced, without being intended as evidence when they were penned, are found, on being brought together, to harmonize in a wonderful manner with the story which (as far as that story has been interpreted or understood) Egypt is telling of herself. Under such circumstances, what says the enlightened and truly philosophic mind? Certainly this: that even granting, in the present imperfect condition of science, there may be much in the geology of Egypt which indicates an extreme age, and presents a seeming difficulty in reconciling that age with received opinions as to the *date* of events; granting that the chronology, supposed to be gathered from cartouches interpreted by the guidance of a supposed Egyptian historian, whose very existence even is to some of the learned doubtful; granting that such chronology may not appear to synchronize with any received system of Scripture chronology; yet there is so much plain and palpable in Egypt that, in the shape of undoubted facts, does rise up to support the Bible story; so much of the Book is thus *proved to be true;* that real science will pause ere it too hastily concludes to reject, as entirely false, a witness clearly sustained in part, and that an important part; and will modestly conclude, that when more is fully known that science may *possibly* hereafter reveal, it will be found, that as the Bible and science are alike from God, they will prove, *when investigation is finished*, to be in entire harmony.

"The Bible, so far as the testimony of Egypt is concerned, has established a claim that is undoubtedly to be, *in part* at least, believed. Let her, then, have credit for that part, and let it create the reasonable presumption that *all* she says, if properly understood, will be found true: let her have the benefit of this at least, until the science of man, now confessedly imperfect, shall have produced from Egypt what the Bible has, namely, equally *undoubted evidence:* it certainly *has not yet done it*, in contradiction to the Bible."—Pp. 239, 240.]

## Art. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) The press of Messrs. Robert Carter & Brothers is abundantly prolific; and, what is more, prolific only of good. Among their recent issues is a reprint of the "*Young Man's Closet Library*, by Robert Philip," (12mo., pp. 347,) embracing the three works known as Manly Piety in its Principles, Manly Piety in its Spirit, and Manly Piety in its Realizations, which, on their first appearance, were so widely popular and useful. Mr. Philip is a writer somewhat given to exaggeration and straining after points; but this work has fewer of his faults than some others; and it abounds in strong appeals, admirably adapted, both in manner and matter, to the minds and consciences of young men.

(2.) "*A Copious and Critical English-Latin Lexicon, founded on the German-Latin Dictionary of Dr. C. E. Georges*, by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A., and Rev. J. K. Arnold, M. A. First American edition, revised, &c. by Charles Anthon, LL. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 8vo., pp. 754.) In *our* school-days, we got out our exercises by dint of turning English words into bad Latin, and then looking out the Greek for it in our well-thumbed Schrevelius. Boys of this age have green pastures, indeed, to walk in. This new English-Latin Lexicon, like Liddell & Scott's Greek, and Freund's Latin Dictionaries, will necessarily supersede all other works of the same class, and for the same reason,—its vast superiority. The German-Latin Lexicon of Georges has long held the very highest rank in its own country; and Messrs. Riddle and Arnold have added large materials gathered from various sources. The American edition is decidedly in advance of the English, especially in the copious dictionary of proper names. The printing and binding are in the excellent style for which all the large Lexicons, got out by Messrs. Harper, are distinguished.

(3.) "*The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith, including a variety of pieces now first collected*, by James Pryor. In four volumes. Vol. I." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850: foolscap 8vo., pp. 586.) Mr. Pryor's indefatigable labours on every point connected with the life and writings of Goldsmith have been fully acknowledged by the more recent biographers, Forster and Irving. Indeed, but for Pryor, it is not likely that Forster and Irving would have written at all. The complete collection of Goldsmith's works was the final proof of Mr. Pryor's pains-taking industry: and Mr. Putnam has taken the tide of public feeling at the flow in this beautiful reprint of it. The present volume contains the "Bee," the "Essays," (including many now first collected,) the "Inquiry into the present state of Polite Learning in Europe," and a number of Prefaces and Introductions, several of which are newly collected. No library that deals at all in the luxuries of literature, can be deemed complete without this edition of Goldsmith. Mr. Putnam has brought it out in his usual style of typographical neatness, and in a new and unique binding.

(4.) "WHATELEY'S ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC" has been so long before the public, that a critical notice of it would now be out of place. Our own judgment is simply, that no work extant in English compares with it in logical clearness of the subject—viewing Rhetoric in the restricted sense in which Dr. Whateley uses it. A neat and cheap edition (18mo., pp. 348) has just been issued by Messrs. Harper & Brothers.

(5.) "*Objections to Calvinism as it is, in a series of Letters addressed to Rev. N. L. Rice, D.D.*, by Rev. R. S. FOSTER; with an Appendix, containing Replies and Rejoinders." (Cincinnati: 1849. 12mo., pp. 310.) Most of the letters here collected appeared originally in the Western Christian Advocate, and owed their origin there to a series of attacks on Methodism in a Western journal. The object of Mr. Foster, as he himself states it, is "not to discuss fully the doctrines peculiar to Calvinism, nor to present the counter views of Arminians, but *simply to present a statement of Calvinism, and objections thereto.*" Under this plan he treats, in successive chapters, of God's Eternal Decrees: of Election and Reprobation: of the Atonement: of Effectual Calling: of Final Perseverance: of the State of the Heathen World: and of the Human Will. On each of these topics the Calvinistic view is stated, *not* in the language of Mr. Foster, but in that of the Confession of Faith and of standard Calvinistic writers: and the statements, in general, appear to us to be as fair as it is possible to make them. From these statements the author draws logical inferences—and these, in most cases, are the only *objections* to Calvinism that he adduces. Certainly, in view of the fearful character of these logical and inevitable results of the system, no other objection need be offered. We have long been satisfied that, in forming our moral judgments of *men*, we ought not to charge upon them the logical issues of their opinions, when they expressly disclaim those issues: but, in judging of *systems*, our logic may, and should, be unsparing and relentless. Truth must not be tampered with. Mr. Foster writes with great vigour and clearness; and his book is calculated to do good in regions where the Calvinistic controversy is still going on. For ourselves, we most heartily wish that the controversy were dead, buried, and forgotten.

Prefixed to the volume is a clear and succinct historical sketch of the Calvinistic theory, brought up to the present time, by Dr. Simpson.

(6.) WE have received a copy of the twenty-sixth thousand of "WAYLAND'S *Elements of Moral Science, abridged and adapted to the use of Schools and Academies, by the Author.*" (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln: 18mo., pp. 210.) There is no other book so good for the purpose.

(7.) MESSRS. CARTERS have reprinted that excellent book, "*Domestic Portraiture; or, the Successful Application of Religious Principle in the Education of a Family, exemplified in the Memoirs of three of the deceased children of the Rev. Legh Richmond.*" (12mo., pp. 351.) It is full of touching proofs of the ten-

der, Christ-like spirit of the sainted Richmond: and abounds in encouragement to Christians in the religious training of their children; at the same time it abounds in warning and reproof—though more implied than expressed—to such as *neglect* this religious training. There is a waking up among us to this great theme: would that it were a universal awakening! Prefixed to the work are a few "Introductory Remarks on Christian Education, by Rev. E. Bickersteth," which are rather disjointed and unhappy.

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(8.) We shall not be censured, we trust, as meddling with party politics. if we say that President Taylor has made no appointment over which we have more rejoiced than that of Mr. Ewbank as Commissioner of Patents. Few of the public servants of the people, we opine, can show as good a title to their places as his "*Descriptive and Historical Account of Hydraulic and other Machines for raising Water, ancient and modern, with Observations on various subjects connected with the Mechanic Arts: including the progressive development of the Steam Engine*, &c., by Thomas Ewbank." (New-York: Greeley & M'Elrath, 1849: 8vo., pp. 608.) We confess that we were utterly ignorant of the character and value of this work, until we came to read it in the way of our duty. A general notion that it told all about machines for raising water in a very dry way—and that it might be a very useful book for engineers, &c., formed our whole idea of the work. How greatly have we been surprised to find it filled with various learning, stored with out-of-the-way and amusing information, and written in a style at once so clear and so pleasant, that the reading was a pleasure instead of a toil! The work is divided into five books, of which the first treats of "Primitive and Ancient Devices for raising Water;" the second, of "Machines for raising Water by Atmospheric Pressure;" the third, of "Machines working by Compression, independent of Atmospheric Influence;" the fourth, of "Machines, chiefly modern, including the earliest applications of Steam for raising Water;" and the fifth, of "Novel devices, with an account of Syphons, Cocks, Valves, Clepsydræ," &c. In every case the history of each particular machine is traced from the first indications in the books or monuments of antiquity, down to the latest refinements of mechanical skill. To mechanics and inventors this volume is, we suppose, absolutely indispensable: and to all others, who wish to learn how the arts began, and to trace their gradual progress, we commend it as a repository both of instruction and amusement.

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(9.) "*The Fountain of Living Waters, in a Series of Sketches, by a Layman*," (New-York: G. P. Putman, 1850: 18mo., pp. 165,) is a sweet and tender appeal in behalf of spiritual religion, addressed especially to the young. It describes, in the light of personal experience, the sandy desert of the mere worldly life, and points out the Fountain of living waters, ever pure and abundant, to which all are invited to "come and partake freely." It would make a beautiful and useful gift-book.

(10.) The thousandth anniversary of the birth of Alfred the Great, was celebrated in England a few months ago. Our young readers will find his history most pleasantly told in the "*History of King Alfred of England*, by Jacob Abbott;" recently published by Messrs. Harper & Brothers; and, like the other volumes of Mr. Abbott's series, beautifully illustrated.

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(11.) The day will come when Lamartine, standing by the gate-post of the Hôtel de Ville, and subduing by his eloquence the furious passions of the thousands upon thousands of delirious revolutionists who sought they knew not what at the hands of the self-constituted Provisional Government of 1848, will be commemorated in stone, on canvass, and in song, as the very impersonation of moral sublimity. To-day, shame to human ingratitude and perspicacity! it is the fashion to disparage, or at least to neglect him. His "*History of the French Revolution of* 1848," marked by that command of language, spontaneous eloquence, and tenderness of feeling, which in Lamartine are so remarkably combined with the power of clear narrative and graphic description, has met with little favour from the press, and does not seem, in this country, to have reached the people. "But it is the utterance of vanity!" What then? Of all this Revolution, most of all, of the repression of violence, wrong, and bloodshed, who, more truthfully than Lamartine, can say, "*Pars magna fui?*"

The book is a series of pictures. We give an example:—On the second morning of the revolution the dregs of Paris were gathered in countless numbers before the Hôtel de Ville. The red banner, signal of the revolution of blood, was waving over their heads, and they demanded its adoption as the standard of the republic. At last a deputation forced its way into the building to bear the final summons from the mob to the provisional government. Their spokesman was a young workman, the Spartacus of the band:—

"He was a man of from twenty to twenty-five years of age, small, but straight in form; he was strong, and had a firm and manly carriage of his limbs; his face, blackened by the smoke of powder, was pale with emotion; his lips trembled with rage; his eyes, sunk under a prominent brow, flashed fire. The electricity of the people was concentrated in his look. His countenance had, at once, a reflective yet mazy expression; strange contrast, which is found in certain faces, where a mistaken opinion has nevertheless become a sincere conviction, and an obstinate pursuit of the impossible! He rolled in his left hand a strip of ribbon or red stuff. He held in his right hand the barrel of a carbine, the but-end of which he struck with force upon the floor at every word.

"He spoke with that rude and brutal eloquence which admits of no reply; which does not discuss, but which commands. He had those terrible hesitations which irritate and redouble, in the uncultivated man, the rage of his suppressed emotion from his very want of power to articulate his fury. His gestures helped out the meaning of his words. Every one was standing, and in silence, to listen to him.

"He spoke not as man, but in the name of the people, who wished to be obeyed, and who did not mean to wait. He prescribed the hours and minutes for the submission of government. He commanded it to perform miracles. He repeated to it, with accents of greater energy, all the conditions of the programme of impossibilities which the tumultuous cries of the people had enjoined it to accept and to realize on the instant:—the overthrow of all known society; the destruction of property and capitalists; spoliation; the immediate installation of the destitute into the community of goods; the proscription of the bankers, the wealthy, the manu-

facturers, the *bourgeois* of every condition above the receivers of salaries; a government with an axe in its hand, to level all the superiorities of birth, competence, inheritance, and even of labour; in fine, the acceptance, without reply, and without delay, of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat; to the people, their victory; to Paris, terror; to all foreign governments, invasion: each of these injunctions was supported, by the orator, with a blow of the but of his musket upon the floor, by frantic applause from those who were behind him, and a salute of shots, fired on the square.

"The members of the government, and the small number of ministers and friends who surrounded them, Buchez, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and Payer, listened to these injunctions to the end, without interruption, as one listens to delirium, from fear of aggravating by contradicting it.

"Lamartine saw the efforts of his colleagues powerless against the obstinacy of these envoys of the people. He was irritated by this insolent defiance of an armed man, who constantly presented his carbine, as a powerful argument, to men who were disarmed, indeed, but who knew how to look death in the face. He broke through the groups which separated him from the orator. He approached this man, and took him by the arm. The man shuddered, and sought to disengage it, as if he feared the fascination of another being. He turned, with a disquietude at once savage and timid, towards his companions, as if to ask them what he should do.

"'It is Lamartine,' said some of the members of his party.

"'Lamartine,' cried the orator, with defiance, 'what does he want with me? I do not wish to hear him; I wish the people to be obeyed upon the spot; or if not,' added he, endeavouring to disengage his arm, 'bullets, and no more words. Leave me, Lamartine!' continued he, still moving his arm, to disengage it; 'I am a simple man. I do not know how to defend myself by words. I do not know how to answer by ideas. But I know how to will. I will, what the people have charged me to say here. Do not speak to me! Do not deceive me! Do not lull me to sleep by your eloquence of tongue! Behold a tongue that cuts everything, a tongue of fire!' said he, while striking on the barrel of his carbine. 'There shall be no other interpreter between you and us.'

"Lamartine smiled at this expression of the poor man, still retaining him by the arm. 'You speak well,' said he, 'you speak better than I do; the people has well chosen its interpreter. But it is not enough to speak well; we must listen to the language of reason, which God has bestowed on men of good faith and good will, that they might be able to explain themselves to one another, to aid, instead of destroying each other. A sincere speech is peace among men. Obstinate silence is war. Do you wish for war and blood? We accept it; our heads are devoted; but then, how the war and blood will fall back upon those who have not wished to listen to us!'—'Yes! yes! Lamartine is right! Listen to Lamartine!' cried his comrades.

"At last, intelligence and feeling prevailed. He let his carbine fall upon the ground, and burst into tears. They surrounded him, they felt compassion for him; his comrades, yet more moved than he, withdrew him in their arms out of the precincts. They caused the column, of which they were the head and the voice, to flow back into the court-yards, signifying to the people, by their cries and gestures, the good words of the government, and the good resolutions which they themselves had formed. A sensation of hesitation and repentance was felt in the palace and at the gates—the government breathed."

The American edition (2 vols., 12mo., bound in one. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) is translated by F. A. Durivage and W. S. Chase.

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(12.) "*A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Noah Levings, D. D., preached before the New-York Conference, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., May*, 1849, by THOMAS A. MORRIS, one of the Bishops of the M. E. Church." (New-York: Lane & Scott, pp. 20.) This discourse is marked by the well-known characteristics of Bishop Morris's style,—clearness, directness, and point. The text, Isa. xxxviii, 1: "Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou

shalt die, and not live," is briefly unfolded under two heads; first, the work of preparation required of us; secondly, the consideration by which it is enforced. Then follows a sketch of the life and public services of Dr. Levings, and a touching account of the closing scene. We commend the sermon especially to our preachers.

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(13.) "DAVIES' *First Lessons in Arithmetic*," for the use of beginners, (18mo., pp. 168: New-York, A. S. Barnes & Co.,) combines the oral method with the method of teaching the combinations of figures by sight. It strikes us very favourably on a cursory examination.

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(14.) MESSRS. CARTER & BROTHERS have issued a new edition of "*The Complete Works of Henry Kirke White, with an account of his Life*, by ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D." (8vo., pp. 420.) It is not necessary for us, at this day, to characterize Kirke White. The present edition, embracing all his writings, both prose and verse, is the best that we have seen, being printed on fine white paper, with a large and bold type.

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(15.) SOME years ago the Greek and Latin exercises in common use in our schools were impracticable. Boys could not work them; and if they could, the result would not have been worth the toil. The true principle of making such exercises mainly *imitations of pure classic authors*, however, has wrought great changes in the form and character of these books. Mr. Arnold has employed it very successfully in his exercises on Nepos, and it is very generally made use of in M'Clintock and Crook's First Books in Greek and Latin. As long ago as 1832, it was employed by one of the little band of able men then gathered about the University of London, (who introduced a new era in elementary text-books,) in a small book, called "*Exercises on the Anabasis of Xenophon, to be rendered into Xenophontic Greek.*" It contains sentences formed on the text of the Anabasis, (chiefly the first Book,) to be rendered into Greek, of the accuracy of which the pupil could judge by comparing his exercise with the original. Two books have lately appeared at home, in which this method is employed with the greatest skill and success. The first of these, intended for beginners, is "*Greek Lessons, consisting of selections from Xenophon's Anabasis, with directions for the study of the Grammar, Notes, Exercises*, and a *Vocabulary*, by ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor in Dartmouth College." (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, & Mason: 12mo., pp. 121.) Like all Professor Crosby's works, it is scholarly throughout. The other book, designed for more advanced scholars, is "*Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, adapted to the First Book of Xenophon's Anabasis*, by JAMES R. BOISE, Professor of Greek in Brown University." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.: 12mo., pp. 185.) It contains exercises (far better prepared than those of the London book, above referred to) framed on sentences and phrases taken from the first book of the Anabasis, with vocabularies, and

brief, but judicious, explanatory notes. A vocabulary also is given with the first book, according to Krüger's text. We cannot see why Owen's text should not have been followed, as the exercises were prepared on it. We commend this work as an *excellent* exercise-book.

(16.) We have seldom seen better prepared elementary books than "Ray's *Arithmetic*," and "Ray's *Algebra*, Part First." (New-York: Clark, Austin, & Smith.) They give the *rationale* of all the rules with such remarkable clearness and simplicity, that no child need stumble blindly on after the old plan of learning rules by heart, and applying, without understanding them.

(17.) We are not competent judges of such a work as "*Respiration, and its Effects; more especially in relation to Asiatic Cholera, and other sinking Diseases*, by Emma Willard." (New-York: Huntingdon & Savage, 1849: 8vo., pp. 64.) But we must say, that the enthusiasm of the writer has infected us: we took up her pamphlet with no expectation of reading more than a page or two to see its drift, and did not stop until we had read it through. Mrs. Willard believes that the *circulation of the blood is caused by respiration*, operating through animal heat; and has written a book to prove it, entitled, "A Treatise on the Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood." She applies this theory to Cholera; which disease she believes to consist mainly in (or rather to be caused by) deficient respiration. And she proposes a very simple cure, viz., deep and rapid breathing,—not merely a theoretical one, either; for she brings forward several cases of cure, under her own advice, from this simple process. Whether her views are sound or not, we cannot say; but they are certainly ingenious, and are here put forth in a shape that ought to command attention from scientific men.

(18.) "*The Practical German Grammar; or, a Natural Method of learning to read, write, and speak the German Language*, by Charles Eichorn." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850: pp. 286.) This is another application of what is called the natural method of teaching the German language. The author's plan is good; but we cannot say that he has been successful in carrying it out. The rules are neither perspicuous nor concise; and they are so dissevered from the examples, as to make their application very obscure.

(19.) We have had some fears of evil from the great multiplication of books, often by inexperienced persons, on the subject of Christian Perfection. One now before us appears calculated to be useful, though some portions of it may lead persons of warm temperament astray. It is entitled, "*Full Sanctification Realized*," edited by John Eyre, (18mo., pp. 235,) and is made up chiefly of short accounts of the experience of eminent Christians,—most of which, we believe, have been published at the Methodist Book-Room, London.

(20.) "*Glimpses of Spain; or, Notes of an Unfinished Tour in* 1847, by S. T. WALLIS." (New-York: Harper & Brothers: 1849. 12mo., pp. 384.) Most travellers in Spain hitherto have fallen among thieves: Mr. Wallis's track, one would think, had led him only among angels. Almost everything he saw there was rose-coloured; but whether the light was from within or without, or, as our German friends would phrase it, was objective or subjective, it seems hard to decide. A right pleasant book of travels he has made of it, at all events: sunny and cheerful in spirit, graphic in description, and most readable throughout. An occasional tone of levity, in regard to religious themes, is the only discordant note we have to mention. Mr. Wallis appears to think more of the priests than of the Bible Society,—perhaps, however, it is only appearance.

(21.) WE mentioned in our last number the proposed publication, by Mr. R. GARRIGUE, of the "*Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art, systematically arranged by* G. HECK; *the text edited and translated by* SPENCER F. BAIRD, A. M., M. D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.;" and then assured our readers that the work would be amply worthy of the fullest confidence and encouragement. The first three numbers have since appeared, punctually at the promised time,—and their contents fully justify all our promises. The letter-press (240 pp., 8vo.) is occupied with *Mathematics*, including Geometry, (pure, applied, and descriptive,) and careful descriptions of Mathematical and Surveying Instruments; *Astronomy*, (Physical and Theoretical,) and *Physics*, (General Physics and Mechanics.) The style of the translation is concise, clear, and accurate—just what it should be for a scientific work. The separate subjects are necessarily treated with great brevity: but here the ample illustration given by the plates comes in most aptly. Indeed, in looking over the work, one is at a loss to say whether the plates are designed to illustrate the letter-press, or the letter-press the plates. We shall take occasion to give a more full account of this great work at some future point of its progress. In the mean time, we urge all our readers who desire to encourage a *genuine* book, to purchase this Encyclopædia.

(22.) WE mentioned the two new translations of Pascal on their appearance in England. We have now before us a reprint of "*The Provincial Letters of Blaise Pascal; a new translation, with Historical Introduction and Notes,* by REV. THOMAS M'CRIE." (New-York: Carter and Brothers. 1850. 12mo., pp. 392.) To speak of the merits of the Provincial Letters were as wise as to praise Shakspeare. It is our province, however, to characterize the *translation*. And what we say of that must be comparative: it is indefinitely superior to Pearce's, published about the same time in London, and that amounts to saying that it is the best English translation extant. This, and other translations, will be spoken of more at large in an article on Pascal, (already prepared by one of our contributors,) which waits its turn for a place in our pages.

(23.) It seems that Baptist Noel's mind always had a proclivity towards the Baptistic theory of Christianity, for he tells us, in the Preface to his "*Essay on Christian Baptism*," (New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1850. 18mo., pp. 308,) that during his ministry in the establishment, "an indefinite fear of the conclusions to which he might arrive, led him to avoid the study of the question of Baptism." In this blank state of mind he took up the question, and soon settled it—for he has had time both to make up his own mind, and to write his book within a marvellously brief period. Yet we believe him to be an honest and good man. In this volume he confines his attention to the subjects of baptism; assuming that the word baptism means immersion, and that to baptize is to immerse: and he hopes to make this assumption good in another volume. A review of the work is promised for a future number.

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(24.) In a brief notice of Dr. Bethune's Harvard Oration, in our last number, we mentioned, as its most striking feature, "its healthiness of tone, both moral and mental: no affectation, no transcendentalism, but the most manly good sense, expressed in a style as pure and transparent as it is fresh and vigorous." This judgment may be applied, almost without reserve, to the whole of the "*Orations and Occasional Discourses*, by George W. Bethune, D.D." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850: 12mo., pp. 428.) In looking through this beautiful volume, we recognize many well-remembered passages—more, we think, than we could say of any other man's occasional addresses. Each of them has a definite practical aim,—and that aim is not often left unreached. But this volume, not merely from its own intrinsic merits, but as the best specimen extant of a class of literature almost peculiar to this country, deserves to be the subject of a special article, which we hope some day to offer to our readers.

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(25.) "*The Works of Michael de Montaigne, comprising his Essays, Letters, and Journey through France and Italy; with Notes from all the Commentators, Biographical Notices*, &c., by William Hazlitt." (Philadelphia, J. W. Moore, 1849: 8vo., pp. 686.) The Essays of Montaigne, says Hallam, were "the first *provocatio ad populum*, the first appeal from the Porch and the Academy to the haunts of busy and of idle men; the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy." In knowledge of *man*, Montaigne has never been surpassed among the Essayists: in the combination of acuteness of perception, richness of fancy, affluence of literary illustration, with vivacity and energy of style, he remains unrivalled. His works are read in nearly all the living languages of Europe: but perhaps the best version of them, that nearest to the original in freshness and simplicity, is the one which we enjoy in English. The first English version was made by Florio, tutor to Prince Henry, (1603;) the next, by Cotton, about 1680, has formed the basis of all subsequent editions. Each succeeding editor has sought to mend Cotton, with more or less success. Mr. Hazlitt's edition is, doubtless, the best that has appeared. We trust that

Mr. Moore will be amply remunerated for his enterprise in bringing out this fine and cheap edition; thus bringing Montaigne within the reach of even narrow purses.

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(26.) In spite of toryism, one-sidedness, and even in many cases gross carelessness, "Hume's *History of England*" retains its place in the very first rank of British historical literature. And so long as perspicuity and ease continue to be held as the chief merits of style, this supremacy will last. It needs no prophet to foretell that Hume will be a classic after Macaulay is forgotten, or, at least, laid upon the shelf, as having written for one age, and for one age only. Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, have felicitously projected an edition of Hume, to match in size, price, &c., their portable edition of Macaulay. Five volumes have already appeared: the unabridged work will be completed in six; and the last volume will contain a complete Index. This edition will undoubtedly be, as the publishers announce, the cheapest and most convenient edition of Hume now extant.

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(27.) We are glad to see that a second edition of "*Classical Studies: Essays on Ancient Literature and Art, with the Biography and Correspondence of eminent Philologists*, by Professors Sears, Edwards, and Felton," (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849: 12mo., pp. 413,) has been called for. To those who do not know the book, a brief statement of its contents may be necessary. In the short "Introduction" we have a beautiful and scholarly plea for Classical Studies. Then follows a sketch of the "Schools of German Philology," (by Professor Sears,) which gives graphic personal accounts of Heyne, Winckelmann, Wolf, Boeckh, Hermann, Jacobs, &c., as well as a definite statement of the separate tendencies of the Berlin and Leipsic schools—if they can be thus distinguished. The next is a discourse on the "Study of Greek Literature," by Tegnér,—poetical, as might be expected. The third and fourth contributions, on the "Study of Classical Antiquity," and on "The Wealth of the Greeks in Works of Plastic Art," are from the veteran Jacobs, and are full of the fine enthusiasm which pervaded and inspired that great man's genius. The fifth, and, on many accounts, the most interesting and valuable portion of the volume, is a large collection of Philological Correspondence between the most eminent classical scholars of Holland and Germany, from Ruhaken and Ernesti, down to Passow and Jacobs. This is followed by four essays,—the "School of Philology in Holland," by Professor Edwards: the "Superiority of the Greek Language in the Use of its Dialects," translated from Jacobs, by Professor Felton: the "History of the Latin Language," abridged from Hand, by Professor Sears: and "The Education of the Moral Sentiment among the Ancient Greeks," another of Jacobs' genial discourses, translated by Professor Felton. The work concludes with a body of valuable notes, biographical and critical. We cannot but wonder that the Editors could allow this *second* edition to go forth without an Index. Many times, in our repeated references to the *first*, have we blamed them,—so far as we could blame men who were serving us with so rich a banquet,—

for permitting us to grope our way through many pages for a fact or a sentiment which could have been found in a moment by the aid of a fair Index.

Could Classical Teachers and Professors in this country do *anything* more likely to imbue the minds of their students with the enthusiasm which classical study, above all others, demands, than to set them to reading this book?

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(28.) The third and concluding volume of "Hildreth's *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution,*" (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 8vo., pp. 592,) has appeared. Appended to the volume is a complete list of authorities, and a copious index. We are promised a careful review of the whole work from an able writer, and therefore forego any remarks of our own at this time, except to repeat, that this is the *only* complete repository of the historical facts of America in a convenient form ever published.

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(29.) "*A System of Ancient and Mediæval Geography, for the Use of Schools and Colleges*, by Charles Anthon, LL. D.:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1850: 8vo., pp. 769.) Those who, like ourselves, have attempted to teach Greek and Latin literature, know that a good and complete system of classical geography has been among the absolute *wants* of American schools and colleges. The work before us is meant precisely to fill the gap; and it takes up the subject in the *exhaustive* way in which Dr. Anthon generally treats the subjects he undertakes to discuss. It is a large book, indeed; but a large book was needed: we had compends enough before. It is divided into three parts,—Europe, (pp. 1–600,) Asia, (pp. 601–708,) and Africa, (pp. 709–750.) A brief sketch of the physical geography of each of these great divisions is given first, and then follows the descriptive geography of each country embraced in the division. The same order, or as near an approach to it as possible, is observed in treating of the several countries—an advantage which both teacher and student will know how to appreciate. At the end of the book is a copious index, covering twenty pages in small type. There is one striking defect—which we are almost inclined to think must be the bookbinder's fault rather than the author's—there is no *table of contents*. To get a bird's-eye view of the book, we have been compelled to go over it from beginning to end; and both teacher and pupil will have to make their own digests before the work as a *system* can be clear to them. If this be, indeed, an omission on the part of Dr. Anthon, we hope it will be supplied in the next edition—of which may there be many.

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(30.) In happiest company with the work just named, we find on our table its necessary complement, a "*Classical Atlas, to illustrate Ancient Geography*, by Alexander G. Findlay, F. R. G. S.:" (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1849, folio.) It contains twenty-five maps, showing the various divisions of the world as known to the ancients, drawn from the best sources, together

with a full index of names, both ancient and modern. The Introduction gives a valuable sketch of the history of ancient geography, and is illustrated by a plate exhibiting a portion of that singular specimen of ancient science, the Tabula Peutingeriana. It states, with great clearness, the difficulties of the task of representing the geography of former ages, and the sources from whence alone *accurate* notions of the subject are to be derived. The maps (done in England) are beautifully engraved and coloured,—and must be considered the *best* classical maps on a small scale now extant. Such at least is the testimony of those who have examined them much more thoroughly than we have yet been able to do. Our own judgment, founded on a hasty inspection, (yet careful as far as it has gone,) is, that for school and college purposes this Atlas must soon supersede all others.

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(31.) An edition of Cowper's Homer has long been wanted in this country. Mr. Putnam has supplied the want, in part at least, by the publication of "*The Iliad of Homer, translated into English blank Verse*, by William Cowper, with Notes, by M. A. Dwight, author of Greek and Roman Mythology:" (12mo., pp. 617.) The edition chosen for reprint is that of Southey, which, it will be remembered, follows Cowper's *first* edition rather than his second, for the substantial reason that the former was prepared when the poet was in full possession of his faculties, and in his happiest days; the latter, in his later years of weariness and wretchedness, when life, not to say labour, was a burden. The present editor has added a number of notes, which strike us very favourably. There are not too many of them, and what there are appear to go directly to the point. The Odyssey is promised, should sufficient encouragement be given by the demand for the present volume. Of this we think there can be no danger—certainly there *should* be none. Homer can be read in English only in Cowper's version—unless, indeed, old Chapman's unequal translation may compete with it. Mr. Putnam has brought out the work in the style of neatness and elegance which characterizes all his late publications.

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(32.) Messrs. Carter & Brothers have reprinted "*Sketches of Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Christ*, by Jabez Burns, D. D., author of the Pulpit Cyclopædia," &c. (12mo., pp. 299.) As we have characterized this work before, it is needless for us now to do anything more than mention the fact of its reappearance, and renew our commendation of its conception and execution.

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(33.) Chambers' "*Information for the People*" (Philadelphia, W. A. Leary: 2 vols., royal 8vo., pp. 832, 846) is, what it professes to be, a cyclopædia of popular information of the most useful kind. It is not intended, like the bulky and many-tomed encyclopædias, for an unfailing book of reference in regard to all departments of human knowledge, but as a digest of those branches on which it is important that *all men* should be informed. As

purely technical topics and details, which go largely to swell the bulk of cyclopædias generally, are here omitted, there is ample room, within the compass of two noble octavos, for a summary of those branches of human knowledge which are necessary for every well-informed man. Where this book is owned in a family, and the children read it, they *cannot* be ignorant; and, moreover, they will have, for the cost of a few dollars, an amount of information which would cost them a hundred in the ordinary way of books. We are glad to see that the work is now in its *fifth* American edition, and hope it may want many more.

(34.) THE author of "*The Old World; or, Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands*," (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850,) tells us, in his preface, that he "wrote, because he liked to." We suppose he printed for the same reason.

(35.) "*The Sermons of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D. D., comprising a Course for the whole Year, with a Supplement of Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions*," have been lately republished in a handsome 8vo. volume (pp. 565) by Messrs. R. Carter & Brothers of this city. The affluent imagery, abundant learning, and pure spirituality of Taylor's Sermons, will keep them in circulation as long, we suppose, as English sermons are read at all. This volume is a storehouse at once of poetry, eloquence, and divinity. Few clergymen are willing to do without Jeremy Taylor's whole works, unless the *res angusta domi* absolutely forbid it; but those who cannot buy the costly English edition of the complete works, will find here *all* the sermons, which constitute, perhaps, the most valuable part of Taylor's writings, at a very low price.

(36.) WE have seen nothing in the way of books of instruction in the art of penmanship, to compare with "*The Common School Writing-Book, in five numbers*, by O. G. BADLAM." (New-York: Collins & Brother.) It gives light-lined letters for tracing, and illustrates the mode of joining letters without lifting the pen, and affords various other ingenious aids to the learner. We commend it to teachers.

(37.) "*The War with Mexico*, by R. S. RIPLEY, Brevet Major in the U. S. Army," &c. (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1850: 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 524 & 648.) These two ample volumes are not to be noticed without careful examination,—and *that* we have not been able to give them, as they were placed upon our table just as our closing sheet was going to press.

(38.) IT is a gratifying sign of improvement in the public taste, that books illustrative of Scripture, and especially of the *characters* of Scripture, are found to be so popular. Of this class is "*Family Pictures from the Bible*, by Mrs. ELLET." (New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo., pp. 223.) So far as we

know, this is the first gallery of *family* pictures from the Bible; the idea is a very felicitous one, and Mrs. Ellet has succeeded remarkably well in carrying it out. The style of the Sketches in this volume is, we think, decdedly better than that of her "Women of the American Revolution;" and, besides her own, several are furnished by Dr. Bethune, Rev. H. Field, Dr. Hutton, and others.

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(39.) "*The English Pulpit: Collection of Sermons by the most eminent Living Divines of England.*" (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo., pp. 400.) There are several new features in this collection. The sermons are all by *living* divines, and no two are from the same hand. The editor, in making his selections, has not "confined himself to any one branch of the Christian Church, but has freely ranged through all denominations maintaining the essential principles of Christianity." Of the thirty-two discourses in the volume, *eight* are by Methodist preachers, namely, Newton, Bromley, Bunting, (father and son,) Atherton, Beaumont, Jobson, and Young. Among the rest, are some of the most eminent names in the various branches of the Christian Church in England. The book is well conceived, and will doubtless command an extensive sale.

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(40.) We call the special attention of teachers, and of all persons interested in Education, to Professor Mandeville's course of books in Reading and Oratory, now publishing by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., New-York. The "*Elements of Reading and Oratory*," (12mo., pp. 352,) and the "*Course of Reading for Common Schools and the lower Classes of Academies*," (12mo., pp. 377,) have both been some years before the public, yet have hardly, we think, received such attention as their remarkable merits deserve. To these are now prefixed a series of elementary works, including the "*Primary Reader*," designed for the use of the youngest children in schools: the "*Second Reader*:" the "*Third Reader*," for Common Schools and Academies: and the "*Fourth Reader*." In all these books, from the first to the last, one system is preserved—each book apart, as well as the series as a whole, being progressive: "not nominally, but really so; that is, beginning with the easiest reading in the language, the lessons continue to task the power of the pupil more and more to the end." It is not often that scholars, so able as Professor Mandeville, are willing to devote themselves to the labour of preparing elementary books—and we trust he will be amply rewarded.

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(41.) The advantages of what passes by the name of "Ollendorff's Method," in the study of languages, are now very generally recognized. The books prepared on this method, however, have not always been made simple enough for children, or even for more advanced pupils. To meet this want, Professor Greene, of Brown University, has prepared a very neat little volume, entitled, "*First Lessons in French, introductory to Ollendorff's larger Grammar.*" (New-York: D. Appleton & Co.: 18mo., pp. 138.) We have made personal trial of this book, and have no doubt that it is the best yet issued for beginners in French.

(42.) "*Heaven's Antidote to the Curse of Labour*, by JOHN ALLAN QUINTON," (New-York, S. Hueston, 1850: 18mo., pp. 155,) is the title of the essay to which the prize offered in England, in 1847, for the best essay on the Sabbath, by "a working man," was awarded by the committee of adjudication. Mr. Quinton, the writer, is a journeyman printer. The essay is remarkable for point, energy, and eloquence. It deserves, and we hope will secure, a wide circulation in this country.

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(43.) "*Mitchell's Biblical and Sabbath-School Geography, designed for Instruction in Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes:*" (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co., 1849: 12mo., pp. 122.) This book supplies, what has long been needed, a "concise and easy system of Scripture geography, moderate in extent and price." Four maps—the world, as known to the Jews; Canaan, Egypt, and the route of the Israelites; the land of Israel, with the boundaries of the twelve tribes; Palestine—well engraved and coloured, with a large number of wood-cuts, illustrate the text. A chronological table of the principal events recorded in the Bible concludes the work.

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(44.) MESSRS. LEA & BLANCHARD (Philadelphia) continue the publication of the neat and cheap "Classical Series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt," of which we have spoken several times before. The last issue is, "*Q. Curtii Rufi de Gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum, libri qui Supersunt VIII.:*" (18mo., pp. 326.) All that has been said of the preceding volumes of the series will apply to this.

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(45.) WE have seldom read *through* so large a book more rapidly and pleasantly, than "*The Life of Ashbel Green*, V. D. M., *begun to be written by himself in his eighty-second year, and continued to his eighty-fourth.* Prepared for the press by JOSEPH H. JONES, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia." (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1849: 8vo., pp. 626.) The work is, in fact, not merely an autobiography of Dr. Green, but a very agreeable and gossiping narrative of Revolutionary times—and a history, to a great extent, of the origin of almost everything distinctive in the American Presbyterian Church. It was our purpose to give an extended article in this number founded on the book, but, much to our regret, it has been crowded out. Mr. Jones seems almost to apologize, in his preface, for giving so much of the "autobiography:" but, for us, that is precisely the charm of the work. As we purpose to return to it again, however, we need not say more at present.

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(46.) THE finest and most *sensible* gift-book that we have seen for 1850, is "*Women of the Old and New Testament.*" (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., royal 8vo.: pp. 229.) It consists of a series of portraits, (ideal, of course,) of eighteen of the principal female personages of Scripture, designed by Staal, and engraved in the finest style of the art, by eminent English Engravers,—accompanied by characteristic descriptions, by American Clergy-

men; among whom we notice Dr. Mason, Dr. Cox, Dr. Murray, and others. We put the engravings before the letter-press in our statement of the contents of the book, because it is clear that the text was written to illustrate the plates; and well it might be. Such plates deserve to be published, as these have been, in two hemispheres at once. The descriptions, as far as we have read them, are worthy of the beautiful accompaniments that surround them.

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(47.) EVERYBODY has heard of "*Poor Richard's Almanac*," but few, of this generation, have seen it. A complete set has been obtained, with great effort, by Mr. Doggett, of this city, who proposes to publish them all, in almanacs, for successive years. That for 1850 is before us, containing a complete calendar, &c., for the year; and, for reading matter, Poor Richard for 1733, 1734, and 1735, with the beginning of Franklin's Autobiography illustrated.

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(48.) WE have been greatly gratified with monthly visits, for the last quarter, from the "*Journal of Education for Upper Canada*," published at Toronto, and edited by Dr. Ryerson. It is conducted with great spirit and ability, and its pages abound in indications that the Common-School System is taking deep root in Upper Canada. We wish God-speed to the cause, and to this able Journal as its organ and exponent.

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(49.) THE "*Pulpit Reporter*" is a newspaper, to be published every other week, (Holbrook, Buckingham, & Co., 128 Fulton-street, New-York: two dollars per annum,) containing Reports of Sermons, from living Ministers of different denominations, taken down stenographically. The first number contains four sermons, and a biographical sketch of Rev. G. Bush.

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(50.) THE Exposition of the Four Gospels, (by the author of the "Peep of Day," &c.,) which has been so widely circulated under the title of "Light in the Dwelling," has been republished as "*The Four Gospels, arranged as a Practical Family Commentary for every day in the year, edited, with an Introductory Preface*, by S. H. TYNG, D.D." (New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850: 8vo., pp. 548.) It breathes a very pious spirit, and will be very acceptable to families of Calvinistic sentiments. Dr. Tyng's name is put upon the back of the book in such a way as may, perhaps, lead careless observers to suppose that he is the author of the volume. We do not suppose that this was intended: but care ought to be taken to avoid even the appearance of mercantile management in getting out devotional books.

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(51.) THE long and anxiously expected "*History of Spanish Literature*, by GEORGE TICKNOR," has at last appeared, from the press of Harper & Brothers. We can only now say that a careful review of this great work is in preparation for our April number.

(52.) "*Sketches of Reforms and Reformers in Great Britain and Ireland*, by HENRY B. STANTON," (New-York, J. Wiley: 12mo., pp. 393.) A work which combines the quick, lively, graphic style of writing, which this age loves so well, with sound discrimination and industrious research. We read all the sketches as they appeared in the "Era" with great pleasure and profit; and they are now retouched, condensed, and improved. The young men of our country, especially, should read it, and learn how real reforms are carried on and *won*.

(53.) "*The Whale and his Captors*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 18mo.,) is a very interesting account, by Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER, of whalemen and their adventures, as seen by himself on a homeward cruise of the ship "Commodore Preble," with a great number of illustrative engravings. It is just the book to be both attractive and useful to children and youth.

## ART. XI.—MISCELLANIES.

[UNDER this title we purpose to publish, from time to time, short articles, either original, or selected from foreign journals, on topics of Biblical Literature and Theology. We shall also admit *letters* from any of our readers who may be disposed to question any statements of fact, doctrine, or interpretation found in the pages of this Journal. It must be obvious, however, that such letters must be *brief*.]

### I.

### *Remarks on Ephesians* iv, 12–16.

[By Professor Dunbar. From the Biblical Review for October, 1849.]

NONE of the commentators I have had an opportunity of consulting, appears to me to have rightly understood the meaning of the words in verse 13. The apostle evidently alludes to the period of *military service* among the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, and to the *time* when it commenced. Before that period the youths were under a state of tutelage and discipline to fit them for the service of their country. But I shall begin my remarks with the words of the 13th verse, *μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα κ.τ.λ.* The adverb *μέχρι*, denoting *time*, with a verb of motion or action, points *to the termination of the act*, and, with the *subjunctive of the aorist*, it implies that *the time is not fixed, but uncertain*. In the passage above, *μέχρι*, with the preposition *εἰς*, does not signify, "until all of us shall coalesce," but, *until all of us shall have met*, or, *arrived at* the destined point. The subjunctive of the aorist frequently requires to be translated as the *future perfect* of a Latin verb. The preposition *εἰς* does not always convey the meaning of *into*, but generally of *to* or *at*, when the end is reached. It may be remarked that Euclid uses this preposition when he directs a line to be drawn in an *oblique* or *slanting direction to*, or *upon another*, as in diagonal lines; and *ἐπὶ* when a line is let fall perpendicular upon another line. The verb *καταντάω* is scarcely ever used by any writer prior to Polybius. With him

it has generally the meaning of, *to tend to, to proceed to a certain end or result*, iv, 21; ii, 10, &c. It cannot, therefore, signify *to coalesce*. In the expressions, *εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ* Χριστοῦ, there appears to be a reference, as I have already stated, to the period of military service among the Greeks. The noun *ἡλικία*, never, so far as I know, signifies *stature*, but *the period of youth*, and also *of old age*, scarcely ever *of middle age*. It is often used by Demosthenes for the *period of military service*, commencing at the age of twenty: *ἐστὶ τίς ἐξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν; is any of you beyond the age of military service?* (*Olynth.* ii, 38, § 10.) *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, means those of an age for military service: So *Olynth.* 17, § 11, *φειδόμενοι οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας ἡλικίας*. See also Thucyd. vi, 24. Now, those who had arrived at that period of life were *τέλειοι ἄνδρες*, full-grown men, persons who had arrived at manhood. The expression *εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας*, therefore, means *to the standard of age*, just as we say of a recruit, *that he is above or below the standard*. The term *πληρώματος* also confirms the idea that the apostle had in view the military service of the Greeks. With the classical writers, particularly Thucydides, it means generally *the complement of a ship's crew, the completion or filling up of an armament*. These remarks will, I think, bring out the apostle's idea in a more satisfactory manner than has been done by any of the commentators, since he evidently intended to represent the Christian life as a *warfare*, under the great Head of the Church, and the preparatory fitting for entering on the service. The followers of Christ must be no longer *νήπιοι, children*, or, rather, *ignorant as children*, but, *full-grown men*, arrived at maturity, and therefore capable of exercising their judgments, and not *κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι πάντι ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας κ.τ.λ.* I shall now give my translation of the 13th verse:—"Until we all shall have reached to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, to complete manhood, to the standard of age for the full service of Christ."

In verse 16, there is an allegorical representation of the body of Christ, or the Church, in the description of the human body arriving at maturity by support of its several members, *ἐξ οὗ* (*scil.* Χριστοῦ) *πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον, διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας, κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου μέρους, τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. Our common translation is both erroneous and unintelligible. Most commentators seem to have made *ἑνὸς ἑκάστου μέρους* to be governed by *ἐν μέτρῳ*. This, however, is not the construction. They should follow *κατ' ἐνέργειαν*. Dr. Bloomfield in his annotation on the passage has given nearly the correct meaning:—"by the operation or working of each individual part or member, according to the measure (of its power.") The term *οἰκοδομήν* ought not to be taken in *the figurative sense* of *edifying*, but in the *literal* of *building up*. In conformity with these ideas I would translate the verse thus,—*From whom the whole body, being joined together and compacted, gives increase to the system* (*body*) *through every joint* (*ligature*) *for supply or nourishment, according to the efficient working of each separate part in its proportion* (or *degree*,) *to the building up of itself to maturity, in love;* or, *affection to all the members.*

## II.

## *Remarks on Proverbs* xxx, 15.—*The Horse-Leech.*

[From the Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1848.]

This passage is well known for the perplexity it has occasioned to commentators, ancient and modern. The question is, what we are to understand by the "two daughters" of the *leech*, for there is no ground for the distinction of *species* introduced

into the English version. Heb. עֲלוּקָה ; Sept. Βδέλλα; Vul. *Sanguisuga.* These two daughters cannot mean daughters in the sense of offspring, for the leech brings forth but one, of either sex, at a time. Every resource of criticism has been employed by Bochart,* who concludes by deriving the Hebrew word *alukah*, leech, from the Arabic *aluk*, which means *fate*, heavy misfortune, or impending destiny; whence he would infer that *alukah* here means the fate of death attached to every man by the decree of God, and explains its two insatiable daughters as signifying Hades and the grave. He endeavours to fortify this interpretation by some semblable terms of thought and language in the Scriptures and in modern use, and shows that it was adopted by the Rabbinical writers. The great objection to this solution is, that it involves a very unlikely mistake on the part of all the ancient translators, who unquestionably understood the *leech* to be meant, and which creature is appropriately introduced into the passage among other emblems of avarice and rapacity.

The solution we have to offer is, that the "two daughters" of the leech mean its two lips, for these it has, and most regularly formed, as the external parts of its complicated mouth. We found this explanation on those many instances in which the Hebrew word daughter is used in the sense of *instrument*, *process*, *adjunct*, or any conjunction whatever. In the well-known description of old age, (Ecc. xii, 4,) "and all the daughters of music," or rather of song, "shall be brought low," the word evidently refers to the lips, front teeth, and other instruments of pronunciation. The word daughter is also applied to the "apple of the eye," or pupil, (Ps. xvii, 8,) literally the daughter of the eye, in regard to its appearance as a protuberant portion of that organ, (compare the use of the Greek word κόρη, and of the Latin *pupa*, *pupilla*, and *pupula*.) It is also applied to the *branches* of trees: Gen. xlix, 22, "Joseph is a fruitful bough, whose branches," literally daughters, "run over the wall." The phrase, "daughters of cities," evidently means the excrescent villages or towns belonging to the metropolis or *mother* city, (Num. xxi, 25, 32; Judges xi, 26; Josh. xv, 45: Heb.) The analogical sense of the word might be pursued, as it appears in the various derivative senses of the word בֵּן, a son, such as a *structure*. It occurs in several Arabic words. Nor is it without a distant resemblance even in our own language, as for instance in the word *keelson*, the next piece of timber in a ship to her keel.

Should this explanation of the "two daughters of the leech" be correct, it will afford one case out of many of the utility of an immediate examination of nature in aid of Biblical interpretation. This obvious method has hitherto been neglected in regard to the *ant*, among other objects, and with reference to a passage found in the same chapter, (v. 25,) and which, in our translation, apparently favours the old and now exploded notion, at least in regard to the ants of this country, that the ant lays up stores of food. The question in regard, however, to the ants of Palestine is still left open to the diffidence expressed by Kirby and Spence, respecting the inference that *no* exotic ants have magazines of provisions, till their habits shall have been "more accurately explored."† For of all the persons who, in this age of improvements in science, have visited or resided in Palestine, we have not yet heard of any who has had the curiosity to test the question by examining an ant's nest during the winter.

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* *Hierozoicon*, à Rosenmüller, iii, 758, &c.

† Introduction to Entomology, ii, 46.

## III.

## *An Attempt to Explain Romans* ix, 3.

*"For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ," &c.*

[From the Journal of Sacred Literature, October, 1849.]

CONSIDERABLE ambiguity rests on this passage in our version of the New Testament. The superficial reader is apt to regard the apostle as giving utterance to a sentiment from which every Christian mind must recoil, and which is only calculated to fill it with horror,—that for the sake of the salvation of his people he would be content to be separated from Christ, and consigned to eternal reprobation. With regard to such a sentiment, we do not say too much when we affirm, that even supposing we could find no principle of criticism which would give the words a different sense, we should be justified in rejecting it as being alien to every holy emotion in the Christian heart, and opposed to the entire spirit of the Christian religion.

The original words are, Ηὐχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. It is not my purpose to examine the different opinions regarding the sense of this passage, but it may not be improper to glance briefly at one or two of them. The view of those who would translate the word Ηὐχόμην, "I did wish," has no foundation in sound exegesis. It is manifest the Apostle speaks of his immediate feelings. Besides, there are other insuperable objections to this rendering.

Nor is the view of Dr. Waterland, as quoted by Doddridge, much more tenable, who would give to the words the following rendering,—*Made an anathema after the example of Christ.* The sense put upon ἀπὸ in this rendering is supported by a reference to ἀπὸ τῶν προγονῶν, (2 Tim. i, 3.) But this solitary reference is not sufficient to establish the rendering, as the expression in Timothy might be translated, with equal propriety, *according to the religion or system of my forefathers.*

Grotius understands the word Χριστοῦ as meaning the Church of Christ. According to his view, the expression ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ has the sense of "being excommunicated or separated from the fellowship of the Christian Church." This view, however, does not seem to agree well with the drift of the Apostle's argument; for we cannot perceive any connexion between his zeal for the salvation of the house of Israel and separation from the Church of Christ. The train of thought in his mind would not naturally have suggested such a declaration. Besides, the philological ground is not sufficient to support such an interpretation. The only instance, so far as I know, of the word Χριστὸς being used in the sense of the Church of Christ is that in 1 Cor. xii, 12; but this is not sufficient authority to ground an interpretation upon, especially when the words are capable of a sense more in harmony with the argument of the writer. The whole ambiguity turns upon the sense we put upon the words ἀνάθεμα and ἀπὸ. That the word ἀνάθεμα means "accursed," in a spiritual sense, cannot be questioned; but it has a secondary meaning no less certain,—that of being *devoted to destruction or death.* This is the sense given in certain passages to the Hebrew word חֵרֶם by the LXX. See Lev. xxvii, 28; Job vi, 17, 18; Josh. vii, 1, where the word חֵרֶם is rendered by the word ἀνάθεμα. The term is not of frequent occurrence in the New Testament; and in the few instances in which it does occur, it has a modification of meaning determined by the connexion, somewhat different from that given above; but its usage in the Septuagint is sufficient ground for our taking it, in the passage under consideration, in the sense referred to.

I am aware that the authority of Chrysostom has been cited as against this interpretation: Εἰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε, πῶς ἀνάθεμα ἐαυτὸν ηὔχετο εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος θάνατος μᾶλλον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνῆπτε χορῷ, καὶ τῷῆς δόξης ἀπολαύειν ἐκείνης ἐποιεῖ—"*If he meant so, (to be devoted to death or martyrdom,) how could he wish himself to be separated (ἀνάθεμα) from Christ? for such a death would rather have brought him into more intimate fellowship with Christ, and to the enjoyment of the felicity belonging to such a state.*" Much weight, it is true, is due to the authority of this ancient writer; but the force of the above passage rests on a misconception of the meaning of the expression ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, an expression which I hope to be able to show is capable of a very different sense from that in the mind of Chrysostom.

The connexion seems also to confirm the view, that by the expression ἀνάθεμα the apostle had in his mind the idea of temporal destruction, more especially that which appears in the form of persecution and martyrdom. He had just spoken of the trials to which the primitive preachers of the gospel were exposed, "tribulation, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, or sword;" and it was exceedingly natural for him, in expressing his ardent affection for his "kinsmen according to the flesh," harmonizing with the train of thought in his mind, and arising naturally out of it, to express how willing he should be to submit to all the calamities he had referred to, could he in any way promote the salvation of his people. The sense of the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ remains still to be determined. There are not wanting, I am well aware, in the New Testament, many passages, in which the preposition ἀπὸ denotes the *efficient cause*, (see Matt. xi, 19; xvi, 21; Mark viii, 31; Luke xvii, 25, and in many other instances.) According to this view, the Apostle affirms that he could wish himself to be made an ἀνάθεμα by Christ for his kinsmen according to the flesh. But there is something harsh in the idea of Christ as the direct author of the sufferings of his servants. I cannot but think the words capable, therefore, of a meaning more in accordance with the general views presented in Scripture of the benevolent character of the author of Christianity, and equally accordant with the genius of the language. The words ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ I would translate as meaning separation from the work of Christ, removed from his service. This would retain the original conception belonging to the particle ἀπὸ, which is that of *from*, (*e. g.* Xen. *Anab.* i, 2, 5,) Κῦρος ὡρμᾶτο ΑΠΟ Σάρδεων. This view is strengthened by the words of the Apostle, (Phil. i, 2:) "For me to live is Christ," that is, to live would bring him the happiness of serving Christ, and promoting his cause. We may therefore suppose the Apostle as declaring, in the passage in question, that, in order to promote the salvation of his people, he was willing to undergo any amount of suffering, involving even death itself, and consequently the suspension of his labours, his entire removal from the service of his Master, in which he so much delighted. Thus the sacrifice he was ready to make was twofold,—the sacrifice of his life, and the sacrifice of the enjoyment connected with the service of his Divine Master. If this view be taken of the passage, it greatly enhances the intensity and force of the language.

The writer of these remarks is not aware that the view he has taken of the latter part of the Apostle's words has ever been propounded before. He presents it with great diffidence, his main object being to elicit inquiry. Should he be the means of stirring up any of his brethren in Christ to resolve more successfully this or any other Scripture difficulty, he will rejoice in the thought that his labour has not been in vain in the Lord.

## Art. XII.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### Great Britain.

Wesleyan Methodist Church.—The expulsion of the Rev. Messrs. Dunn, Everett, and Griffith, has given rise to a widely extended agitation in the Wesleyan Methodist Societies in England. Those gentlemen are holding meetings almost nightly in the various circuits, and seem to find no lack of auditors. It is plain, however, even from the statements contained in the Wesleyan Times, (the organ of the agitators,) that a large part of the numbers who attend these meetings are made up of the various branches of seceders from Methodism, and of Dissenters, especially Independents. The newspapers in the Dissenting interest show much favour to the movement, and hope for great accessions to the Anti-State-Church party of the kingdom, from the disaffected ranks of Wesleyan Methodism. Now, we have no hesitation in expressing our own regret, that the Wesleyan Methodist *Church* forms, or seems to form, one of the buttresses of the Establishment. The quasi union, natural when the Methodists merely formed a society within the Church of England, is unnatural and anomalous, now that there is a Wesleyan Methodist Church in England. Yet we cannot see how Christian men and Christian ministers should rejoice, or even appear to rejoice, over agitation and tumult in a sister Church, merely from a distant hope that good might result from it. It is not thus that true reforms grow. It is hard to say towards what point the expelled ministers and their friends are aiming; nor do they appear, as yet, to know themselves. It is hinted at one time, that a General Convention of Wesleyans must be called; at another, that memorials, asking for the restoration of the three expelled, and for certain changes in the Conference system, must be sent up to the next Conference from every quarter of the Connexion; at a third, that there must be a general demand for lay representation in the Conference; at a fourth, that the powers of the district meetings must be greatly enlarged, and a lay power fully recognized in them, &c., &c. Among the weapons of the malcontents, the one most commonly used, if not the most efficacious, is, the charge of mismanagement of the affairs of the Missionary Society; of excessive salaries, loose expenditure of money, &c. Our own reading of their newspapers (and we have spent more time on them than we could well spare) satisfies us, that for these charges there is little or no ground. They catch so anxiously and nervously at trifles, they dwell so fondly on a chance mistake of a few pounds, or even of a few pence,—in a word, they show so many of the unmistakable signs of *swift witnesses*, that their testimony is sadly at fault, even without a cross-examination. In the mean time, these charges are met, for the present, by simple denials on the part of the Missionary Secretaries: but it is announced, that the lay gentlemen who compose the Missionary Committee of Review are shortly to be gathered, from all parts of the kingdom, to make a close and rigid scrutiny of all the affairs of the Mission House. We need not say that we are abundantly confident of the result of such an investigation. The closer it may be, the more surely will the probity of the eminent Christian ministers, who have managed so long, so much to the advantage of the cause of missions, and to the glory of God, the Wesleyan Missionary Society's operations, be displayed before all men. The columns of the Watchman (the Conference organ) continue to be occupied, to a great extent, with defences of the proceedings of the Conference in the expulsion of Messrs. Dunn, Everett, and Griffith; and batch after batch of pamphlets appears, on both sides of the question. Nothing that we have read, as yet, has changed the original aspects of the case. Its merits seem to us to lie in a nut-shell—at least for American modes of thinking and feeling. *We* cannot defend the proceedings of the Conference. Palliations and provocations we can imagine, in abundance; but, after all, the principle remains. The three brethren were expelled without shown proof of guilt. We wish it had not been done.

To show in what light the recent difficulties are viewed by one portion of that very Church toward which the Wesleyans are so tender, we quote the following notice of Dr. Jackson's "Vindication of the Conference," from the *Christian Remembrancer* (High Church) for October:—

"'To complain of being shackled by the rules of a voluntary association is the perfection of folly.' Quite so; and were this all, and were Mr. Jackson simply content to allow his Society, the Methodist body,

the very intelligible *status* which these extracts from his pamphlet point at—the Benefit Club or the Voluntary Association—there would not be a word to say further. The 'Vindication' is complete; any voluntary association, the United Service Club, the Mechanics' Institute, the Community of Odd Fellows, has a perfect and unquestionable right to get rid of its obnoxious members; for any reason, or even for no reason. It is simply the 'greatest happiness principle.' It is pleasanter to the one hundred and ninety-nine to be without the two-hundredth. But then when Mr. Jackson begins to talk of 'discipline,' and 'ecclesiastical censure,' an entirely separate class of considerations enters into the field. Societies, being extra-judicial institutions, may very reasonably act in an extra-judicial way; and if the question be asked—as it has been—Would not John Wesley himself have examined the then suspected preachers, and have dismissed them, just as the Conference of 1849 has done? We answer, that it is quite beyond belief that he would have done otherwise. But then John Wesley did not call his societies a Church—he did not talk of his preachers as any order of the Christian ministry—they were simply to 'help me,' 'to serve me as sons,' to 'labour when and where I should direct.' Wesley claimed, and that openly, the 'power of admitting into, and excluding from, the societies under his care.' So that what John Wesley would have done with his preachers or helpers who 'engaged themselves to submit, to serve him as sons in the gospel,' is no very direct precedent for the proceedings of the Wesleyan Conference now. In Wesley's time, 1766, one of the questions to 'his preachers' was, 'Do you constantly attend the Church and sacrament?' In 1849 all these preachers themselves administer sacraments, and affect to do the whole work of the Christian ministry. 'My societies' have become 'the Wesleyan Church:'—my 'helpers' and 'preachers' are now, in their own estimate, bishops and priests, (in America,) and priests in England. Mr. Jackson must therefore take his choice: Wesleyanism cannot at once be a voluntary society, and a true branch of the Christian Church, perfect in its economy, perfect in its ministry, perfect in its discipline. If its defender is content always to argue upon the very rational principles of his present pamphlet, thus:—Messrs Everett, Dunn, and Griffiths were not what Johnson used to call *clubable* men, therefore we have dismissed them from our club—we quite accept this account of the matter: it is quite sufficient: he comes down from his transcendentalism. But if Mr. Jackson puts the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, it must be judged by canonical precedent: it is a matter of law. The *Church* would not have tried these three suspected 'ministers' in the way which the Conference adopted."—P. 492.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—The clergy of the Established Church, of all parties, manifest great anxiety as to the final decision of the Baptismal Regeneration question. The general current of opinion seems to be, that the judgment of Sir H. J. Fust will be confirmed: and in view of the possibility of such a result, it is asserted, by the *Christian Times*, as a fact that may be depended upon, that the "leading evangelical clergymen are in mutual communication, with a view to an organization of the Evangelical party, so as to be prepared for all contingencies." The names of Archdeacon Law and of Mr. Goode, are mentioned as "among those who strongly counsel the taking of some action, with a view to ascertaining the mind of the Evangelical clergy at large on the prospects lying before them. Mr. Law's high reputation for piety in the diocese of his late father, and Mr. Goode's intimate connexion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, will give great weight to any measure which they may approve or disapprove."

As a specimen of the way in which pecuniary emoluments are accumulated in the hands of even what is called the *best* class of men in the Church of England, take the following case. The Rev. Dr. OLLIVANT, late Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, has recently been nominated to the bishopric of Llandaff; and, in consequence, the following appointments held by him become vacant:—

"The Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, value about £800 yearly, in the gift of the University, and to which Dr. Ollivant was appointed in 1843; a canonry in the cathedral church of St. David's, to which he was appointed in 1826, value £60 per annum; a prebendal stall in the collegiate church of Brecon, to which he was appointed in 1830, value £100 per annum; and the rectory of Somersham, Huntingdonshire, to which he was appointed in 1843; this benefice, which is worth £1,770 per annum, is annexed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. The new bishop was for some years Vice-President of St. David's College, Lampeter, and is a good Welsh scholar, although an Englishman by birth."

IRELAND.—Three or four years ago a sort of secret organization was formed, for the purpose of sending agents into every part of Ireland, with special instructions "to address themselves with simplicity, but with boldness, to the Roman Catholics, of a class which had hitherto been almost entirely neglected—shop-keepers and farmers, and persons in that rank of life. The object was two-fold:—first, quietly to convey the knowledge of

the gospel wherever it could be dropped within the reach of those who had never heard it; and, secondly, with equal quietness, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real state of feeling amongst that class of Romanists. For this purpose, the chosen agents were to assume a mysterious independence, answering all inquiries as to their motives and their employers, by referring generally to the religious duty imposed upon every man to impart the religious knowledge he possesses to those who have it not. They were directed to make constant reports, entering minutely into details of facts, and stating the opinions expressed by those with whom they conversed." These agents were sent forth, two and two, and have continued their labours from that time to this, with marked success, as we learn from a collection of extracts from their Reports, recently printed. One feature of the scheme, "the mysterious independence," seems to us objectionable, as likely to lead to prevarication or guile: but we may misunderstand the case. Out of the organization referred to has arisen a *Society for Church* (i. e. Episcopal) *Missions to the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, which is now in active operation. One of the most striking indications of a change for good in that country is the statement, (unconnected entirely with the movements of the Society above mentioned,) that "lately, within the limits of one month, the Lord Bishop of Tuam confirmed no less than nine hundred converts from Popery in the west of Ireland. This should lead the people of God everywhere to thank God and take courage, and to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers for his harvest."

## Home.

Methodist Episcopal Church.—The Minutes for the past year show an *increase* of members and probationers amounting to *twenty-three thousand two hundred and forty-nine;* and of preachers, travelling and local, to the number of one hundred and six.—The *first* Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church (at Concord, N. H.) seems now to be securely established. The late anniversary (Nov. 10) was largely attended by ministers of the New-York and the several New-England Conferences, and universal satisfaction with the Seminary was expressed. There are now forty students,—a larger number than will be found upon the lists of some of the oldest theological seminaries in the country. It will be remembered that this institution does not propose to prepare students *for* a call to the ministry; but only to train students *in* the ministry, who have already received the call of the Spirit and of the Church. Its arrangements are such that *no debt* can be accumulated; and the friends of the school are endeavouring to endow three professorships adequately. No charge is made for tuition.

The Episcopal Church.—We regret to say that the condition of the Episcopal Church in America seems to be daily becoming more painful and uneasy. One would hardly think it possible that Bishop Ives and Bishop M'Ilvaine could be office-bearers in the same communion. The unhappy relations between the former and the clergy of his diocese are well known. As for the Puseyite priests in general, one hardly knows whether to consider any of them as other than Papists, holding on to their connexion with a Protestant Church merely for convenience sake, or, perhaps, in the hope of *unprotestantizing* her; a work in which many of them, unblushingly, avow themselves to be engaged. The most recent development is the apostacy of Rev. John Murray Forbes, late Rector of St. Luke's Church in New-York, who sent in his letter of withdrawal on the 21st November last, declaring it to be his "deep and conscientious conviction," that duty to God required of him to unite himself to the "one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in communion with the See of Rome." It would be a blessing, indeed, to the Episcopal Church, if all who *think* with Mr. Forbes would follow him *at once*. We have understood, since the above paragraph was written, that Mr. Preston, late Dr. Seabury's assistant, *has* followed Dr. Forbes already.

German Reformed Church.—At the meeting of the Eastern Synod of the German Reformed Church, held at Norristown, Pa., (Oct. 11–19, 1849,) a clear proof was given of the strong impression which the able and indefatigable men of Mercersburg have made upon that body. Our readers are perhaps aware that the use of a liturgy is authorized in the German Reformed Church, but that for many years there has been no well-established usage on the subject. The Liturgy in use was held by many to be radically defective, and others again would use no liturgy at all. At the Synodical meeting

referred to a series of resolutions were adopted, of which the following is given (in the Mercersburg Review) as the substance:

"1. That the use of liturgical forms falls in clearly with the practice and genius of the original Protestant Church; 2. That no reason exists in the state of the present American German Church, to justify a departure from this ancient usage; 3. That the liturgy now authorized is inadequate to the wants of the Church, as, apart from other defects, it makes no provision for *ordinary* occasions of public worship; 4. That while the older Reformed Liturgies are, in general, worthy of adoption, there is still need of various modifications to adapt them fully to our circumstances and wants; 5. That the present time is as favourable for new action in the case, as any that can be anticipated hereafter; 6. That it is expedient, accordingly, to proceed forthwith in the business of providing a new liturgy."

The whole liturgical question is thus thrown open for discussion.

UNITARIANS.—The Unitarian Congregational Manual for 1850, estimates the number of Unitarian churches in the United States at 245. Of these 165 are in Massachusetts, leaving 80 for all the other States. Of the 80, 28 are in Maine and New-Hampshire, leaving 52 churches for the other 27 States of the Union.

## ART. XIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### Theological.

#### EUROPEAN.

WE have received the second Leipsic edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament. The full title is, "*Novum Testamentum Græce, ad antiquos testes recensuit, apparatum criticum multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit, commentationem isagogicam præmisit* CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF." (Leipzig, Winter, 1849. 12mo., pp. xcvi, 768.) In the Prolegomena, Tischendorf gives an account of his *personal* labours in the collation of ancient MSS., of the critical apparatus employed, and of the principles on which he has proceeded in the recension of the text. He treats also of the order of the books of the New Testament, of the forms of certain proper names, and gives an account of the various editions of the New Testament, by Elzevir, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Muraltus, Bornemann, (Acts,) and Tregelles, (Apoc.) Then follows a copious *Index Subsidiorum Criticorum*, containing an account, in order, of the codices, versions, works of the Fathers, &c., used in preparing his text. Without intending to characterize the edition with any minuteness, we mention it as one of the most valuable contributions to the criticism of the text of the New Testament that has been made for many years.

Dr. Davidson has issued the second volume of his "*Introduction to the New Testament*," extending from the Acts to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

The last volume of Chalmers' Posthumous Works has now been issued, under the title, "Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and Hill's Lectures in Divinity; with two Introductory Lectures, and four Addresses, delivered in the New College, Edinburgh."

Such of our readers as are acquainted with the life and writings of Samuel Drew, will remember that he prepared his elaborate treatise on the Being and Attributes of God, in competition for a theological premium of £1,200, offered according to the will of a gentleman, deceased. The decision was announced in August, 1815, and Mr. Drew was unsuccessful; the first premium being adjudged to Dr. William L. Brown, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the second to John Bird Sumner, M. A., of Eton, (now Archbishop of Canterbury.) According to the terms of the will, this prize is to be offered at intervals of forty years, forever—the fund allotted to it being amply adequate. The trustees of the fund have therefore recently issued the following announcement, which we publish for the benefit of American writers who may feel disposed to grapple with the subjects named.

"*Theological Premiums.*—A gentleman, deceased, left by his Deed of Settlement a considerable fund to be applied by his Trustees, at intervals of 40 years from 1774, in the payment of Two Premiums for the best Treatises on the following subject:—

"'The Evidence that there is a Being, all Powerful, Wise, and Good, by whom everything exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of Written Revelation; and in the second place, from

the Revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole to point out the inferences most necessary for, and useful to mankind.'

"The amount of the fund to be so applied cannot be less, at any period, than £1,600, and, as nearly as can be ascertained, it will, on occasion of the next competition, be about £2,400. Three-fourths of the fund divisible at each period are appointed, by the terms of the bequest, to be paid to the author of the treatise which shall be found by the judges, to be named as aftermentioned, to possess the most merit; and the remaining fourth to the author of the treatise which, in the opinion of the said judges, shall be next in merit to the former, 'after deducting therefrom the expense of printing and binding 300 copies of each of the said treatises, or of purchasing 300 printed copies thereof, as the said trustees shall direct, to be distributed by them among such persons to whom they shall think the same will prove most useful, or in any other manner that they shall judge proper.'

"The Ministers of the Established Church of Aberdeen, the Principals and Professors of King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, and the Trustees of the Testator, are appointed to nominate and make choice of three judges, who are to decide agreeably to certain rules prescribed in the Deed of Settlement upon the comparative merits of such treatises as shall be laid before them; and it may be proper to mention that, to discourage mean performances, the judges are empowered (if unanimous only) to find none of the treatises produced of sufficient merit to entitle the writers to the premiums. The trustees, however, believe that in the present state of the literary world this is a contingency which can scarcely occur.

"The time allowed by the Testator for the composition of the treatises for the next periodical competition extends to the 1st of January, 1854; and his trustees do now intimate, in compliance with his appointment, that those who shall become competitors for the said prizes must transmit their treatises to Alex. and John Webster, Advocates, in Aberdeen, agents of the trustees, in time to be with them on or before the said 1st day of January, 1854, as none can be received after that date; and they must be sent free of all expense to the trustees.

"The judges will then, without delay, proceed to examine and decide upon the comparative merits of such treatises as shall be laid before them; and the trustees will, at the first term of Whitsunday after the determination of the judges, pay the premiums to the successful candidates, agreeably to the will of the Testator.

"As it tends much to an impartial decision that the names of the authors should be concealed from the judges, the trustees request that the treatises may not be in the hand-writing of their respective authors, nor have their names annexed to them. Each treatise must be distinguished by a peculiar motto; this motto must be written on the outside of a sealed letter, containing the author's name and his address, and sent along with his performance. The names of the successful candidates only shall be known by opening their letters. The other letters shall be destroyed unopened. The writers of the unsuccessful treatises may afterwards have them returned, by applying to Messrs. Webster, or the trustees, and by mentioning only the motto they may have assumed.

"Letters addressed as above, post-paid, will meet with due attention; and it will save much trouble in answering inquiries, to announce that there is no restriction imposed as to the length of the treatises.

"Aberdeen, September 18, 1849."

We continue our notices of the contents and tendencies of the principal European theological journals:—

The *Biblical Review*, (London: Jackson & Walford, three shillings *sterling* per number.) Art. I., on the "Inspiration of the Apocalypse," treats, with much judgment, of inspiration in general, and then gives the evidence, both external and internal, in favour of the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse. Art. II. is a translation of Dr. Bähr's remarks on Mark ix, 49, 50, the same of which a modified translation, (begun before this appeared,) is offered to our own readers in this number. Art. III. is on Swedenborg's Science of Correspondences, and is not marked by any special ability. Art. IV. is a Review, somewhat pungent, of Etheridge's "Syrian Churches, and his Translation of the Peschito." Art. V., "Studies of First Principles." Art. VI. gives a translation, from Gersdorf's Repertorium of Tischendorf's notice of his new edition of the Greek Testament. Art. VII. is on the "Teaching of Christ respecting Oaths," founded on an investigation of Matt. v. 33–37. Art. VIII., Miscellaneous Biblical Criticisms. Art. X., Extracts from Lange's Life of Christ: besides correspondence, critical notices, &c.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Kitto's, five shillings per number) contains the following articles:—I., a review, very commendatory, yet discriminating, of Tischendorf's new edition of the Greek Testament, by S. P. Tregelles. II., a translation of the Introduction to Keil's Commentary on Joshua, by Dr. Davies. III., the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, by Rev. Daniel Kerr, M.A. IV., an Essay on the Hyssop of Scripture, reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. V., on Inferential Reasoning from the Silence of Scripture. VI., Pascal's Conception of

the Peculiar Essence of Christianity, translated from the German of Neander. VII., a Comment on St. Luke's Preface to his Gospel, by J. Von Gumpach, aiming at a critical revision of the authorized version. VIII., Observations on the Tenses of the Hebrew Verb, by Rev. D. H. Weir, M. A. IX., Thoughts on the Literary Character of David. X., a review of Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. II. XI., a review of Alexander's Commentary on Isaiah: besides Miscellanea and Correspondence.

The only theological articles in the *Christian Remembrancer* for October, are the following, viz.:—"English Hymnology, its History and Prospects," the writer of which remarks, in regard to the Wesleyan Collection, that "it may be doubted whether any of the original Hymns included in this book could possibly, and by any change, be included in an English Hymnology!" "Cathedrals and Cathedral Institutions," a sad recital, by one of the family too, of the abuses of the English Church Establishment; the writer asserting, among other things, that if any one, conversant with the names and family connexions of the English bishops during the last thirty years, should cast his eye over the present occupants of the prebendal stalls, he would see reason to suspect that Episcopal patronage had been dispensed on grounds of consanguinity rather than of merit. There is also a review of "Williams' Holy City," vindicating the topographical views of that work against Dr. Robinson, and all the world besides.

The contents of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, for October, are as follows:—I. On the "Conception of the *Great Spirit*, entertained by the Wild Indians of North America;" an elaborate article of nearly seventy pages, exhausting, one would think, the entire literature of the subject. II. "Contributions to the Exposition of the Prophet Amos," with special regard to Baur's "Prophet Amos." III. Exegetical Remarks on Gal. iii, 13, and on Heb. xiii, 13-23, by Dr. Bähr, of Carlsruhe. IV. "Was the Epistle to the Ephesians directed to the Church at Ephesus?" by W. F. Rinck, who answers the question in the affirmative. V. An article by Ullmann, on the third edition of his "Essence of Christianity." VI. "Antichrist, or the Spirit of Sect," by Dr. Nevin, of Marshall College; being a translation of his work with that title published some months ago in this country.

The only articles at all theological in the *British Quarterly* (Congregational) for October, are, the first,—Savonarola and his Times; the third, Stowell on the Holy Spirit; the fifth, the Unity of Mankind, as shown by Ethnology; and the ninth, a review of Dr. Vaughan's "Age and Christianity."

Messrs. Longmans have recently published a treatise on "Church and Chapel Architecture, from the earliest period to the present time, with an account of the Hebrew Church; together with an Appendix, and one thousand authenticated Mouldings, selected from the best examples which this country contains, by Andrew Trimen, Architect," in which an attempt is made to bring back modern ecclesiastical architecture to "the religious principles of the middle ages." Mr. Trimen, we believe, is a Wesleyan. Gothic architecture seems to be superseding all other among our Wesleyan friends in England.

The "Patriarchal Age," republished some time ago, by Messrs. Lane & Scott, New-York, constituted Vol. I. of "Sacred Annals." The second volume has just been issued in London, by Messrs. Longmans, under the title of "*The History and Religion of the Hebrew People*, from the Origin of the Nation to the Time of Christ; forming Vol. II. of 'Sacred Annals; or, Researches into the History and Religion of Mankind.' By George Smith, F. A. S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Royal Society of Literature, of the Irish Archæological Society, &c.; author of 'Perilous Times,' and 'The Religion of Ancient Britain.' 8vo." We have not yet received a copy.

The attacks of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith upon the Wesleyan Conference have given birth to a number of pamphlets in defence of that body. We give the titles of the most important:—I. The Wesleyan Conference, its Duties and Responsibilities, with a Vindication of its recent Acts of Discipline; by the Rev. Thomas Jackson, President of the Conference. 8vo., price 6d:—II. Exposure of Misrepresentations and Falsehoods in the Speeches delivered in Exeter Hall, by Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith, on Friday, August 31st. 12mo., price 1d.:—III. Letters on Recent Decisions of the Wesleyan Conference, by the Rev. John Lomas, Jacob Stanley, Sen., and I. H. 12mo., price 1d.:—IV. Opinions of the Press respecting the Recent Expulsion of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith. 12mo., price 1d.:—V. Further Thoughts on certain Recent Deci-

sions of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, in a Second Letter to a Friend; by the Rev. John Lomas. 12mo., price ½d.:—VI. A Dialogue between Two Wesleyan Methodists, on the present Agitations of Messrs. Everett, Dunn, and Griffith. 12mo., price ½d.:—VII. Letters, by T. Garland, Esq., to a Friend, and by the Rev. Jacob Stanley, Sen., to R. S. Stanley, Esq. 12mo., price ½d.:—VIII. The Misrepresentations and Falsehoods of the "Fly Sheets" Exposed, with Remarks on the Attempts to Agitate the Wesleyan Societies; by the Rev. Joseph Hargreaves.

Among the works in Theology and kindred subjects, recently announced as published or in press in London, are the following:—

The Certain Truth, the Science and the Authority of the Scriptural Chronology, by W. Cunninghame, Esq., 8vo.:—The Greek Testament, with a critically revised Text, a Digest of various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage, Prolegomena, and a copious Critical and Exegetical Commentary in English, by Henry Alford, M. A., Vol. I., thick 8vo.:—The Bond of Perfectness, chiefly as Explained and Illustrated in the Thirteenth Chapter of First Corinthians; by the Rev. H. Verschoyle, A. M., fcp. 8vo.:—Letters and Memoir of the late Walter Augustus Shirley, D. D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, edited by Thomas Hill, B. D., Archdeacon of Derby. 8vo.:—A Memoir of the late Rev. Henry W. Fox, Missionary in South India. Post 8vo.:—The Modern Missionary, as exemplified in a Narrative of the Life and Labours of the late Rev. Edward Cook, in Great Namacqualand, &c., South Africa; compiled from his Journal, Letters, &c.; by his Brother. 12mo.:—The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man, with some Account of the Island, and of the Life and Labours of Bishop Wilson, in a Series of Letters, addressed to the Rev. Geo. Marsden, by James Rosser:—The Class-Leader's Manual; being Letters addressed to a Class-Leader on all Matters relating to his Office, by Henry Fish, M. A. 18mo.:—The Great Redemption, an Essay on the Mediatorial System; by Rev. Wm. Leask, author of "The Footsteps of Messiah," &c., &c. 8vo.:—The Word of God, its Importance and its Power; by the Hon. and Rev. H. Montague Villiers, M. A. 12mo.:—Israel and the Gentiles, Contributions to the History of the Jews, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day; by Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam. Post 8vo.:—The Morning of Joy; by the Rev. Horatius Bonar. 18mo.:—Tetraphonon; or, the Perfect Harmony of the Four Gospels, deduced from the Character, and the particular object in View of their respective Writers; by Dr. Isaac Da Costa, of Amsterdam:—Inspiration in Conflict with Recent Forms of Philosophy and Skepticism; the Lecture delivered at the opening of the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, Session 1849; by John Eadie, LL.D. Second edition, 12mo.:—The Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a Series of Expositions; by John Brown, D. D., author of "Expository Lectures on First Peter," &c., &c. In three large vols., 8vo.:—Daily Scripture Illustrations; being Original Readings for a Year on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology; by John Kitto, D. D., editor of "The Pictorial Bible," "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," &c., &c. 4 vols., 8vo.; to be published quarterly:—A Memoir of the late Richard Winter Hamilton, LL.D., D. D.; by Professor W. H. Stowell, of Rotheram College. 8vo.:—The Work of the Spirit; by Wm. Hendry Stowell; being the Congregational Lecture, Fourteenth Series. 8vo.:—Three Essays on the Re-Union and Recognition of Christians Hereafter; by John Sheppard. Fcp. 8vo:—Letter and Spirit; a Discourse on Modern Philosophical Spiritualism in its Relation to Christianity; delivered in Sheffield, October 9, 1849, by Robert Vaughan, D. D. Fcp. 8vo.:—The Life of John Calvin, compiled from Authentic Sources, and particularly from his Correspondence; by Thomas H. Dyer, Esq. 8vo.:—The Respective Peculiarities in the Creeds of the Mahometan and the Hindu which stand in the Way of Conversion to the Christian Faith, an Essay which obtained Sir Peregrine Maitland's Prize for the Year 1848; by Ernest Frederick Fiske, M. A., of Emanuel College. 8vo.:—Scriptural Communion with God; or, the Pentateuch and the Book of Job, arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, newly divided into Sections for daily reading, with Introductions and Notes; by Rev. G. Townsend, D. D. In 2 large vols., 8vo., (with Indexes.)

Among the publications in Theological Literature for the past year, on the continent, are the following:—

Dr. H. Andr. Chr. Hävernick's, Prof. zu Königsberg, Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das alte Testament. III. Thl., ausgearbeitet von Dr. C. Fr. Keil, ord. Prof. d. Theol. an der Univ. zu Dorpat. Erlangen, 1849. 519 pp. 8vo.

Daniel le prophète, exposé dans une suite de leçons pour une école du dimanche (par L. Gäussen.) Tom. III. Paris, 1849. 8vo.

S. Ignatii patris apostolici quæ feruntur epistolæ una cum ejusdem martyrio. Collatis edd. græcis, versionibus syriaca, armeniaca, latinis denuo recens. notasque criticas adjecit Dr. Jul. Henr. Petermann, Phil. Prof. in univ. Berolin. Lipsiæ, 1849. 565 pp. 8vo.

Q. Sept. Florentis Tertulliani apologeticus et ad nationis libri duo ex fide optimorum codicum manuscriptorum aut primum aut denuo collatorum cum adnotatione perpetua et indicibus ed. Frc. Oehler. Halæ, 1849. 454 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der dogmatischen Entwickelung. Von Dr. W. Br. Lindner. 2 Abthl.: Geschichte der Kirche mittlerer Zeit. Leipzig, 1849. 416 pp. 8vo.

Die christliche Dogmatik aus dem christologischen Princip dargestellt. Von Dr. Th. A. Liebner, Prof. der Theol. zu Kiel. 1 Bd. 1 Abthl. A. u. d. T.: Christologie od. die christologische Einheit des dogmatischen Systems. 1 Abthl. Göttingen, 1849. 389 pp. 8vo.

## AMERICAN.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have in press a new edition of Butler's Analogy, with a careful Analysis, mostly prepared by the late Rev. Dr. Emory, President of Dickinson College, and completed by Rev. G. R. Crooks, of the Philadelphia Conference. The volume will also contain a new Life of Butler, and a copious Index. It will be the most complete and useful edition of Butler's great work.

Messrs. Lane & Scott are preparing for publication a new edition of *Watson's Theological Institutes*, with an Analysis of the whole work, by J. M'Clintock, and a Copious Index of subjects. The Analysis has heretofore been printed in a separate form. The Index will be carefully prepared, and will be a very great convenience to the student. No work of its class, probably, has had so large a sale as Watson's Institutes, within the last half century.

Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., was inaugurated as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, on the 20th of November last. The subject of his inaugural address was, "The Value of Church History to the Theologian of the Present Day."

A translation of Theremin's Outlines of Systematic Homiletics is soon to be published by Prof. Shedd, of Vermont.

We are also informed that Hase's *Kirchengeschichte* is to be translated by Prof. Blumenthal, and Rev. C. P. Wing, of Dickinson College, with modifications adapting it to the use of School and College classes.

The third volume of Prof. Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History has appeared, but we have not yet seen it.

A new edition of Dr. Robinson's Lexicon to the New Testament is in press, and will shortly be published by the Messrs. Harpers. The work has undergone a thorough revision, and will be more accurate and valuable than ever in the new edition.

We have had recently several specimens of Roman Catholic Theological Literature, of a higher rank than has before been known in this country. Among them are—*The Four Gospels*, translated from the Vulgate, and diligently compared with the Greek Text, with Notes critical and explanatory, by F. P. Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia. (8vo. pp. 572:)—The *Works of Bishop England*, published under the Auspices and Immediate Superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Reynolds, the present Bishop of Charleston. 5 vols. 8vo.:—*Christianity and the Church*, by the Rev. Chas. Constantine Pise, D.D. 8vo.

# Classical and Miscellaneous.

## EUROPEAN.

A new series of editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, to be issued under the general title of Bibliotheca Classica, is proposed by George Long, Esq., and the Rev. A. J. Macleane, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. The works will be edited by various hands; and to secure uniformity and consistency in execution, the series will be under the united management of Mr. Long and Mr. Macleane. The first volume will be ready early in 1850; the subsequent volumes will be published at the rate of four or five in the year.

Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, have published a volume on the history of "*German Literature*," by Joseph Gostick, author of the "Spirit of German Poetry." The latter work we have not seen: the former we deem too brief to serve readers unacquainted with German Literature, and too incomplete to be useful to those who are.

THE

# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

## APRIL, 1850.

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### Art. I.—WESLEY THE CATHOLIC.

The more than ordinary movement within the last few years, looking toward a higher state of union and fellowship among the several sects or divisions of Christians, ought certainly to be ranked among the most interesting of the signs of the times. The existing state of the Church Catholic—a state of distinction into what are termed denominations or families, and grounded upon certain differences of theological views,—is certainly a startling fact; and, taken in connexion with the consequent divisions of *heart*, as well as of head, and the numerous misunderstandings of each other's views and characters—the mournful waste of energies and time in religious controversy, and the occasion thus given to the enemies of true religion to blaspheme,—the fact alluded to comes to bear an aspect as melancholy as it is startling. That there is wrong, great wrong, somewhere, is indubitable. The existing position of the Church of God on earth is not the original and apostolic position; it is not that prayed for by Christ, in the seventeenth chapter of John; it is not that, consequently, with which Christ is well pleased; and, finally, it is not the position of the Church of God on high, nor as that Church will be through eternity.

Such being the truth, it is by no means to the point, we think, to enumerate, as is sometimes done, the supposed advantages of the present attitude of the Catholic Church; and especially with a view to indicate that such an attitude is, for the sake of these advantages, ordered in God's providential dispensations. Solemn trifling! nay, worse than trifling, should we deem it, if that is imputed to God, which, when predicated of men, makes, as saith an apostle, their damnation to be just. The truth is, the present division of Christians for opinion's sake is evil,—a veritable moral evil,

a sin; and the God of Providence, therefore, is not to be charged with it. But being sinful, it becomes, as a matter of course,—especially to the deeply thoughtful and pious man,—a subject, not merely for speculation, but alarm. Not only are his eyes open to the sad spectacle before him, but his heart is crushed and bleeding at the sight. He stands amazed, and weeps before God, as well for the desolations of Zion, as for the wickedness of the surrounding nations. And such a man is prepared, above others, to hail with exceeding interest the first and smallest effort toward a happier and holier state of things.

It has been somewhere written, since the agitation of the matter of Christian union commenced,—written, too, by a strong pen, and beyond the pale of Methodism,—that no division of the Church Catholic holds a more eligible position for the promotion of such union, and none would be more likely to step forth in prominent action for a consummation so devoutly to be wished, than the Methodist Episcopal Church. Nor has the history, thus far, of this enterprise gone to falsify, altogether, an encomium so precious and honourable. That some of the strongest and noblest men of the Methodist ministry have arisen to the rescue,—that the bishops, to a man, it is believed, are deeply interested in the movement,—that thousands of others, whose names are more widely known in heaven than upon earth, are ready, and waiting, and longing,—these, and such as these, are promises more beautiful than the blossoms of the opening year, or the bright dawning of the sunny day. To this very day there are tears of happiness in remembrance of the names that, in 1846, went on that pilgrimage over sea, that they might stand up in the name of American Methodism in behalf of the union of the Church militant. And while some of those men of God have since passed away to heaven, the reflection is most welcome and refreshing that one of their last earthly endeavours was for the triumph of the spirit of Christ among all his scattered followers.

In view, then, of the recent yearnings and efforts of good men after a wider and firmer fellowship among the disciples of the Saviour; and in view, especially, of the relation of Methodism to this great enterprise, it has strongly impressed the writer of this article as being not an untimely or ineffectual presentation, if a voice, though of one dead, might speak out here—and a voice the most potent in the ears of Methodism, of all voices save those of inspiration.

The chief aim of this paper, therefore, will be, to illustrate the catholic position of the founder of Methodism.

The catholicism of John Wesley constituted one of the marks—if, indeed, we may not say *the one mark*,—distinguishing him

from the Church of England, with which he was always connected. The attitude of the English Church toward other communions of Christians, and especially toward Dissenters, was nearly the same then as now. Whatever may have been the differing opinions of the Church ministers and laity as to the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, yet the principle, for aught we know, was as rife then as now, that there is no Church without a bishop, and no bishop aside from the apostolical succession in the matter of ordination. The Nineteenth Article read then, as now, that "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and *the sacraments be duly administered;*"—and what the "due administration" of the sacraments means, in an Episcopal mind, needs not to be recited here. Thus the genuine Churchman, on either side of the Atlantic, or wherever he may move among his fellow-men, does contemplate, and from his principles *must* contemplate, all churches but his own as mere organizations or societies, as not entitled to the name of churches, and as being, in fact as well as in theory, without the pale of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, Mr. Palmer, in his book on the Church, cuts off at one fell swoop every "Dissenter," (as he calls them,) whether in England or America, and writes all their communions, in both countries, as "forming no part of the Church of Christ." That the same strong views obtained extensively in Wesley's time, is entirely obvious from his own history, even were there no other sources of evidence bearing upon such a question. So, also, every one who has read of Wesley, knows that from the date of the commencement of his evangelical career, he had, and could have, no sympathy with such views. It is true, that, with all its faults, he loved the Church of which he was a member and minister. He loved that Church to the last, and adhered to its communion to his dying day. Nay, more than this, he was disposed to attach all his societies to the national Church by a tie never to be dissolved. Yet there was no exclusiveness, there was no withdrawal from church-fellowship with any Christian of any communion. From all those cords of bigotry, that, to this day, prevent so many from true catholic fellowship, he broke away as Samson snapped the withes of Delilah. He loved the Church of England much, but he loved the Holy Catholic Church more; nor was there any power competent to deprive him of the freedom he asserted to shout always and everywhere the apostolic blessing, saying, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Amen!" He who is sometimes called the founder of Methodism, was a true-hearted member of the English hierarchy, while yet he differed from it as the eagle on the wing differs from his fellows

encaged. His name, and even his heart, were there; yet he felt himself to be a freeman in Christ Jesus, and would "not be brought under the power of any" thing that would tend to narrow the amplitude of his charity, or burden the wings of his lofty flight. Did his Church virtually say, "Preach nowhere save in duly consecrated places?" "This will never save the world," he responds; and presently, in halls where bishops never walked, and again on Kennington Common, or in Moorfields, encompassed by thousands, he proclaims, fearlessly, the Lord Jesus. Did the canon say, "Pray at the public worship none but the written prayers?" yet Wesley—and none, better than he, loved his Church's liturgy—would, after all, pray as "circumstances directed." Must none be encouraged or allowed to preach, until upon their heads the sacred hands were laid, and the apostolic power conferred? Wesley thought so once,—but the Spirit is falling as the showers of lovely dew, and converts are multiplying as the drops of the morning, and John Nelson is already astonishing his neighbours in Yorkshire with the story of his conversion, and exhorting them to the same great grace, with exhortation so backed by sacred quotation as to sound very like a sermon;—and, in fact, a sermon it becomes. Meanwhile, Wesley—though nearest to it of all mortal men—is, after all, not ubiquitous; and as he is careering in the north, "helpers" are needed in the south, and *vice versa;*—and preach those helpers will, and preach they do; and, what is more and better still, the Lord is working with them with signs following. And John Wesley was not the man to withstand God; and just so soon as he saw the lay-preachers indubitably helping forward the great object from which his clear eye never wandered, then, Churchman as he was, this same Wesley loved to have it so. The truth was, his was a Churchman's *head*, but God had sanctified his *heart*, and made it a catholic heart, of course; and the catholic heart failed not to modify the Churchman's head, until, at length, head and heart had no controversy; and this modern apostle, well balanced and duly commissioned, ran, like a giant, the race of holy charity and evangelization.

From this great crisis in Wesley's history, no one should write him a Churchman on the one hand, nor a sectary on the other. Here and now, we see him emerging into the great Catholic Communion, and allying himself indissolubly to the whole of Christ's body; and he selects his place near to the heart of Jesus, and struggles for the stand-point and vision of the great Saviour himself, as He glances upon the entire fellowship of his disciples, and upon the world on whose behalf He wept and died.

2. The catholicism of Wesley is seen, secondly, in the platform

of his societies. And what was this platform? What were the general or special opinions contemplated? What was its array of symbols and of dogmas? There was nothing of all this. Taking his position as nearly as possible in the very centre of heavenly illumination, and standing there, as the angel in the sun, he saw that the religion of Christ was eminently a matter of the heart and life. A world of responsible and sinful beings, exposed to instant and remediless ruin, yet within reach of a mighty Saviour,—this was enough for Wesley. He forgot creeds, and articles, and confessions. He dispensed with every Procrustean theory, and overlooked all the lumber of worldly wisdom. In rearing the gate of admission to his society, he sought to Christ alone. Jesus had said, "Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out;"—and, hence, Wesley dared not open a gate more narrow. For what was his society? "A company of men having the form, and seeking the power, of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other work out their salvation." What, then, were the conditions of membership and fellowship? "There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies,—a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins;"—it being understood that this "desire" is evinced by the appropriate fruits.

Now, it can not be said, it is true, that there is nothing like a creed here. There are the implicated notions of sin, of wrath to come, of salvation from both, as well as an appropriate effort toward such salvation. Yet these are not to be ranked with what we call human symbols, or dogmas. The terms are all from the Scriptures; while the proposition into which they enter, and which forms the platform of Methodist membership, may be viewed as a mere Scriptural quotation, rather than as a sentence of uninspired rhetoric. He who will take the pains to look, will not fail to discern that before he has traversed the first three chapters of his New Testament, he has found, and in only two texts of Matthew, not merely the ideas, but the very language, which this platform submits to his belief. Wesley saw, in the preaching of the Baptist, that there was such a thing, in so many words, as "fleeing from the wrath to come;"—and saw, likewise, in the angel message to Joseph, that there was such a thing, in so many words, as "to be saved from their sins;" and these two Scripture things, in their veritable Scripture dress, and embracing, as they do, the world's great want,—these he adopted as his proposition, or motto, and on this foundation invited the world,—all, of whatever creed or party, tribe or nation, to join him in the pursuit of eternal life.

"Mind the one thing needful," was an admonition that seemed forever sounding in the ears of John Wesley. He was observant as any other man of non-essentials. None had a keener sensibility of tastes and preferences. But he sternly and religiously held all these to their place. They must remain subordinate. His solemn eye was fixed, like the apostle's, steadily upon the everlasting life of a world. This was his goal, this was the centre of all his multifarious plans and varied energies, and the interpreter of all his apparent irregularities. To compass this he rose early, laid his grasp upon time's smallest fragments, expanded every day into a life, laid all learning and genius under contribution, broke loose from human disabilities and burdens, laid open the great Gospel enterprise, retired from human formulas deeply within the Scriptures, became a little child, laid his hand implicitly within the hand of the great and everlasting Father and yielded to walk where He led the way, saw theories inwrought and long-cherished in his heart's strongest sympathies fading gradually into trifles, and stood forth the man of his age, who was to exhibit a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men, of true catholicism as well as of indomitable zeal. "I have thought I am a creature of a day,—passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit, come from God, and returning to God, just hovering over the great gulf,—till a few moments hence, I am no more seen: I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing,—the way to heaven; how to land safe on that happy shore." There stands Wesley. There, in that extract of such transcendent simplicity and sublimity, may be seen the man. Immortal life was in his eye; and when another might be found of a like spirit and longing, he asked no more. Such a one was welcome to his Christian embrace, and fellowship, and society. Satisfied of an effective desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from sin, he thought it not worth his while to inquire or dispute about anything else. Each one might have his own views of predestination, free-grace, perseverance, baptism, as well as a multitude of other points of speculation and differing opinions. Every earnest seeker of salvation was welcome to his society, and dear to his heart. It was thus that he commenced, and here he stood to the last. "But whether ye will hear," he writes, in the last year of his life, "or whether ye will forbear, we, by the grace of God, hold on our way; being ourselves still members of the Church of England, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God, in every Church, as our brethren, and sister, and mother. And, in order to their union with us, we require no unity in opinions or in modes of worship; but barely that they fear God and work righteousness." "They (Me-

thodists) are themselves no particular sect or party; but they receive those, of all parties, who endeavour to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God."

3. One or two extracts, already recited, may suggest to us that the catholicism of Wesley may be read, thirdly, in divers express sentiments which he uttered, as well as in the general tenor of his writings. Will the reader take the trouble to review a few brief specimens which we here venture to spread before his eye?

"I dare not exclude from the Church Catholic all those congregations in which any unscriptural doctrines, which cannot be affirmed to be 'the pure word of God,' are sometimes, yea, frequently preached; neither all those congregations in which the sacraments are not 'duly administered.' Certainly, if these things are so, the Church of Rome is not so much as a part of the Catholic Church; seeing therein neither is 'the pure word of God' preached, nor the sacraments 'duly administered.' Whoever they are that have 'one spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one God and Father of all,' I can easily bear with their holding wrong opinions, yea, and superstitious modes of worship; nor would I, on these accounts, scruple still to include them within the pale of the Catholic Church."—*Sermon on the Church.*

If any one should be startled because the charity of the above extract appears to look kindly even upon the Roman Communion, yet all this will not, in the least degree, interfere with the design of this article. And should the following extract be esteemed as having an original and appropriate application to a single society or denomination, yet the internal evidence will be seen to be sufficient to mark it as being the mind of its author toward all that profess the Christian name.

"O beware, I will not say of *forming*, but of *countenancing* or *abetting* any *parties* in a Christian society! Never encourage, much less cause, either by word or action, any division therein. In the nature of things, 'there must be heresies [divisions] among you;' but keep thyself pure, leave off contention before it be meddled with; shun the very beginning of strife. Meddle not with them that are given to dispute,—with them that love contention. I never knew that remark to fail:—'He that loves to dispute does not love God.' Follow peace with all men, without which you cannot effectually follow holiness. Not only 'seek peace,' but 'ensue it;'—if it seem to flee from you, pursue it nevertheless. 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' Happy is he that attains the character of a peace-maker in the Church of God."—*Sermon on Schism.*

The religious partisan, of any denomination, would do well to read

carefully the whole sermon against bigotry; but he should deeply ponder and inwardly digest such sentiments, especially, as the following:—

"Every one is either on God's side, or on Satan's. Are you on God's side? Then you will not only not forbid any man that casts out devils, but you will labour, to the uttermost of your power, to forward him in the work. You will readily acknowledge the work of God, and confess the greatness of it. You will remove all difficulties and objections, as far as may be, out of his way. You will strengthen his hands by speaking honourably of him before all men, and avowing the things which you have seen and heard. You will encourage others to attend upon his word, to hear him whom God hath sent. And you will omit no actual proof of tender love which God gives you an opportunity of showing him. If we willingly fail in any one of these points, if we either directly or indirectly forbid him 'because he followeth not us,' then we are bigots."

"Am I not sorry that God should thus own and bless a man that holds such erroneous opinions? Do I not discourage him, because he is not of my church, by disputing with him concerning it, by raising objections, and by perplexing his mind with distant consequences? Do I show no anger, contempt, or unkindness of any sort, either in my words or actions? Do I not mention behind his back his (real or supposed) faults, his defects, or infirmities? Do not I hinder sinners from hearing his word? If you do any of these things, you are a bigot to this day."

"O stand clear of this! But be not content with not forbidding any that cast out devils. It is well to go thus far, but do not stop here. If you will avoid all bigotry, go on. In every instance of this kind, whatever the instrument be, acknowledge the finger of God; and not only acknowledge, but rejoice in his work, and praise his name with thanksgiving. Encourage whomsoever God is pleased to employ, to give himself wholly up thereto. Speak well of him wheresoever you are; defend his character and mission; enlarge, as far as you can, his sphere of action; show him all kindness in word and deed; and cease not to cry to God in his behalf, that he may save both himself and them that hear him. . . . . If he forbid *you*, do not you forbid *him*. Rather labour, and watch, and pray the more, to confirm your love toward him. If he speak all manner of evil of *you*, speak all manner of good (that is true) of *him*."—*Ser. against Big.*

It would be esteemed unpardonable, in this connexion, to pass by the sermon on "a Catholic Spirit;"—which, as it more professedly treats upon this subject, would thus, especially, be expected to speak out with appropriate clearness and emphasis.

The following well-known passage may be taken as characteristic of the discourse, and of the man that wrote it:—

"I dare not, therefore, presume to impose my mode of worship on any other. I believe it is truly primitive and apostolical; but my belief is no rule for another. I ask not, therefore, of him with whom I would unite in love, Are you of my church? of my congregation? Do you receive the same form of church government, and allow the same church officers with me? Do you join in the same form of prayer wherein I worship God? I inquire not, 'Do you receive the supper of the Lord in the same posture and manner that I do?' Nor, whether in the administration of baptism you agree with me in admitting sureties for the baptized, in the manner of administering it, or the age of those to whom it should be administered? Nay, I ask not of you (as clear as I am in my own mind) whether you allow baptism and the Lord's Supper at all. Let all these things stand by. We will talk of them, if need be, at a more convenient season. My only question, at present, is this:—'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?' . . . . If it be, give me thine hand."—*Sermon on a Catholic Spirit.*

Comment upon language like that of these extracts is utterly nugatory. With such statements of this great man lying before us, one of two verdicts is alone possible. Either the father of Methodism was an arrant hypocrite, or he was eminently a *Catholic;*—not a minister of any party, but a minister of "The Holy Catholic Church" scattered over the world.

4. It only remains to observe briefly how fully his catholic professions were carried out in his actual movements and practice; for who has not keenly felt, that, in this important quality as in others, there may be a broad distinction between words and actions?

Well, then, it has been already submitted in this paper, that, as a matter of fact, the canons of the Church of England proved, in more instances than one, entirely too stringent for the zeal and catholicity of Wesley. They would, indeed, have curbed him and hedged him about, if any human power could have done it; for love and respect for the Establishment seemed well-nigh constitutional with him, and, in fact, never died out of him. It was a love such as many waters could not quench, nor many floods drown. But, as already observed, another and a diviner principle arose, and overpowered the former, strong as it was; and Churchism became subordinate to catholicism in the great heart of Wesley. "Put these two principles together," he says:—"First, I will not separate from the Church;—yet, secondly, in case of necessity, I will vary from it, and inconsistency vanishes away." We are not careful here to en-

dorse either the consistency or inconsistency; our business is with the Catholicism,—and this is easily detected in the second principle, asserting, "I will vary from the Church in cases of necessity." Now turn over a single leaf of the same sermon, and this great matter of "necessity" is all revealed at once. "We, by the grace of God, hold on our way;—being ourselves members of the Church of England, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God, in every Church, as our brethren, and sister, and mother. And in order to their union with us, we require no unity in opinions, or in mode of worship, but barely that they fear God and work righteousness." Here, again, are the two principles; and the "necessity" of the second principle is explained, and the explanation amounts to nothing more nor less than catholicism!

Harmonious with this appears the great whole of Wesley's singular career. We may refer to the fact that no Christian, or Christian company, who were seeking after salvation, did he ever thrust away from his fellowship. We may refer to the fact of his known and constant sympathy with all ministers and Christians, whether of the Church or not, who were earnest for the reviving of religion. We may refer to the fact of his repeated attempts to form a union of different parties of pious men, against the common foe. We may instance his uniform dislike to theological controversy, and his eagerness to devote all his energies to the immediate work of the conversion and salvation of men. We may specify, also, his unfeigned gratification whenever intelligence reached him of religious prosperity in any part of the world, and in whatever section of the great Christian family. We must not forget, likewise, his perfect love and fellowship for his distinguished fellow-labourer, Whitefield,—who, though differing from Wesley, as differs any decided Calvinist from an Arminian equally decided, was yet dear as his own soul to the man to whom unity of opinions was subordinate, fearing God and working righteousness, everything.

But specification seems out of place here, where a whole long and splendid ministry was one unbroken scene of zeal and charity, as catholic and disinterested as they were conspicuous and brilliant. Nor can we, perhaps, more appropriately conclude this view of one of the greatest and best men of modern times, than by his own portrait of a catholic man;—and he that carefully surveys the picture, shall not fail to discern the features of the accomplished artist himself.

"A man of a catholic spirit is one who, in the manner above mentioned, gives his hand to all whose hearts are right with his heart;—one who knows how to value and praise God for all the advantages he enjoys with regard to the knowledge of the things of God, the

true Scripture manner of worshipping him, and, above all, his union with a congregation fearing God and working righteousness;—one, who, retaining these blessings with the strictest care, keeping them as the apple of his eye, at the same time loves—as friends, as brethren in the Lord, as members of Christ, and children of God, as joint partakers now of the present kingdom of God, and fellow-heirs of his eternal kingdom—all of whatever opinion, or worship, or congregation, who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, who love God and man; who, rejoicing to please, and fearing to offend God, are careful to abstain from evil, and zealous of good works. He is a man of a truly catholic spirit, who bears all these continually upon his heart; who, having an unspeakable tenderness for their persons, and longing for their welfare, does not cease to commend them to God in prayer, as well as to plead their cause before men; who speaks comfortably to them, and labours, by all his words, to strengthen their hands in God. He assists them to the uttermost of his power, in all things spiritual and temporal. He is ready to spend and be spent for them; yea, to lay down his life for their sake."—*Sermon on a Catholic Spirit.*

In the remainder of this article, and with direct reference to the foregoing view and sketch, we beg leave, and with sincere and profound deference, to submit a few grave propositions or inquiries.

1. Whether, or not, the prominent feature of Wesley herein discussed, has left its full and proper impress upon the Methodist family?

This is, of course, an inquiry which should not be touched incautiously. It would ill become any one, without due consideration, to pronounce, either favourably or unfavourably, upon so large and important a section of the professed disciples of Jesus Christ. It is with trembling, therefore, that we enter it as our soberest judgment, that the negative of this momentous inquiry is the truth. Circumstances, such as need not be recapitulated too fully, appear to have operated, both in the old and new world, to dampen, more or less, that pure and Catholic flame, amid which this class of Christians first arose and flourished. Then, to omit further notice of all other lands, the Methodism of the United States has, almost from the beginning, assumed the form of a sect, and has, ever since, been cutting its way, necessarily, amid older denominations, while it has been reaching for the spread of Scripture holiness over these lands. Under such circumstances, it was, at least, quite natural that more or less of friction should ensue; and that here, as well as beyond the Atlantic, there should arise opposition against this novel and bustling neighbour, and especially if, here as there,

spiritual coldness should characterize, to a greater or less extent, the pre-existing Churches.

What, under the circumstances, was so natural to happen, is a matter of history. Methodism has not traversed this wide-spread country, without some collision with Christians and ministers beyond its pale; while even down to this late day, may now and then be heard the echoing of some distant theological skirmish. Meanwhile, past conflicts are, it is to be feared, too sacredly remembered; and the spirit of sect—a spirit of early intrusion, of facile growth, and of late eradication, has, without question, been far too prevalent in our communion.

If this be so, then to recall and contemplate that phase of Wesley's character toward which this article has glanced, will be as timely and important, as its tendency will be healing and refreshing. None, of course, will understand us as appealing to that great man, as to any superhuman authority. We shall be understood rather, as referring to one who, though fallible, and partaking of human imperfection, yet stands out before the eyes of Methodism as confessedly one of the brightest and purest of uninspired examples—a man whose spirit and charity, as well as his activity and efficiency, approximated as near to perfection as any seen along the reach of many centuries. It could assuredly operate no harm to *any* class of Christians, or Christian ministers, to study faithfully this aspect of that sublime character; while consistency itself would suggest, that, for those who really and profoundly reverence his name and worth, the study seems peculiarly appropriate. It cannot be denied, that much of Wesley's impress is upon the denomination to which he, instrumentally, gave existence. His opinions in theology and Church polity have commanding influence wherever Methodism is known. But Wesley had a heart to be studied, as well as a head—and a heart that answered to the head with a harmony never surpassed in mortal man. No man can claim to be a genuine Wesleyan, who contents himself with receiving the mark of Wesley's *mind*, without obtaining, in his own person and being, the full moral and spiritual impression of Wesley's *heart*.

2. Whether, or not, the spirit of Wesley points the Methodist Church to any special activity towards true catholicism?

This inquiry, it would seem, must be answered affirmatively, just as certainly as any such special activity could be predicated of Wesley himself. Of him, we think, it has been shown above, that he was as eminent for catholicity as he was for energy: also, that it was one of his strong and persevering endeavours to awaken and promote this heavenly spirit wherever he moved. Exactly this is

the lesson which his example and spirit convey to all his observant admirers. "My children," he seems to say, "the time is short—and salvation is all. See to it that ye love one another with pure hearts fervently; and that ye love all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. Labour not for sect, but to build up the whole Catholic Church. Leave off contention before it be meddled with. Repress the first risings of the spirit of strife, partyism, variance, or hatred. Stand not aloof from your neighbour for opinion's sake. Is his heart right with thy heart? that is, does he love the same Saviour, and is he labouring to bring sinners to the same heaven? Then give him your hand. You cannot, indeed, *think* exactly as he does; yet sympathize with his spirit—rejoice in his prosperity. Help him, as you may be able, in the work of the Lord. Wait not for him to love you. Nay, love him, and pray for him, and seek to aid his success, though he may stand aloof from you, and count you an intruder and a heretic. Labour to diffuse the spirit of heavenly charity through all the families and tribes of the spiritual Israel. Your province is not to divide, but to bind together with ties of holy brotherhood and affection. You are to inflict no needless wounds, but to heal, rather, the lacerated body of Christ. It ill becomes you to say, 'Stand by, for I am holier than thou.' Covet, rather, to lie at the feet of all Christ's little ones. Breathe out no sounds of harshness—jarring the sweet harmonies of heavenly fellowship. Study peace—kindness—universal love. Remember that the saints are going home—and there shall be no night there. While on their way, there is some darkness. They see not exactly alike, but their hearts are all leaning toward Jesus, and he loves them all as one, and prays that they all may be one, like the oneness of himself and the Father. And so they will be. Yet a few days, and there will be one fold and one shepherd. The fire is already kindling that shall burn up all the chaff of division. Cherish that kindly fire, for it is holy. Run, all of you; run for the bright consummation, when the discords of Zion shall have slept their last sleep, and when no lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon; but the redeemed shall walk together there, while there shall be naught to hurt or destroy in all the holy mountain."

Would not exhortations like these flow from the lips of Wesley, were he permitted to speak, this day, to the myriads of his followers?

3. Whether, or not, the Wesleyan system is, as a whole, specially favourable to action in this direction?

A momentous inquiry this! And it strongly invites a more ample and elaborate discussion than can be afforded in this connexion.

Yet we are ready to submit at once—and we do so with unfeigned pleasure—that here, again, the affirmative has the truth. For, in the first place, whoever refers to the Wesleyan theology—by which expression we only mean the theology which Wesley received and taught, and which Wesleyan ministers generally receive and teach—he will find there all the great cardinal principles of the Church Catholic: the Trinity, Atonement, Depravity, the Holy Spirit's influence, Justification by faith, Regeneration, Sanctification, General Judgment, and Final and Eternal Rewards and Punishments. These truths are honestly believed and faithfully preached in Methodism. And they are the capital truths of the general Church of Christ on earth. Then, as to the distinctive dogmas, and such as have produced the different organizations, or families, in the Church Catholic, there appears to be no one of these which, so far as the Methodist family is concerned, need hinder Methodism from tendering a catholic and holy fellowship to every one of the other families. Contemplate now a true Wesleyan minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. To the Congregationalist of New-England, or the Presbyterian of the West, Midst, or South, this man may turn, saying, "Brother! your views and mine touching the Decrees do doubtless differ, as truly, and, it may be, almost as widely, as you differ among yourselves upon the same subject. On the naked question of Absolute Perseverance, there is, to be sure, a more certain and direct issue between us;—while even here we meet in practice,—both parties alike urging the inspired exhortation to take heed lest we come short at last. These, and other minor differences of opinion, are no sufficient reason for withdrawing from you my fellowship. 'Give me thine hand.'" Turning to one of the great Baptist family, and uttering the same sentiments with regard to whatever of Calvinism may be existing there, he may add as follows: "But, brother! you doubt my baptism, and the inspiration of my practice on this subject; and for one or both of these reasons, you think you cannot consistently invite me to your communion-table, though you count me a Christian. I appreciate your difficulty and your explanation;—while, on my own part, let me add, no such difficulty lies in my path. I doubt neither your baptism nor your piety. 'Give me thine hand!'" Turning yet again, and addressing himself to the Protestant Episcopalian, whether bishop, priest, or deacon, we seem to hear him saying, "Brother! to you the dogma of apostolical succession—succession, not only of doctrine, but of bishops,—appears vital to the existence of the ministry and Church,—and therefore you cannot, as you think, consistently recognize me as a duly authorized minister of the Lord Jesus; though

you can and do judge me, and the Christian family with which I am associated, to be sincere followers of Christ; and can, and do, extend fellowship to us as such. Brother! your difficulty is obvious, and is, moreover, deeply painful to me. But, blessed be God! no such difficulty exists with me. I as fully recognize you as a minister and member, both of the Church Catholic, as myself—and myself as you. 'Give me thine hand!'"

So true it is, that, in the theology of Methodism, there lies no obstacle to the most enlarged catholicity—as well of its ministry as of its membership;—while, on the other hand, this same theology, viewed as a whole, is, of necessity, highly promotive of a result so beautiful and so desirable. Glance at two points only for illustration:—

Methodist theology presents salvation as practically possible to all that hear the Gospel invitation. The Methodist minister, without a solitary misgiving, invites the entire multitude to Christ and to heaven:—while his liberal views touching the freeness and fulness of God's mercy give him, so to speak, a kind of *predisposition* to look kindly and charitably upon all the professed disciples of the Saviour. The logic may be written somehow thus: The grace of Christ, in his view, is infinitely free to every one. Here are multitudes of various Christian denominations who profess to have received that free grace. Their profession, under the circumstances, and where conduct does not forbid, renders it highly probable that they are, in fact, Christians. Being Christians, they are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of faith; and fellowship and catholicity toward them would seem to be the inevitable result.

Provided, especially, that another doctrine of the Wesleyan theology goes out, not in theory merely, but in the deep experience of the heart. We shall be understood as referring to the doctrine of Holiness—in other words, of intense and perfect love to God, and to all Christians, as bearing, more or less, His glorious image. We have read of a love in the heart of a man—a love for the Church of Christ on earth,—impelling him to all sacrifices and labours, so that he would very gladly spend and be spent for the saints;—and that, too, even though the more abundantly he loved them, the less he might be loved by them. A love like this is set forth in the Wesleyan theology. But he who feels it will think as meanly of division lines as did the great apostle;—and will call them "carnal" as surely as he did, and will receive with rapture the inspired declaration, that not one family or sect, but "all are yours."

And now if we refer, secondly, to the Methodist polity—that other

grand feature of the Wesleyan system—the same view will, we think, be borne out, namely—the special adaptation of this system to the promotion of a catholic spirit. Here, again, we will illustrate in two instances only, and these must be stated with great brevity.

First, then, the itinerancy—the capital feature of the Methodist polity—tends greatly to discourage those local attachments that have, in many instances, conduced sadly to narrowness of views, if not to downright bigotry. The itinerant minister and pastor does, indeed, become attached to his society and people—perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, sufficiently so. Yet he has not time, and because he has not time, he has not so strong inducement, to become thus attached unduly. His danger is less than that of other ministers to love a particular society, so as to become comparatively indifferent to the Church generally. The itinerant minister, as, in the course of his ministry, he passes from station to station, forming a true Christian attachment to many, and counting all the societies of his church as, in no mean sense, his own, and constantly enlarging his acquaintance, meanwhile, with his brethren of other communions—does naturally, and, if true to himself, unavoidably, become expansive in his views and spirit, and better qualified than under other circumstances he could be, to imbibe and exhibit the catholicity of the Gospel. He learns more and more, and by personal observation, that true religion and holy living are not confined to his own church. He sees, and cannot avoid seeing, that Christ has many chosen ones in various circles,—and some, where he once imagined the great Gospel change could never be realized.

Secondly, the itinerancy essentially aids the catholic spirit in Methodist ministers, by the freedom of position which it gives them relatively to the people of their charge. It is not meant that the Methodist minister is, in theory or in fact, independent of his people;—and if, at any time, he should venture to assume such a ground, no marvel if the people be disposed to afford him some painfully impressive evidence of his mistake. At the same time, the itinerant minister enjoys a freedom which is felt to be of great value. From the very fact of his itinerant position—of his known transient stay—and of the missionary relation which, in a sense, he sustains to the Church and the world, he is conscious of a freedom not possessed by every settled and local minister. He feels a freedom to think—a freedom to preach what he thinks—a freedom to love Christians, whether his church-members approve him entirely or not. And when it comes to pass that this conscious freedom is associated with a holy, pious heart, the result can hardly fail to be catholicity.

Thus, unless we have mistaken this whole subject, the Wesleyan system, including its two prominent points of theology and polity, is highly favourable to the cultivation of a catholic spirit;—on the one hand, interposing no obstacle to any and all Christian effort for its promotion; and, on the other, prompting and encouraging to such effort, both in ministry and laity.

4. Whether, or not, the promotion of catholicism may be said to constitute any part of Methodism's special province and calling?

Here, again, the answer must be affirmative; or else we have surveyed the whole subject of Methodism from a wrong stand-point. Let us revert, for a moment, to the commencement of this great providential agency and enterprise. What, then, was the idea—the one all-absorbing idea of Wesley's mind, as, under God, he set in motion this at once most simple and most strange machinery? *The reviving of religion.* When, in the solemn march of this extraordinary agency, there came up the necessity of "Helpers"—preaching-houses—circuits—appointments—conferences—publications, and the rest—what now was the one great thought in the mind of John Wesley? *The reviving of religion.* When, in revolving years, Helpers had grown up to be strong and influential, as well as numerous, and "societies" had spread themselves far over the United Kingdom, and the numbering up of the people was no longer by hundreds, but by tens of thousands; and when the earlier persecutions had spent their force, and were sinking to repose; and when Wesley had now traversed far along the sublime race allotted him—what, *then*, was his one great idea? *The reviving of religion.* When missionaries had already been sent by him to this western world, and when he set apart Dr. Coke, with directions to him to set apart Francis Asbury to the superintendency of the American department of this work of God, which, for almost half a century, had been blessing England; and when the patriarch, turning his aged eye this way, saw the upspringing and outspreading of the same glorious flame that had traversed the father-land—what, still, was the one hope and thought of Wesley? *The reviving of religion.* That vast and eminently sanctified mind could not be filled by any object less than the wide-spread baptism of the Holy Ghost, and the union of all Christ's followers for the world's evangelization and salvation. From the sublime eminence whereon he stood, he looked down with consummate pity upon all the little broils, animosities, and strifes of words growing out of sectarianism, whether in or out of the Church of England. He answered, in Christ's kingdom, to Mr. Macaulay's masterly portraiture of William of Orange, among the monarchs of Europe. As the one and capital policy of the latter was

to unite all the other powers, both of Britain and the Continent, in a mighty league against Louis of France, so did the great religious hero and statesman strike for a universal reviving of religion, and for a coalition, coextensive with Christendom, against the Prince of darkness, and for the spiritual and eternal freedom and happiness of the nations. Imagining, for a moment, Wesley of the eighteenth century to be transferred to the nineteenth; and, in 1846, to have been flying over England, as one hundred years before,—what intelligent Methodist doubts that when the great and good came up, in that year, to London—came from the four winds of heaven, and formed the Evangelical Alliance—who doubts, we repeat, that there would have stood forth, in lofty prominence, in that rejoicing assembly—his catholic heart swelling with exultation unutterable—the founder of Methodism, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church? Of that gathering—of its purposes and of its results—we may think and speak lightly, if we please. One thing is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun—John Wesley would have been there.

"But what of all this?" Much every way, we answer. The ministry and laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church do either sympathize with the founder of their organization, in the great features of his character and example, or else they are false to their profession. But Wesley was certainly a Catholic—a Catholic in theory—a Catholic in practice—beyond any man of modern times. He did most diligently eschew all war for the sake of opinions, and in all his protracted ministry faithfully maintained, so far as in him lay, and engaged his followers to maintain and set forward, quietness, peace, and love, among all Christian people;—one of the solemn things which every ordained elder in Methodism has promised, before God and his people, to observe and endeavour.

5. Finally, whether, or not, Methodism may have assumed too fully the sectarian form?

We feel obliged to yield this also up to the affirmative; and we do so with a distress and anguish, such as never can be written. Here, likewise, that we may come at the truth adequately and fully, we must go back and ponder "the beginnings;" and still survey the movements and spirit of the man whom we all delight to honour. That John Wesley, in the outset of his peculiar ministry, designed the erection of no new and separate sect; and that, so far as Great Britain, at least, is concerned, he persisted in this design to the last, are points insisted upon by all the more candid of his biographers—fully illustrated by his own express statements and persevering practice; and will not, it is presumed, be called in question by any reader of this article. His grand design, or drift, has already been

repeatedly asserted. It was, we say once more, the reviving of religion. It is entirely well known, and calls for no proof or illustration, that Wesley always disclaimed the formation of a separate sect. Note the little piece of history herein following, to wit:—

Toward the close of 1739, John Wesley formed a society of eight or ten religious persons, who, as one of their rules, met on Thursday evening of each week. The purpose of the society was purely spiritual. Exhortation and prayer, with sacred song, were the exercises, and aiding each other to work out their salvation was the object. No question was asked whether the members belonged to the Establishment, or to the Dissent, or to neither. No interference was contemplated with any existing church or organization, except it were by the spiritual benefit arising from the society, to infuse a higher spiritual life and activity into such church, to which, as well as to the society, one or more members may have belonged.

Now, having written these few words, we need write no more. This brief sketch embraces the gist of the whole history. There was the seed whence has sprung up, to the astonishment of Christendom—and since the elm before your door was planted—the colossal tree of Methodism. But who, let him ever so minutely dissect that seed, can discern the sectarian element? It is not there. And if, as the tree arose and spread itself, there chanced, among its fruits of healing, the bitter apple of sectarianism, it came of an exotic and spurious scion, inserted by another hand than Wesley's. The English Church, it is true, he always loved, and always wished that Methodism might be a part of that establishment, and avoid all separation from it. Yet this strong preference was but the fruit of his catholicism, and his aversion to the existence of any separate sect. Still, if the union he desired could not exist consistently with the highest prosperity of the Church Catholic, he would submit. "Church or no church," writes he to his brother, "we must attend to the work of saving souls." And again, "I neither set it up, (the Establishment,) nor pull it down; but let you and I build the city of God." In other words, the largest possible salvation was Wesley's longing. To build up any party—even his own beloved Church of England—was a trifle that must not come into comparison. He would build only the city of God; and to the last he asserted of the Methodists, that "they were of no sect or party; but they receive those of all parties who endeavour to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God."

But what shall be said of American Methodism—of the Methodist Episcopal Church? When, after the revolution, the Methodists of this country were set off, by Wesley, from the parent connexion, and formed

by him into a distinct organization, under the superintendency of Coke and Asbury, was not this a sectarian movement? It may appear so—it certainly *does* appear so—to such as have always been accustomed to look coldly and suspiciously upon the career of that extraordinary man. But we venture to affirm that Methodists, and Methodist ministers, should know Wesley better—and better appreciate a soul that was wedded to the soul of Jesus—and moved and beat as in eternity—and sickened at the idea of sectism on the one hand, as it did at that of bigotry on the other. We discuss not here either the fact or the mode of the separation—as an act of Wesley—of American from English Methodism. Our business is with Wesley's *heart;*—and as that heart contemplated the growth, in this country, of the same great agency which had wrought such wonders in the father-land, it was still, with him, naught save a reviving of religion. He stood a venerable and holy man of God—his locks whitened by that multitude of years, whose strength, saith Inspiration, is labour and sorrow; and yet, as leaning upon his staff he looked this way, and as every western breeze wafted to his ear glad tidings from these "ends of the earth," his spirit grew young again, and he worshipped, and shouted in his rapture, "What hath God wrought!"

No. True Methodism, assuming its founder to have been also its personification, is without sectarianism, whether in the old world or the new. True, it now goes forth in the form of a church organization, both here and in England, while this form it took, on this side of the Atlantic, with the co-operation and approval of Wesley himself. It seemed a matter of necessity; yet never including the doleful necessity of partyism. It is still, and everywhere, unless it be changed to another thing, *a reviving of religion;* stretching itself for such a reviving everywhere, and among every denomination of Christians—organized for this very purpose—blessing and helping all Christians and Christian denominations, and injuring none—towering above sectarianism, and flying with the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth. Contemplating daily renewals of the scenes of Pentecost—the outpourings of the Spirit—the baptism and prophesying of sons and daughters—heavenly visions of old men and young—wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath—the calling upon the name of the Lord, and the promised salvation to all that call.

"Daily renewals of the scenes of Pentecost—the outpouring of the Spirit"—the revival and triumph of religion! What has all this to do with sectarianism? Exactly what the fire has to do with hay, wood, and stubble. Religious partyism is one of the prominent

and baleful fruits of spiritual decline and coldness. When the fire of God descends upon the Church, it dissipates this bad thing as rapidly and as surely, as when Jesus whipped the thieves out from the temple of the Lord. Just as certain as Christ comes in, this goes out. Nor will it bear His glorious presence, more than the cold iceblock will retain its form and existence under the vertical and burning sun.

O! is it not this heavenly baptism that is needed this moment upon the Methodist Episcopal Church? Needs there not the mighty shower to gladden and refresh the multitudes—urging us, if we have wandered, back to the original—the true position and action—and calling us again to the childlike simplicity—the undying zeal—the all-abounding love of Wesley the Catholic!

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## Art. II.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

*Life and Public Services of John Quincy Adams, Sixth President of the United States; with the Eulogy delivered before the Legislature of New-York*, by William H. Seward. Auburn: 1849.

The above-transcribed title-page seems to imply that this volume is from the pen of Senator Seward. It was evidently intended to make that impression. The same trick of the trade is embossed in gilt letters on the back of the book. There we have the naked falsehood: "Life of John Quincy Adams. W. H. Seward." The publishers, however, in an advertisement not intended to be read until the purchaser has paid for the volume, gravely tell him that he has been humbugged; that the name of the Ex-Governor of the State of New-York has only been used to serve a purpose; and that, in fact, the book is the work of "an able writer," completed "under his," the ex-governor's, "auspices." What is the precise idea intended by the word "auspices," we cannot tell. It may mean that Mr. Seward revised the proof-sheets; or that he exercised an editorial supervision; or, which is perhaps most likely, that he merely gave the publishers permission to append his eulogy to their volume, and to use his name.

In this matter Mr. Seward acted unwisely; as all do, who even seem to connive at imposition in any shape. The subject of the memoir would have been flayed alive before consenting to such a prostitution of *his* name. Nor is this the worst. The avowed object of this publication is to forestall an extended history of the life and services

of the lamented Adams, well known to be in preparation by members of his family. The "able writer," under "the auspices" aforesaid, concocts this volume, because that work, he tells us, "when published, would (will) undoubtedly be placed, by its size and cost, beyond the reach of the great mass of readers." Of course, his motives, and those of the publisher, are purely philanthropic. It was not to be supposed that the authorized biographers of Mr. Adams *could* prepare an abridgment that "would find its way into the midst of those moving in the humbler walks of life;" and we are assured that, "to supply *this* want, the present work has been prepared." Prepared then, as it has been, for *our* special benefit, it becomes us to be grateful for the favour; and, without confining ourselves to the volume before us,—the sources from which it has been compiled being perfectly accessible,—let us trace, briefly, the more important events in the life of the great statesman of Massachusetts.

He was born at Quincy, formerly called Braintree, on the 11th of July, 1767. He was baptized in the church the day after his birth. In reference to that event, he thus speaks in a letter to a friend:—

> "The house at Mount Wollaston has a peculiar interest to me, as the dwelling of my great-grandfather, whose name I bear. The incident which gave rise to this circumstance is not without its moral to my heart. He was dying, when I was baptized; and his daughter, my grandmother, present at my birth, requested that I might receive his name. The fact, recorded by my father at the time, has connected with that portion of my name a charm of mingled sensibility and devotion. It was filial tenderness that gave the name. It was the name of one passing from earth to immortality. These have been among the strongest links of my attachment to the name of Quincy, and have been to me, through life, a perpetual admonition to do nothing unworthy of it."

Before reaching his eleventh year, he went to France with his father, who had been sent as commissioner for the purpose of effecting a treaty with that government. He attended a public school for a year and a half at Paris, where his improvement in French, and in general knowledge, was rapid—for his age, says his father, uncommon. Then, successively, he pursued his studies, under the eye of his father, at a Parisian academy, at a school in Amsterdam, and in the University of Leyden. On his return to his native country, he entered the University at Cambridge; and two years afterwards graduated with honour, at the age of twenty-one.

Choosing the law for his profession, he entered upon its practice, in the city of Boston, after the usual term of study. At the bar he appears not to have been remarkably successful. He was "nearly

briefless;" and in letters written at the time, he expresses gloomy apprehensions of the future, and doubts of being able to acquire a comfortable subsistence. It is just this part of his life, the four years of his early struggles, that, when written, will be the most interesting and instructive; and on this period the book before us is, as might be expected, exceedingly meagre. We trust that in the forthcoming volumes, preparing by his family, this hiatus will be supplied. A few paragraphs from his Diary, which, it is understood, he kept with great minuteness and accuracy, in all his varying fortunes, to the end of his life, will show his own feelings at this time, and afford a specimen of its character and style:—

"Wednesday, May 16, 1792. I am not satisfied with the manner in which I employ my time. It is calculated to keep me forever fixed in that state of useless and disgraceful insignificancy, which has been my lot for some years past. At an age bearing close upon twenty-five, when many of the characters who were born for the benefit of their fellow-creatures have rendered themselves conspicuous among their contemporaries, and founded a reputation upon which their memory remains, and will continue to the latest posterity—at that period I still find myself as obscure, as unknown to the world, as the most indolent or the most stupid of human beings. In the walks of active life I have done nothing. Fortune, indeed, who claims to herself a large proportion of the merit which exhibits to public view the talents of professional men, at an early period of their lives, has not hitherto been peculiarly indulgent to me. But if to my own mind I inquire whether I should, at this time, be qualified to receive and derive any benefit from an opportunity which it may be in her power to procure for me, my own mind would shrink from the investigation. My heart is not conscious of an unworthy ambition; nor of a desire to establish either fame, honour, or fortune, upon any other foundation than that of desert. But it is conscious, and the consideration is equally painful and humiliating—it is conscious that the ambition is constant and unceasing, while the exertions to acquire the talents which ought alone to secure the reward of ambition, are feeble, indolent, frequently interrupted, and never pursued with an ardour equivalent to its purposes . . . . . My own situation, and that of my country, equally prohibit me from seeking to derive any present expectations from a public career."

The young lawyer was not destined to remain long in obscurity. Fortune, of which he complains in the preceding extract, soon became propitious; and in a lucky hour—to continue the figure—he wrote and published several political papers in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of "Publicola;" and others, two years afterwards, signed "Marcellus." This was in 1793, when the country was agitated by factions; and Federalist, or Democrat, was everywhere the rallying cry. Both parties were equally anxious that the United States should take some part in the great European conflict, then at its height. The Democrats sympathized with France; and saw, in her revolutionary struggles, the germinating of those principles which had triumphed so gloriously on this Continent. The Federal-

ists rather favoured England; and dreaded the anarchy and bloodshed which foreboded the utter demolition of law, and order, and society itself. The one party insisted that gratitude demanded from the United States assistance to the French in their struggle for liberty; the other, that duty and self-interest alike urged our young republic to throw its influence on the side of the allied sovereigns. The articles written by Mr. Adams struck out a neutral course. He was neither Democrat nor Federalist: not a Frenchman, nor an Englishman, but an American. With great power of argument, and felicity of diction, he contended that the true policy of the United States was to take part with neither. His papers, which for awhile were attributed to the pen of his father, then Vice-President of the United States, were republished in England; where, according to the testimony of Viscount Noailles, they made a great impression. "He heard Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox speak of them as the best thing that had been written, and as one of the best pieces of reasoning and style they had ever read."*

The sentiments put forth in these papers being in exact accordance with those of Washington, that sagacious statesman selected the young lawyer for the important post of minister of the United States at the Hague. Mr. Adams was then only twenty-seven. The father's letter communicating the information to his wife is so characteristic, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing it:—"It is proper," he says, "that I should apprize you, that the President has it in contemplation to send your son to Holland. I make this communication to you in confidence, at the desire of the President, communicated to me yesterday by the Secretary of State. You must keep it an entire secret until it shall be announced to the public in the journal of the Senate. But our son must hold himself in readiness to come to Philadelphia, to converse with the President, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, &c., and receive his commissions and instructions without loss of time. He will go to Providence in the stage, and thence to New-York by water, and thence to Philadelphia in the stage. He will not set out, however, until he is informed of his appointment."

While minister to Holland, Mr. Adams had occasion to visit London, where he formed an acquaintance with the lady who afterwards became his wife. She was the daughter of Joshua Johnson, then consular agent of the United States at London. They were married on the 26th of July, 1797. From Holland our young diplomatist was transferred to Berlin, where he conducted the affairs committed to him with great skill, and succeeded in forming a treaty

* Letter of the elder Adams to his wife, December 5, 1793.

of amity and commerce with the Prussian government. On his return to the United States, being recalled by his father, then President, he was elected to the Senate of the United States by the legislature of Massachusetts. Jefferson was then chief magistrate of the republic, and party politics ran high. Mr. Adams, although sent to the Senate by the Federalists, supported the administration. He received from his friends a tirade of abuse; and although those who own no allegiance paramount to that of party attributed his acts to the basest motives, he held on his way; calmly, resolutely, obeying the dictates of his conscience, and fearlessly doing what he believed to be his duty.

The earliest indication of what afterward appeared one of the strongest feelings of his nature—his hatred of slavery—is found in his efforts, made at this time, for the enactment of a law levying a duty on the importation of slaves. "It was a premonition," says the volume before us, "of the bold, unflinching, noble warfare against that institution, and of the advocacy of human freedom and human rights in the widest sense, which characterized the closing scenes of his remarkable career, and which will perpetuate his fame when other acts of his life shall have passed from the remembrance of men. Although at that early day but little was said in regard to slavery, yet the young senator saw it was fraught with danger to the Union —conferring political power and influence on slaveholders on principles false and pernicious, and calculated ultimately to distract the harmony of the country, and endanger the permanency of our free institutions. He laboured, therefore, to check the increase of slave power, by the only means which, probably, appeared feasible at that time."

His career in the Senate was cut short by the virulence of party. The Federalists being in the majority, the legislature of his native State passed resolutions censuring his course, and directing him to oppose the measures of Mr. Jefferson and his cabinet. He preferred to resign his seat; which he did in March, 1808.

Previous to his resignation as senator, he had accepted the professorship of rhetoric and belles-lettres in the University of Cambridge. His lectures were exceedingly popular, and were afterwards published in two octavo volumes. Their popularity was owing more to the style of his delivery, and to the reputation of the senator, than to any intrinsic merits on the score of novelty or beauty of illustration. They were written in haste, published without revision, and have added little to his fame. They are, indeed, already almost forgotten.

In March, 1809, Mr. Adams was appointed minister to Russia

by President Madison; and, as one of the commissioners on the part of the United States, concluded, at Ghent, a treaty of peace between this country and Great Britain. In conducting this negotiation he evinced the most consummate tact and skill; and whoever examines the documents that passed between the high contracting parties, the commissioners of Great Britain on the one side, and those of the United States on the other, will come to the conclusion that the Marquis of Wellesley was not far out of the way, when he declared in the House of Lords that, "in his opinion, the American commissioners had shown the most astonishing superiority over the British during the whole of the correspondence." From Russia, Mr. Adams was transferred to the Court of St. James, where he remained until the accession of Mr. Monroe to the presidency. It is not asserting too much, nor detracting from the merits of the eminent men who have represented the United States in Great Britain, to say that we never had at that court a man more jealous of his country's honour, more watchful of her interests, or more successful in carrying out his measures. Commanding, by his own personal bearing and acknowledged talents, the respect of the diplomatic circle; prompt in seizing every opportunity to advance the interests of his country; and intimately acquainted with the affairs of the various European governments, he well deserved the title—a model minister.

In forming his cabinet, Mr. Monroe, a politician of great moderation, sought rather for men not known as violent partisans. His aim was, if possible, to heal political dissensions, and to unite conflicting interests. For the first office in his gift he selected John Quincy Adams. His long absence from the country had kept him aloof from the janglings of party warfare, and his promotion to the office of Secretary of State was cheerfully acquiesced in by the country at large. A letter written at this time by General Jackson, then rapidly rising in popularity, is alike creditable to the sagacity of the writer, and to the man who afterwards became the general's chief political opponent. In writing to the president-elect, he says:—"I have no hesitation in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the Department of State that could be made. Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction."

The general's prediction was verified to the letter. During the eight years of Mr. Monroe's administration, the country advanced rapidly in wealth and resources. It was a season of prosperity, and of general peace and tranquillity. Perhaps the darkest cloud in the political horizon during this period, arose from the conduct of Gene-

ral Jackson in the Seminole war; and as it shows, in a striking light, the firmness of Mr. Adams, and his superiority to all party feelings, it may be well to dwell upon it a few moments.

Depredations having been committed upon the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama by the Seminole and Creek Indians, Jackson was sent, with a strong force, to chastise them. It became necessary, in pursuing his object, to enter Florida, then under the Spanish government. The Spaniards protested against this invasion of their territory, and resisted. They were, however, repulsed by the general, who took forcible possession of St. Marks and Pensacola. The Indians also were completely discomfited; and among the prisoners taken by our troops were two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister. These men were charged with having supplied the Indians with arms and munitions of war, and with having acted as spies. They were tried by a court-martial, condemned, and hung.

The fury of Great Britain was aroused. A war seemed inevitable. In our own country the greatest excitement prevailed. Resolutions, censuring the conduct of Jackson, were introduced in Congress. The President thought he had gone too far; and every member of his cabinet, with one exception, were disposed to censure him. That one exception was the Secretary of State. Mr. Adams defended the course of the general; and, single-handed, he insisted, in opposition to the opinion of the Secretary at War, and all the other chief officers of the government, that Jackson merited neither punishment nor censure. And he carried his point. The President was convinced by his arguments; and in his next message to Congress, embodied the sentiments of Mr. Adams. The government of Great Britain also seemed, or professed to seem, satisfied with the arguments laid before them by the Secretary of State, and the cloud blew over. It is impossible now to conceive what had been the issue, if Mr. Adams had taken a contrary course. It would have been much easier, and more pleasant for him, to fall into the current, and to give in his adhesion to the opinion of the President and his colleagues. He might, even by silence, have crushed his most formidable competitor for the first office in the republic. But, as ever throughout his whole career, he preferred the right to the expedient; and the result was alike creditable to himself and honourable to the country. At the close of the second term of Mr. Monroe's administration he was elected to the Presidency, and inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1825.

It is not our province to dabble in the muddy stream of partisan warfare; nor to attempt a settlement of the vexed question whether there was, or was not, a bargain between the friends of Mr. Clay and

Mr. Adams, which resulted in the election of the latter to the Presidency, and made the former his Secretary of State. The facts were briefly these: Of the electoral votes on that occasion, General Jackson had ninety-nine; Mr. Adams, eighty-four; Mr. Crawford, forty-one; Mr. Clay, thirty-seven. No one having a majority, the election devolved on the House of Representatives, where thirteen States voted for John Quincy Adams; seven for Andrew Jackson; and four for William H. Crawford. Of course Mr. Adams was elected, the friends of Mr. Clay having thrown their influence in his favour. This, of course, they had a perfect right to do, as had the President-elect to choose for the first office in his gift the statesman of Kentucky. Whether he acted wisely in accepting it, under the circumstances, is another matter. Many of his political friends thought he did not. In a letter to Mr. Clay, written soon afterwards, Mr. Crawford says: "I approved of your note when it was given, and should have voted as you did between Jackson and Adams; but candor compels me to say that I disapproved of your accepting office under him." The charges of "bargain and corruption" rang widely through the land; but whatever may have been the truth with reference to the personal adherents of these great men, John Quincy Adams indignantly denied the charge so far as he was concerned.* In a speech at Maysville, Kentucky, he used the following strong and rather stilted, but characteristic language: "I here reiterate and reaffirm that denial; and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should these charges have found their way to the throne of eternal justice, I will, in the presence of Omnipotence, pronounce them false."

During the whole course of his administration, Mr. Adams had the most violent opposition to contend with. The friends of Mr. Crawford uniting with those of General Jackson, the president and his cabinet were in a minority in both houses of Congress. "For the first time an administration was found without adequate strength in Congress to support its measures."

Mr. Adams, however, pursued the even tenor of his way. Scorning to use for his own interests the power with which he was invested, he declined to displace political opponents who were honest and capable. Even those who, he had reason to know, were aiming to prevent his re-election, were continued in office. To a representation that a certain functionary of the government in New-York was using the influence of his office to secure the succession to General Jackson, and that consequently he ought to be removed, he

[* Implying, of course, a denial so far as Mr. Clay was concerned, also.—Ed.]

made this reply: "That gentleman is one of the best officers in the public service. I have had occasion to know his diligence, exactness, and punctuality. On public grounds, therefore, there is no cause of complaint against him, and on no other will I remove him. *If I cannot administer the government upon these principles, I will go back to Quincy.*" Adverting to these facts, says the author of the volume before us:—

"Had he chosen to turn the vast influence at his command to the promotion of personal ends—had he unscrupulously ejected from office all political opposers, and supplied their places with others who would have laboured, with all the means at their disposal, in his behalf—little doubt can be entertained that he could have secured his re-election. But he utterly refused to resort to such measures. Believing he was promoted to his high position not for his individual benefit, but to advance the welfare of his country, his view of duty was too elevated and pure to allow him to desecrate the trust reposed in him to personal ends. Hence the influence derived from the patronage of the general government was turned against the administration rather than in its behalf; and the singular spectacle was presented of men exerting every nerve to overthrow Mr. Adams, who were dependent upon him for the influence they wielded against him, and for their very means of subsistence."

Mr. Adams vacated the Presidential chair, being succeeded by General Jackson, in 1829, and retired to private life. A gentleman who visited him in his quiet home at Quincy, gives the following interesting account of his residence and manners: "Yesterday, I paid a visit to the venerable Ex-President at Quincy. His residence is a plain, very plain one. The room into which we were ushered, (the drawing-room, I suppose,) was furnished in true republican style. It is probably of ancient construction, as I perceived two beams projecting from the low ceiling, in the manner of the beams in a ship's cabin. Prints, commemorative of political events, and the old family portraits, hung about the room; common straw matting covered the floor, and two candlesticks, bearing sperm candles, ornamented the mantel-piece. The personal appearance of the Ex-President himself corresponds with the simplicity of his furniture. He resembles rather a substantial, well-fed farmer, than one who has wielded the destinies of this mighty confederation, and been bred in the ceremony and etiquette of a European court. In fact, he appears to possess none of that sternness of character which you would suppose to belong to one, a large part of whose life has been spent in political warfare, or, at any rate, amidst scenes requiring a vast deal of nerve and inflexibility. Mrs. Adams is described in a word—a lady."

The Ex-President remained but a short time—little more than a year—in retirement. By the people of the District in which he lived, he was nominated as a representative in Congress. To the

surprise of many, friends as well as foes, he accepted the nomination; declaring that he knew no sound principle which would justify him in refusing to his fellow-citizens such services as he might be able to render. He was elected almost unanimously; and, for the first time, an Ex-President, one who had filled the highest offices in the gift of his country at home and abroad, took his seat in the lower house as a representative. He occupied that position for seventeen successive years, and died at his post.

Mr. Adams was elected to Congress as a Whig; but, true to the principles which had guided him through life, he strenuously supported all measures which he believed to be right. Party ties were to him, mere cobwebs. He asked not, Will the party be strengthened by the adoption of this or that measure? but, Will it be for the good of the country? Hence he was a man on whose course mere partisans could make no calculation. They knew not where to find John Quincy Adams until, by his speeches or votes, he had defined his position. A remarkable illustration of this truth was soon afforded in the debate on the question to grant the President authority to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the commerce of France. General Jackson had recommended strong measures to compel the French government to fulfil a solemn treaty. Of course the opposition opposed his course. It was enough for them that it came from Jackson. Many were fully satisfied that, on this point at least, Mr. Adams would throw his influence in favour of peace, and against the measure proposed by the man who had superseded him in the presidential chair. To their surprise, the representative from the Plymouth district sustained the proposition of the Executive in one of the most energetic speeches ever made in Congress. He said,—

"Sir, if we do not unite with the President of the United States in an effort to compel the French Chamber of Deputies to carry out the provisions of this treaty, we shall become the scorn, the contempt, the derision, and the reproach, of all mankind! Sir, this treaty has been ratified on both sides of the ocean; it has received the sign-manual of the Sovereign of France, through his imperial majesty's principal minister of State; it has been ratified by the Senate of this Republic; it has been sanctioned by Almighty God; and still we are told, in a voice potential, in the other wing of this Capitol, that the arrogance of France,—nay, sir, not of France, but of her Chamber of Deputies—the insolence of the French Chambers, must be submitted to, and we must come down to the *lower* degradation of reopening negotiations to attain that which has already been acknowledged to be our due! Sir, is this a specimen of your boasted chivalry? Is this an evidence of the existence of that heroic valour which has so often led our arms on to glory and immortality? Reopen negotiation, sir, with France? Do it, and soon you will find your flag insulted, dishonoured, and trodden in the dust, by the pigmy States of Asia and Africa—by the very banditti of the earth. Sir, the only negotiations, says the President of the United States, that he would encounter, should be at the cannon's mouth."

Very different was the course of Mr. Adams on the Texas question. From the beginning of the movement, in 1836, he saw and exposed the whole design of the originators of that scheme. With great energy he opposed the resolution to recognize the independence of Texas. He denounced the war then raging as a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it had been abolished, and threw the whole weight of his influence against the measures of the administration. Indeed, the main business of his Congressional career,—the crowning glory of a lifetime spent in the public service—was his steadfast and unfaltering opposition to the encroachments of slavery. Yet was he not, in the technical sense of that word, an abolitionist; nor did he ever unite with any society or association professing to have for its object "the extirpation of the great evil." He fought the battle in his own way. Abused, vilified, slandered, and sometimes gagged, he never faltered in his course. In the history of the republic, as it will be written when slavery is numbered among the things that were, his steadfast course on this exciting subject will stand forth as an illustration of moral heroism, and an example for imitation by all who have the hardihood to prefer the right to the expedient.

In the early part of the year 1836, the House of Representatives referred to a committee the consideration of the question, What shall be done with petitions and memorials on the subject of slavery? A majority of this committee were northern men.* In their report they recommended the adoption of the following resolution:—

"That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, *relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery*, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that *no further action whatever* shall be had thereon."

A monstrous resolution truly!—and a palpable violation of that clause in the Constitution which guaranties the right of petition. So Mr. Adams esteemed it; and, refusing to vote one way or the other, he demanded that his reason for that refusal should be placed on the journals of the House in the words following:—"I hold the Resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this House, and of the rights of my constituents."

The Resolution was adopted by a large majority. Its design was to put a stop to all agitation on the subject. It signally failed; and,

* They were Hamer of Ohio, Pierce of New-Hampshire, Jarvis of Maine, Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, and Turrill of New-York. The other four were from slaveholding States.

indeed, it is impossible to conceive how anything could have been invented better calculated to increase agitation, and to turn the attention of every lover of his country to the question of slavery. Petitions and memorials on the subject increased a hundred-fold. They came from all sections of the free States; and, in some instances, from the chivalrous South. They were, for the most part, directed to the member from Massachusetts; and, with calm dignity, he presented them, sometimes to the amount of two hundred in a single day, and insisted on separate action on each individual petition.

"His position amid these scenes," says the volume before us, "was in the highest degree illustrious and sublime. An old man, with the weight of years upon him, forgetful of the elevated stations he had occupied, and the distinguished honours received for past services, turning away from the repose which age so greatly needs, and labouring, amidst scorn and derision, and threats of expulsion and assassination, to maintain the sacred right of petition for the poorest and humblest in the land—insisting that the voice of a free people should be heard by their representatives, when they would speak in condemnation of human slavery, and call upon them to maintain the principles of liberty imbodied in the immortal Declaration of Independence—was a spectacle unwitnessed before in the history of legislation."

Threats of expulsion and of assassination! Even so. The time is coming, nay, it has already come, when an American citizen will hang his head for very shame at the remembrance that such things were. Even now, the sentiments uttered on this subject by the old man eloquent, then branded as "the ravings of the Massachusetts madman," find a responsive echo in the great heart of the nation. In the midst of a perfect tornado, and while a resolution was pending to the effect that the venerable ex-president should be "instantly brought to the bar, to receive the severe censure of the speaker," for having dared to offer a petition purporting to have come from bondmen, he spake as follows:—

"Sir, it is well known, that from the time I entered this House down to the present day, I have felt it a sacred duty to present any petition couched in respectful language, from any citizen of the United States, be its object what it may;—be the prayer of it that in which I could concur, or that to which I was utterly opposed. It is for the sacred right of petition that I have adopted this course. . . . . Where is your law which says that the mean, and the low, and the degraded, shall be deprived of the right of petition, if their moral character is not good? Where, in the land of freemen, was the right of petition ever placed on the exclusive basis of morality and virtue? Petition is *supplication*—it is *entreaty*—it is *prayer!* And where is the degree of vice or immorality which shall deprive the citizen of the right to *supplicate* for a boon, or *to pray for mercy?* Where is such a law to be found? It does not belong to the most abject despotism! There is no absolute monarch on earth who is not compelled, by the constitution of his country, to receive the petitions of his people, whatsoever they may be. The sultan of Constantinople cannot walk the streets and refuse to receive petitions from the meanest and vilest of the land. This is the law even of despotism."

Our limits forbid further extracts from this impassioned speech. The impression made by it was most profound; and at least one slaveholder was not ashamed to avow his concurrence in the views of the member from Massachusetts. This was Mr. Wise of Virginia. He had been absent from the House during the discussion, and on being informed what it was that had so startled the members from their propriety,—"Is that all?" said he. "A petition signed by slaves has been presented! Well, sir, and what of that? Is anybody harmed by it? In my opinion, slaves are the very persons who should petition. Mine pray to me, and I listen to them; and shall not the feeble supplicate? Sir, I see no danger,—the country, I believe, is safe."

At each succeeding session Mr. Adams renewed his efforts for the abrogation of "the gag-rule." Not, however, until 1845 was it rescinded, and it needs not a prophet to predict that so disgraceful a regulation will never be re-enacted by a body called to legislate for free men. "God be praised!" said the venerable man: "God be praised! the seals are broken, the door is open!"

Verging now toward his eightieth year, he volunteered in the defence of a few poor, friendless negroes, who had escaped from bondage in the schooner "Amistad." The history of that affair is doubtless fresh in the recollection of our readers. The Africans were claimed as the property of two Spaniards, and the Spanish minister demanded that they should be delivered up to the proper authorities, and taken back to Havana, to be tried for piracy. The case came before the Supreme Court of the United States. John Quincy Adams appeared for the defendants. With the buoyancy of youth, and the enthusiasm which ever distinguished him when advocating the claims of the oppressed, he stood forth the champion of these ignorant and degraded sons of Africa. No sublimer spectacle has ever been presented in any earthly court, no prouder triumph of right over might, than when the old man's eloquent plea was ended, and the righteous decision given,—the slaves were declared freemen, and sent back to their native land.

But the time of his departure was at hand. On the 21st of February, 1848, the representative from the Plymouth district was, as usual, in his seat. He had given his vote on two or three questions before the House. About half-past one o'clock, P. M., the speaker, while rising to put a motion, was suddenly interrupted. John Quincy Adams had been struck down, in the midst of his associates, by paralysis. Death was there, in the legislative hall. Anxiety and alarm were depicted on every countenance. The House adjourned. The Senate followed the example. He lingered in the speaker's

room, whither he had been removed, until seven o'clock on the evening of the 23d. His last words were,—"*This is the last of earth.* I AM CONTENT."

Men of both parties and from all sections vied with each other in doing homage to departed goodness. All political differences were forgotten. Senators and representatives from the north and from the south mingled their tears together; and the language of eulogy flowed from lips once bitter in denunciation. Of the speeches on that occasion none were more touchingly eloquent than that of Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, in the House, and that of Mr. Benton in the Senate. We transcribe a few passages of the former:—

"The mingled tones of sorrow, like the voice of many waters, have come unto us from a sister State,—Massachusetts weeping for her honoured son. The State I have the honour in part to represent, once endured, with yours, a common suffering, battled for a common cause, and rejoiced in a common triumph. Surely, then, it is meet that in this, the day of your affliction, we should mingle our griefs. . . . . Ours, my associates, is no common bereavement. The chain which linked our hearts with the gifted spirits of former times has been rudely snapped. The lips from which flowed those living and glorious truths that our fathers uttered, are closed in death! Yes, my friends, death has been among us! His footsteps have been heard at the hall of State. He has cloven down his victim in the midst of the councils of a people! He has borne in triumph from among you the gravest, wisest, most reverend head. . . . . There was no incident in the birth, the life, the death of Mr. Adams, not intimately woven with the history of the land. Born in the night of his country's tribulation, he heard the first murmurs of discontent; he saw the first efforts for deliverance. Whilst yet a little child, he listened with eagerness to the whispers of freedom as they breathed from the lips of her almost inspired apostles; he caught the fire that was there kindled; his eye beamed with the first ray; he watched the day-spring from on high, and long before he departed from earth, it was graciously granted him to behold the effulgence of her noontide glory. . . . . He disrobed himself with dignity of the vesture of office, not to retire to the shades of Quincy, but, in the maturity of his intellect, in the vigour of his thought, to leap into this arena, and to continue, as he had begun, a disciple, an ardent devotee at the temple of his country's freedom. . . . . How often we have crowded into that aisle, and clustered around that now vacant desk, to listen to the counsels of wisdom, as they fell from the lips of the venerable sage! . . . . But what a change! How wondrous! How sudden! 'Tis like a vision of the night. But the last Sabbath, and in this hall he worshipped with others. Now his spirit mingles with the noble army of martyrs, and the just made perfect, in the eternal adoration of the living God. With him 'this is the end of earth.' . . . The sun that ushers in the morn of the next holy-day, while it gilds the lofty dome of the Capitol, shall rest with soft and mellow light upon the consecrated spot beneath whose turf shall lie the PATRIOT FATHER and the PATRIOT SAGE!"

In reviewing the life and labours of Mr. Adams, the most prominent trait of his character appears to have been *untiring industry*. To this, more than to anything else, was he indebted for his success in life, and for the honours that clustered so thickly about him. He loved to work. In all his duties, in every business transaction, little

as well as great, punctuality was his motto. The first man in his seat in the House of Representatives, and the last to leave it, nothing was too minute to escape his notice; and no constituents ever had a more faithful servant than those of the Plymouth district of Massachusetts. He was an early riser; and, while president of the United States, he was probably the first man out of his bed in Washington, and at work long ere the dawn of day. In his habits he was abstemious and temperate; and he retained the vigour of his constitution to the last. When in his seventy-fourth year, on his journey to Washington, he endured an amount of fatigue that would have been too much for many in the prime of manhood. Leaving Boston on Monday morning, he delivered a lecture the same evening before the Young Men's Institute in Hartford, Conn. On Tuesday evening he lectured in the city of New-Haven. Pursuing his journey, he reached New-York on Wednesday, where, in the evening, he lectured in the Tabernacle. On Thursday evening he delivered an address, choosing for his subject,—rather a remarkable subject for a politician,—Faith, in the city of Brooklyn; and on Friday evening he again lectured before the New-York Lyceum.

He was remarkably methodical in all his affairs. In whatever situation he was placed, every day and every hour had its allotted duties. For fifty years he kept a Diary, in which he recorded with minute accuracy all important events; and especially those relative to his country and himself. This journal, when published, as we trust it will be, will make some two dozen stout octavos, and form one of the best and most trustworthy histories of the momentous era in which he performed so prominent a part. Rather a laughable incident connected with that Diary is related by an anonymous writer. It seems that on one occasion Mr. Adams and General Jackson differed in their recollection of a certain event. A statement made by the former was denied by the latter. The hero of New-Orleans was positive, as was his wont, and rather violent withal. Mr. Adams referred to the record. There the facts were set forth with the most precise minuteness, even to the hour of the day on which they occurred. A friend called upon the General, and modestly suggested that he must be mistaken; for, said he, the statement of Mr. Adams is confirmed by his Diary. "His Diary!" exclaimed old Hickory, "don't tell me anything more about his Diary! Sir, that everlasting Diary comes up on all occasions,—one would think that its pages were as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians! Sir, that Diary will be the death of me! I wonder if James Monroe kept *a Diary!*"—Doubtless the General was in error from the treachery of his memory.

That Mr. Adams was ambitious, there can be no question; and none, that he was an ardent lover of his country,—a pure patriot. He imbibed lessons of patriotism from his father; and the stirring events of his childhood made ineffaceable impressions upon his soul. "In 1775," said he, in a speech at Pittsfield, "the minute-men from a hundred towns in the province were marching at a moment's warning to the scene of opening war. Many of them called at my father's house at Quincy, and received the hospitality of John Adams. All were lodged in the house which the house would contain; others in the barns, and wherever they could find a place. There were then in my father's kitchen *some dozen or two of pewter spoons;* and I well recollect going into the kitchen and seeing some of the men engaged *in running those spoons into bullets for the use of the troops!* Do you wonder that a boy of seven years of age who witnessed this scene should be a patriot?" But, as we have seen, and as he evinced through his whole career, Mr. Adams was not, in the technical sense of the word, a safe politician. He was not to be relied on as a party man. He was a Federalist, when in his judgment the Federalists were in the right; but he sustained the measures of the Republicans when he believed their tendency to be for the welfare of the country. He cared not for the name Whig, or Democrat; he was now the one, now the other, and sometimes a little of both. Hence it is easy to account for the torrents of abuse which were poured upon him by shallow-brained politicians, who were unable to comprehend the motives which actuated him, and who could see only through party spectacles.

He was a close student almost to the end of his life. He made himself master of the French, German, and Italian languages;—in neither of which was there an author of merit with whose writings he was unacquainted. While in Europe, he prepared for the press a poetical translation of Wieland's Oberon; the publication of which was superseded by that of Sotheby. His account of a tour through Silesia, made in the year 1800, originally published in a Philadelphia periodical, was reprinted in London, translated into German and French, and has been widely circulated on the Continent. In 1832 he published a poem entitled "Dermot M'Morrogh, or the Conquest of Ireland;" of which, it is said, two additional cantos are among his manuscripts. It will be as well to let them remain unprinted. His fame depends not upon his poetry. Although some of his minor pieces evince considerable skill at versifying, the larger poem, above referred to, hardly soars above mediocrity. A sonnet, inscribed to the sun-dial at Washington, is probably as favourable a specimen as we can give of his poetic powers:—

"Thou silent herald of time's silent flight!
Say, couldst thou speak, what warning voice were thine?
Shade, who canst only show how others shine!
Dark, sullen witness of resplendent light
In day's broad glare, and when the noontide bright
Of laughing fortune sheds the ray divine,
Thy ready favours cheer us—but decline
The clouds of morning and the gloom of night.
Yet are thy counsels faithful, just, and wise;
They bid us seize the moments as they pass—
Snatch the retrieveless sunbeam as it flies,
Nor lose one sand of life's revolving glass—
Aspiring still, with energy sublime,
*By virtuous deeds to give eternity to time.*"

Finally, we have no hesitation in saying that John Quincy Adams was a good man;—not orthodox, when measured by the creeds of churches deemed evangelical, but still a good man. He feared God, and aimed to keep his commandments. He loved the Bible, and made it his daily study,—his monitor and guide. Nowhere is reverence for the Scriptures more strongly inculcated than in his "Letters to his Son," published since his decease; and in the life of no other statesman with which we are familiar, are more beautifully exemplified the practical graces of Christianity. Happily for us, it is not ours to decide with how much of what we deem erroneous opinion true piety may co-exist; or how far the head may be wrong when the heart is right. The Master has given us the standard: we want no other; nay, it is most presumptuous arrogance to seek another,—*By their fruits ye shall know them.*

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## Art. III.—ON THE DEMONIACS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The sacred writers treat of the existence of an invisible world just as they treat of the existence of God. Both are assumed as undeniably true, while there is not the shadow of an attempt to demonstrate, by argument, the certainty of either. Indeed, the two ideas are inseparable. For no man, who admits a God, can, without absurdity, not to say contradiction, deny the existence of the invisible world: God himself is an invisible being; he must, therefore, though omnipotent, eminently be an inhabitant of that world. And as God, who is unseen, really exists, how can it be denied that other spiritual, and, consequently, invisible beings, also exist? Hence, we shall always find the reason of man, in those states of society in which sufficient light and culture have been shed upon the human mind to

enable it to put forth its full strength in the prosecution of mental and moral inquiries, to accord its assent to the four following connected truths, which are all equally assumed in Divine revelation: *the Divine existence; the invisible world; spiritual beings;* and the *immortality of the soul.* They are all to be regarded as great and essential first truths, without the admission of which no system of religion worthy the name can possibly exist. One of these this article proposes to consider at some length.

To revelation alone must we look for information respecting the state, character, and employment of the spiritual beings with which the invisible world is peopled. On these points human reason utters no trustworthy response. They are not only questions which Divine revelation alone *can* answer, but which it *has* answered,—with a fulness and distinctness which ought to satisfy every inquirer whose object is to arrive at the truth for devout and practical purposes, and not for those of debate or speculation. With this desire, let us inquire into the testimony of revelation as to those fallen and malignant beings whose existence is disclosed especially in the New Testament.

Of the existence of an order of beings called *devils,* there is the same evidence in Divine revelation as of those called *angels.* And the character of the former is as clearly presented as that of the latter. This is so obvious, that the existence of evil spirits is never denied by those who profess to believe the Bible divinely inspired,—*except* when the system, professedly drawn from that volume, and for which its suffrage is claimed, absolutely demands such denial for its own existence and completion. Thus, it is laid down as a principle by the oppugners of eternal punishment, that such is the Divine benevolence, as infallibly to secure the final happiness of all God's creatures. Now grant the real existence of fallen spirits, and you must admit that there is no intimation of their redemption, and that their endless punishment is in more than one place explicitly declared. While these two considerations press upon the advocate of *no eternal* punishment, his shortest method to relieve his system is to deny the *existence* of fallen spirits altogether. And though the system is not hereby relieved of the abundant Scriptural proofs of the future and eternal punishment of all who die unregenerate; yet it is relieved in so far as the existing connexion between the final condition of those malignant fallen spirits who remain unredeemed, and that of those unregenerate men, who, though redeemed, still die unsaved, is concerned. It is somewhat strange that the advocates of this system have not as yet seen fit to assume that all rebel spirits will yet be restored to the Divine

favour, and once more be brought under fealty to their offended Sovereign. Of this, the Bible furnishes as good assurance as it does that those unregenerate men who die in that state will be restored from the depths of perdition to the favour of God. But perhaps it remains for some future hand to add this modification to the already frequent revisions of the system.

Let us next glance at the *fact* of the sin and fall of those once holy and happy beings, more generally known in Scripture as *the devil and his angels.* We say the *fact* of their sin and fall; for what more than this is clearly revealed? And it is a maxim of most extensive application, that what is not *clearly* revealed is not revealed at all. Revelation discloses facts. It does not discover by dark hints and dubious intimations, leaving to the curiosity and ingenuity of men to pry into and decipher them, and supply deficiencies as best they can. Revelation, it is true, is sometimes full and sometimes limited. But even then it is still clear; that is, obviously full or obviously limited: and one or the other, as Divine wisdom saw most promotive of the eternal interests of man. Indeed, what essentially pertains to him, both as to time and eternity, is given in full disclosure; what pertains to other created intelligences is limited,—disclosed, not for the indulgence of a speculative curiosity, but for a foundation of an unwavering faith. More than is requisite for this would not promote our happiness, or contribute to direct our practice.

The *sum* of what is revealed as to the sin and fall of those malignant spirits, is compressed in the sacred record within a very narrow compass, and all in two passages, namely, 2 Peter ii, 4, and Jude 6. Divested of its connectives, the passage in Peter stands thus: "God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." Jude 6, thus: "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." The *fact* of the sin of some of the angels is here distinctly asserted. The forfeiture of their former *estate* or dignity, as the immediate consequence of that sin, is also declared. That God proceeded to positive punishment, is included; together with the fact that they are held in durance until human probation shall be consummated, when they shall be judged, their misery be enhanced in degree, and remain eternal in duration. At least this is clearly implied.

The clause, *left their own habitation,* indicates that they transcended the rank or sphere assigned them; for the term should doubtless be taken in a *moral,* not in a physical or local sense.

What a summary view of these few awful facts! It is all fact. Nothing which can with propriety be called *circumstance* is included. That they were in a state of probation may be regarded as highly probable, and as almost a necessary inference; but without a fuller revelation, more than hypothesis it cannot be. How long they had stood, or what was the era of their defection, or how duration in eternity is computed, it were idle to conjecture. That it may have been at some point far anterior to the birth-song of time, in the dateless cycles of eternity, cannot be denied. What relation they originally held to each other, as to paramount and inferior dominion, and whether one or more were principal, and the rest accessory in their treason, the inspired apostles inform us not. But as to the fact of there being chief and subordinate among the fallen, the deficiency here is supplied elsewhere in the New Testament.

A little attention to the import of the terms employed to designate this class of beings will enable us to determine several facts not otherwise explained. For example, the term *devil*, Διάβολος, from the verb *διαβάλλω, to dart or strike through, accuse, calumniate*, &c., implies *calumniator, traducer, false accuser.* As an appellative of a class or species, this term is frequently applied figuratively to human beings, when it is the design to predicate of them the characteristics etymologically indicated by the term. In this figurative sense the word is used in both numbers. In the plural, however, it occurs only thrice in the New Testament; namely, in the following passages in Paul's Epistles: "Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers," *μὴ διαβόλους*, 1 Tim. iii, 11. Those who shall come in the last times are described as being "without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers," *διάβολοι*, 2 Timothy iii, 3. The other instance is Titus ii, 3, where Paul directs that the aged women "be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers," *μὴ διαβόλους*. But *διάβολος* is never found in the plural when employed as a *proper name* of the arch apostate.

Another term commonly applied to the head and leader of fallen spirits in the Scriptures is Satan, Hebrew, שָׂטָן; Greek, Σατανᾶς, an *adversary.* This word occurs in the New Testament between thirty and forty times, and always in the singular. The word *dragon*, *δράκων*, (probably from *δέρκομαι, I see,*) which literally means a large kind of serpent, so called from his sharp sight, is also a designation of the prince of fallen angels. This word occurs in the New Testament a dozen or more times, but nowhere except in the Apocalypse. It is important to observe with regard to *διάβολος* and *δράκων*, that when they are used as proper names of the chief

of fallen angels, denoting his leadership in the grand revolt, they also import his present rank, and the authority which he maintains over subordinate orders of apostate spirits. Thus our Saviour speaks, in Matt. xxv, 41, of "the fire prepared for the devil and his angels:" (*τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.*) And the Revelator (xii, 7) speaks thus: *Ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμησαν κατὰ τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησε καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ:* "Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels." And verse 9: *Καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος διάβολος καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην, ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν*—"And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." Whether we understand this to be an historic description of the original defection of some of the angels or not, several important things are taught in these passages. 1. That the arch-apostate holds a sort of chieftainship over subordinate subjects. 2. That he and his subordinates were *cast into the earth.* 3. That *he deceiveth the whole world.* 4. That God has prepared a place of eternal fire for the punishment of Satan and his angels. 5. That unregenerate men, who are found at the judgment possessed of his character, and that of his angels, which includes the attributes of guilt, insubordination, hostility, impurity, and malignity, shall finally share his punishment. God has prepared no place for men but heaven; but if they disqualify themselves for the purity, the society, and the employments of heaven, and assimilate themselves to the enemies of God, they will be associated with them in their final doom.

It is clear, then, that among fallen spirits there is one chieftain, prince, or leader, and under him innumerable angels or subordinates of like character and employments to his own; and though "reserved under chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day," they are permitted to prosecute their malignant devices against mankind till that great day shall arrive. With the character and disposition assigned to these beings it is quite conceivable that, moved with envy towards the new-created, guiltless, and happy ancestors of the human race, and by malignity towards their own Creator, now their offended Sovereign, they should seek to poison the bliss of these newborn subjects of His moral government. How natural for them to conceive that *deception* was the only available means to ruin creatures, whose fidelity, innocence, and happiness environed them on every side, and who could be approached only by some stratagem

which should divest them of all these at the same moment! And of all the heaven-fallen, who was so befitting an *agent* as the prince and leader of the first revolt? who so practised in fraud and falsehood, since this was his character from the beginning, (John viii, 44,) whether we place this at the commencement of his own defection, or that of his compeers, induced possibly to cast off their high allegiance by *his* instigation and example? On this supposition, having succeeded in his first essay at fraud and falsehood, why should he not be emboldened to venture a second attempt, though upon a race differing in some respects in character and circumstance from those which had once been his own? What juncture, on the success of his malign device, promised so large a harvest of ill to the race he sought to ruin, as that of the morning of creation? And through what medium could he better hope to make his approach, unsuspected and unresisted, than through that of the serpent? No other creature in this terrestrial province was so distinguished for sagacity and *subtilty*. How could the insidious traitor more skilfully infuse the poison of infidelity into the heart of the maternal parent of mankind, than by seizing upon the hour when she was unattended, artfully reciting the permissive law, without a glance at the single prohibition it contained, except to magnify it, or to deny the threatened penalty, should the prohibition be violated? The snare was fatally cast, and the unsuspecting victim was decoyed into it. Uneasiness, the parent of desire, was kindled; confidence in the Divine veracity was shaken; it was transferred from what GOD had said to the false assertions of an *enemy;* and with its loss, obedience, innocence, and happiness forsook the offenders forever.

Had not the remedial system been interposed at this point, the race would doubtless have perished in the original offenders. But a further probation was granted, based upon the mediation of the great Restorer. From this hour the conflict has continued, not as at the first, between the federal head of the race and the prince of apostates, but between his subordinates or angels, and the whole family of man in all subsequent generations.

The nature of malign spiritual influence is a most grave and important question; it is one, however, which admits of a satisfactory answer. As the devil and his angels are intellectual and spiritual beings, there is no more reason to doubt their power to influence the soul or mind of human beings than there is that men should influence each other, or be influenced by spiritual beings of a benevolent character. He who admits either of the two last, cannot deny the first. And respecting the object and tendency of such

influence, from the nature of fallen spirits, there can be no question; it must be to prompt men, both individually and socially, to acts prejudicial to themselves, and offensive to God. All intelligent beings may be safely affirmed to act in keeping with their own proper character. Hence, how much the malign influence of evil spirits had to do in filling the antediluvian world *with violence*, may be imagined. And how much in filling the world with superstition and idolatry, which so generally prevailed after the deluge and before the call of Abraham, is also open to conjecture. The instructive history of Job shows to what extent, by Divine permission, Satan sometimes carried his malignity. Place the date of this book somewhere between Abraham and Moses, as the best authorities have more generally done, and you carry the light of revelation into some of the darkest periods of the world's history, by which *the workings of Satan* can be clearly discovered. But if you place Job as a witness for God between Shem and Abraham, according to Dr. Townsend, you survey a higher antiquity by nearly a thousand years. Returning to the era of Moses and downward, after his time, you will mark also the cruel rites of the Canaanites, and other surrounding nations, not excepting the most enlightened whose history has reached our times, from the Exodus to Christ: and does it require a stretch of credulity to believe that evil spirits contributed their full share of influence to plunge whole communities into those besotted practices, and horrid rites, and barbarous cruelties, which are prominent features in the history of those great nations of antiquity.

But when we come down to the time of Christ, a new aspect of things presents itself. We see not only the prevalent influence of evil spirits, but these malignant spirits exerting their influence in tormenting the *bodies* as well as the souls of men. These evil spirits seem to have gained entire possession and control in some cases, and were ejected in numerous instances by both Christ and his Apostles; *provided* we do not, by construction, so interpret the sacred record as to set aside the literal accounts of the evangelists. We are thus brought to inquire into the nature of these possessions, and the character of the beings said to have been dislodged.

In the common version, *unclean spirit*, *evil spirit*, and *devil*, are used interchangeably. But says Dr. Campbell: "The Greek student needs not be informed that in none of these places is the term διάβολος, but δαιμων, or δαιμόνιον. Nor can anything be clearer from Scripture than that, though the *demons* are innumerable, there is but one *devil* in the universe."

On the question of the reality of demoniacal possessions, as re-

lated in the New Testament, opposite sides have been taken by pious and learned men. The oppugners of the doctrine of *real* possessions take the ground "that the demoniacs were all of them either madmen, epileptics, or persons subject to melancholy." They also undertake to demonstrate, by reference to Jewish, Greek, and Roman writers, that those *demons* to whom diseases are attributed, are not the *διάβολοι* of the New Testament, but *the spirits of dead men.* They also maintain that Christ and the New Testament writers, in order to be understood by the people of their times, must have used the word *demon* in the sense attached to it by their contemporaries. They make several other points; but as the strength of the argument against real possessions is contained in these two, as we conceive, we shall first examine them, and then, if our space allow, glance at others. We shall reverse the order in which the objection has been stated, and first inquire into the import of *δαίμων* and *δαιμόνιον*, as used in the New Testament; and then examine the objection which resolves all the so-called demoniacal possessions into cases of madness, epilepsy, melancholy, &c.

Δαίμων, *demon*, is from the verb *δάω*, *to learn*,* *know*; hence, *δαίμων*, *the knowing one.* Δαιμόνιον is properly the *diminutive*† of *δαίμων*, and is defined, *a demon, a being superior to man, a heathen deity.* Δαίμων occurs but five times in the New Testament, namely, in Matt. viii, 31, Mark v, 12, Luke viii, 29, Rev. xvi, 14, and xviii, 2. The places where it occurs in the Gospels are the parallel accounts of the furious man in the country of the Gadarenes, who dwelt among the tombs, and whose name was *legion.* It should be observed, however, that Luke uses *δαιμόνιον* in his account of the same demoniac; compare verse 29 with verses 27 and 33. But *δαιμόνιον* occurs frequently in each of the Gospels, Acts, and in several of Paul's Epistles, the Epistle of James, and in the Apocalypse; amounting, in all, to more than fifty instances, some of which will be noticed with a view to ascertain the meaning attached to the word by the inspired writers. In comparing a few examples, we select those first which are not connected with demoniacal possessions.

James ii, 19: "Thou believest there is one God; thou doest well: the devils—*τὰ δαιμόνια*—also believe and tremble." Who can for a moment suppose that any beings besides apostate spirits are here meant? 1 Tim. iv, 1: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that some shall depart—*ἀποστήσονται*, apostatize—from

[* More probably *δαίω*, *I distribute, allot destinies.*—Ed.]

[† More probably the neuter of *δαιμόνιος*.—Ed.]

the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," *διδασκαλιαῖς δαιμονίων*. This is an important passage, casting light not only upon the character of *demons*, but also upon that of the great apostasy. According to this prophecy, says Bishop Newton, "They should not only *apostatize*, after the manner of the Jews, but should also *worship demons*, after the manner of the Gentiles. Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovereign gods and mortal men." The bishop quotes Plato as saying, "Every demon is a middle being between God and mortal man." He also gives us the following from Apuleius, a later philosopher: "Demons are middle persons, by whom our desires and deserts pass unto the gods; they are carriers between men on earth and the gods in heaven; hence, of prayers, thence, of gifts; they convey to and fro; hence petitions, thence supplies; or they are interpreters on both sides, and bearers of salutations; for it would not be for the majesty of the celestial gods to take care of these things." As to the nature and origin of this class of *demons*, both Hesiod, who was one of the most ancient heathen writers, and Plato, "affirm that when good men die, they attain great honour and dignity, and become demons." But Apuleius informs us, "There is another and higher kind of demons, who were always free from the incumbrances of the body; and out of this higher order Plato supposeth that guardians were appointed unto them." "Ammonius likewise, in Plutarch, reckons two kinds of demons,—souls separated from bodies, or such as had never inhabited bodies at all." "These latter demons," says the bishop, "may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized saints; and as we Christians believe that there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons." According to Plutarch, "It is a very ancient opinion, that there are certain wicked and malignant demons, who envy good men, and endeavour to hinder them in the pursuit of virtue, lest they should be partakers at least of greater happiness than they enjoy." This was the opinion of all the later philosophers; and Plutarch undeniably affirms it of the very ancient ones.

Before we take our leave of this writer, it may be proper to give the conclusion at which he arrives, principally from these premises: "It appears, then, that the *doctrines of demons*, which prevailed so long in the heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian Church; and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is the same."*

* Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, p. 427.

"The term *demon*," says Dr. Appleton, "is used in relation to the Supreme God by Plato and Socrates. It was used by certain philosophers, and afterwards by some of the Christian fathers, to signify evil spirits of a rank superior to mankind. It was likewise used, and I apprehend very commonly, to signify the souls of dead men. . . . The evangelists did not apply the term either in the first or the last of these senses, but in the second. They did not assert that demoniacs were disordered by the Supreme Deity, or by the spirits of the dead, but by spirits of a malignant character, and of a rank superior to men. The term is not used, therefore, in the New Testament in a sense unknown among the Greeks." Again, in another place:—"There is one term in popular use among ourselves, which, I conceive, answers in general to the terms which are used in Greek: I mean the word *spirits*. This word we apply to beings both good or bad, to God, to angels, to devils, and to the souls of dead men. The agreement between the words *δαίμονες*, in Greek, and *spirits*, in English, will further appear if we consider, that the demons mentioned in the Gospel are often denominated *unclean*, or *evil spirits*."*

In correcting certain abuses of the sacrament among the Corinthians, St. Paul, (1 Cor. x, 19–21,) seems to identify *idols*, *εἴδωλα*, and *devils*, *δαιμόνια*: "What say I then? that the idol is anything, [divine,] or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is anything? But I say the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils,—*δαιμονίοις*,—and not to God." The Apostle probably makes allusion to Deut. xxxii, 17: "They sacrifice to devils, [Septuagint, *δαιμονίοις*,] not to God." Or to Psalm cvi, 37: "Yea, they sacrifice their sons and their daughters unto devils," (*δαιμονίοις*.) In these passages, *δαιμόνια* is used by the Seventy to express those false gods or idols of the heathen, by whose cruel and monstrous worship Israel was in danger of being, and had been, corrupted. But the meaning which the Hellenistic Jews attached to the word will be further seen from a few passages in which it occurs in the Apocrypha: "Because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus the *evil spirit* (*τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον*) had killed." Tobit iii, 8. Again, chap. vi, 16: "And make thou no reckoning of the *evil spirit*," (*δαιμονίου*.) Also chap. viii, 3: "The which smell when the *evil spirit*—*δαιμόνιον*—had smelled." These examples are only important as they show the character of the Babylonian demonology at the time the Book of Tobit was written, which is placed some hundred and fifty or two hundred years before the birth of Christ. And whether we admit the Divine authority of

* Dr. Appleton's Works, vol. ii, pp. 104, 106.

this book with Papists, or regard the story it contains as a sort of pious fable, the evidence it furnishes respecting the meaning attached to the term *demons*,—the popular sense in which it was used at the time,—is in either case the same.

One passage more in this connexion. In Acts xvii, 22, we see in what sense St. Paul used the term in his celebrated sermon at Mars-Hill: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious," (*δεισιδαιμονεστέρους.*) By commentators generally, it is admitted that *too superstitious* is an unfortunate rendering of *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*. It is held that, for the Apostle to have used this term in that sense, would have been not only impolitic, but abrupt, to a degree bordering on discourtesy; into which, from his known character, it was impossible for him to have been betrayed. Nor is this conclusion at all necessary, as will be seen by an analysis of the term. It is a compound word, from *δείδω*, *I fear*, and *δαίμων*, with the comparative termination added. Therefore, *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους* should be rendered, *More than usually reverent of the gods or demons;* in other words, *too solicitous to pay the gods or demons due worship.* Or if we understand the word *superstition* in a *good* sense, as is given to *δεισιδαιμονία*, rendered superstition in Acts xxv, 19, (the only place where it occurs in the New Testament,) the rendering of the above passage is not, after all, so very objectionable. And the reason so often urged against it,—that it seems to justify a *degree* of superstition, provided it is not carried to excess,—is sufficiently puerile. For though Paul cannot be supposed to look with the least toleration upon the polytheism of the Athenians, yet there was an element in their worship, which, notwithstanding its flagrant misdirection, might be commended. It must, therefore, have been the Apostle's design to censure what he must, and approve or commend what he could. Hence he concludes their extraordinary solicitude about the worship of their numerous gods or demons, which led them to erect a shrine to still another, whom they styled the *unknown God.* And having noticed, in his morning walk, much *demon-worship*, and probably none paid to the *unknown* Deity, whose existence they had acknowledged by inscribing an altar to Him, though worship at that altar ceased probably with the occasion on which it was enacted; Paul seized upon the opportunity to enter his masterly plea in support of His character and claims. But the light in which he viewed this demon-worship will be further seen by comparing verse 16 with verse 22. In the former it is said, "His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given to *idolatry;*" and this idolatry he identifies, in

verse 22, with *too great fear of demons.* And when he preached "Jesus and the resurrection" in the synagogues, and in the market, the Epicureans and Stoics charged him with setting forth *strange gods, ξένα δαιμόνια,* verse 18. This shows that they invested demons with attributes more or less divine, according to the character ascribed to the gods.

From the whole, it is clear that to those who understood and used the Greek language, *δαίμων* and *δαιμόνιον* conveyed a higher sense than *spirits of the dead:* for though, when canonized, they became *heroes,* and as such had their shrines, yet it is more than can be shown that those idols called *demons* by the Seventy, and by St. Luke in this place, and by St. Paul, and other New-Testament writers, were representatives of no higher divinity than was generally ascribed to the spirits of dead men.

Before we proceed to examine the cases of the demoniacs mentioned in the Gospels, it may be well to glance at the principal objections urged against real possessions.

I. That demonism never obtained in the world, either before or after the time of Christ.

We are under no necessity, says Dr. Appleton, of granting that demoniacal possessions were confined to the time at which our Saviour appeared; or that they were more frequent then than formerly. And he refers to writers of the highest antiquity, historians, physicians, and philosophers, in verification of the existence of demoniacs. And demonology composed an eminent part of the Pythagorian and Platonic philosophy. That demoniacs were common among the Jews, is unquestionable from Josephus. The prevalence of demoniacal possessions is asserted by Plutarch, who mentions also a method of treating them among most nations. The testimony of St. Luke (Acts xix) shows that possessions were not confined to Judea; for it was at Ephesus when certain wandering Jews, sons of Sceva, undertook to exorcise evil spirits by calling over them the name of Jesus, with results so disastrous to themselves. But admitting, for the sake of the argument, all the objection assumes, several plausible reasons may be assigned for the possibility of demoniacal possession:

1. To give ocular demonstration of the hostility of Satan to mankind. What could be better calculated to produce conviction of this fact, and to make a deep impression, than multiplied examples of physical suffering as the result of malign influence? What better calculated to induce a proper appreciation of the character and objects of Christ's mission, than to see the baneful influence of Satan so successfully defeated by Him and his Apostles? It evinced

both the benevolence and divinity of his mission, his power being always exerted in relieving the afflicted.

2. To expose the monstrous error of the Sadducean materialists, who denied the existence of all spiritual beings, if not that of the invisible world also. This sect had for centuries maintained a spiritual rivalship with the Pharisees, who admitted both, together with eternal rewards and punishments. The importance of a firm conviction of the truth of these doctrines needs not here be argued.

As to the extent of malign influence in modern times, to claim too much for it in connexion with physical disease and mental derangement, is, doubtless, one extreme; and to exclude it altogether from both, in all cases, may be the other. For, that the devil reigns in the *hearts* of the "children of disobedience," is a doctrine of Scripture; and if his influence is *confined* to the moral nature, it must be the result either of his own guileful policy, or the want of Divine permission.

II. While, in his Gospel, John alludes in the customary way to demoniacs, he says nothing respecting demoniacal possessions. And Paul, in his enumeration of spiritual gifts, says nothing about the exorcism of *demons*. We answer,

1. The first part of this objection contains a concession which goes far to neutralize its own force. That John assumes the *reality* of demoniacal possessions, is clear from the two instances he recites in which the Jews captiously charge our Lord with *having a devil*, (*δαιμόνιον ἔχεις*.) See John vii, 20; x, 20. His account of miraculous healing by Christ corresponds perfectly with the distinction made by the other evangelists between curing diseases and casting out demons. And if his Gospel was designed to be a *supplement* to the other evangelists—a conclusion highly probable—why should he repeat the dispossession of evil spirits by Christ, any more than his Sermon on the Mount?

2. Who can show that, in the spiritual gifts enumerated by St. Paul, (1 Cor. xii, 10,) the dispossession of *evil spirits* is not included in the *working of miracles?* This must doubtless be taken generically, as well as "prophecy, discerning spirits, and speaking with tongues;" a consideration which makes strongly in favour of the inclusive interpretation we give. It was certainly included in the miraculous power which Paul himself possessed, as appears from the case of the Pythoness at Philippi, to be noticed hereafter.

III. It is argued that real possessions are inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, with respect to departed human souls and fallen apostate spirits; as the former enter immediately

upon a state of retribution; and the latter are held in custody till the day of judgment.

The former part of this objection is not affected by the question of real possessions, as held by those who maintain that *demons* are *fallen spirits*, and not the spirits of dead men. Its whole force, therefore, turns upon this: Can the statements of Peter and Jude be harmonized with the fact of real possessions? On this point the testimony of Dr. Lardner deserves the more weight, because he repudiated real possessions:—"As the full punishment of angels, as well as bad men, was deferred to the great day of general judgment; it was the opinion of many at that time [the incarnation] that some of those evil angels and spirits were allowed (though not without control) to visit the region of our air, and this earth, and to inflict diseases and other calamities on men. Of this number are unclean spirits."

Whatever meaning we attach to the language of Peter and Jude, we should be careful not so to construe it as to array one inspired writer against another, or Peter against Peter. There is nothing contradictory in the conclusion, that the durance in which fallen angels are held may consist with their "going about as roaring lions," and "walking up and down, and going to and fro," in the world; since all this is included in the admission that they exert spiritual influence on men.

IV. Real possessions have been held to be inconsistent with the evidence of revelation derived from miracles.

We answer, Not at all, while Divine power so far transcends demoniacal, as completely to baffle and control it. There is not an example on record to the contrary; but when the magicians of Egypt, either by the agency of evil spirits or legerdemain, succeeded in producing serpents, the serpent-rod of Aaron devoured theirs. Divine wisdom and power are pledged to maintain the Divine honour. The difference in the character and tendency of the miracles wrought by Divine power, compared with the prodigies of evil spirits, is both an infallible criterion and an adequate security against the result anticipated in the objection.

But the direct argument still remains to be noticed. For the appeal, after all, must be made to the simple declarations of the inspired writers. They wrote for the instruction of common minds; hence, the common-sense interpretation of their narratives must be the true one. If they actually make a manifest distinction between diseases and demoniacal possessions, both in their general allusions to them, and in their description of specific examples; then, certainly, so to construe their statements as to *destroy* this distinction,

resolving the whole into some morbid physical or mental affection, is to adopt a principle of interpretation which must jeopard all sound theology, and every description of historical facts.

Such distinction is made in the following passages: Matt. iv, 23, 24; viii, 16; Mark i, 32, 34; Luke vii, 21; Acts x, 38. In these passages we have examples of general allusion to the labours and miracles of Christ. Thus, in Matt. iv, 24, not only is the distinction clearly made between possessions and other affections, but different diseases are distinguished from each other: "And they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils,—*δαιμονιζομένους*,—and those which were lunatic,—*σεληνιαζομένους*,—and that had the palsy; and he healed them." In Luke vii, 21, *evil spirits*, *πνεύματα πονηρά*, are distinguished from *infirmities*, *plagues*, and *blindness*, a distinction not without design. In Matt. ix, 32; xii, 22; and Luke xi, 14, dispossessions of demoniacs are recorded with no reference to disease of any kind, which makes the distinction, if possible, still more marked and palpable.

The demoniacs at Gadara furnish an example in which sober interpretation puts at defiance all attempts at reconciliation to the theory opposed to real possession, recorded Matt. viii, 28; Mark v, 1–13; Luke viii, 26–33. Here observe, the demon is addressed as a personal, intelligent agent, answering Christ's interrogation, giving his own name, and his reasons for assuming it; and making a request, involving deprecation and petition, showing knowledge, discrimination, and choice. As soon as the desired permission to enter the swine was granted, the whole herd evinced the influence of a presence and power inducing acts not explicable on any known principles of mere philosophy; but all perfectly consistent with the doctrine of real possession. Because the advocates of the opposite doctrine can account for the destruction of the swine only by assuming that one of the demoniacs—a raving madman, according to the assumption—ran in among them, and frightened them over the precipice into the sea. But how unnatural and forced is this hypothesis, which is manifestly lugged in to clear up the difficulty. For had these animals been in a state of forest wildness, the hypothesis might claim more plausibility; but it is groundless, from the fact, that they were in charge of *keepers*,—consequently, accustomed to the presence of men among them. In short, viewed as a real possession, all is simple, natural, probable; explained on the opposite theory, all is gratuitous, unnatural, and forced.

The case of the Jewish exorcists at Ephesus, is also exactly in

point; but for want of space we pass it over, especially as it is referred to in another connexion.

The case of the *Pythoness* at Philippi, (Acts xvi, 16,) deserves to be specially considered. Precisely what sort of affection this person had, cannot be determined with certainty by referring to the etymology of the word πύθων. It is defined by Scapula, following Suidas and Hesychius, *dæmonium, cujus afflatu futura prædicebant.* It is probable that this damsel, or female slave, (as παιδίσκη often means,) practised a species of fortune-telling, to the pecuniary advantage of her owner. Several points in the case deserve notice. How could this capacity for soothsaying result either from insanity or bodily disease? And if there were no real possession, how could Luke describe what occurred in such language as this? Verse 18: "But Paul, being grieved, turned, and said to the spirit, —πνεύματι,—I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her." Is there not good reason to believe that Luke uses the word πνεῦμα, *spirit*, here in the same sense that he does the phrase πνεῦμα δαιμονίον ἀκαθάρτον, *spirit of an unclean devil*, in his Gospel, iv, 33? Of the result which followed, we need not stay to speak. But who can believe that either Paul or Luke would have committed such a play upon words in simply healing a mental or physical disease? Nothing of this appears when the former performed cures upon Publius and others in the Island of Melita, as recorded by the same historian. Who can doubt, therefore, that there was as much difference in the nature of the two cases as there is in the description the inspired historian has given of them? To suppose there is not, is to apply to the simplest narrative a principle of interpretation at once the most arbitrary and licentious, which would make the facts recorded in sacred history mean one thing or another, according to the prevailing freak or fancy of the reader.

Finally. To every firm believer in the Bible there is indescribable satisfaction in the assurance, not only that it rests upon an immovable basis, but that its Divine authenticity is only the more evinced when it passes anew through the scrutiny of thorough investigation connected with sound and sober criticism.

## Art. IV.—ANCIENT ENCLOSURES AND MOUNDS OF THE WEST.

*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.* By E. G. Squier, A. M. and E. H. Davis, M. D. Forming Vol. I. of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. 4to., pp. 306. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1848.

[As the work named at the head of this article is the first fruit of *the Smithsonian Institution*, a brief account of the origin of that institution, and of its operations up to the present time, will fitly precede our examination of the book.

James Smithson, of England, left his property in trust to the United States of America, to found at Washington an institution which should bear his own name, and have for its objects "the *increase* and *diffusion* of knowledge among men." This trust was accepted by the government of the United States, and an Act of Congress was passed August 10, 1846, constituting the President and the other principal executive officers of the general government, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Mayor of Washington, and such other persons as they might elect honorary members, an establishment, under the name of the "Smithsonian Institution, for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The financial and general control of the Institution was intrusted to a *Board of Regents*, consisting of the Vice President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Mayor of Washington, together with twelve other members, three of whom are appointed by the Senate from its own body, three by the House of Representatives from its members, and six citizens appointed by a joint resolution of both Houses. To this board was given the power of electing a Secretary and other officers, for conducting the active operations of the Institution; and the whole country ratified their choice, subsequently made, of Professor Joseph Henry, of Princeton College, as Secretary, and of Mr. C. C. Jewett, of Brown University, as Assistant Secretary and Librarian. We do not detract at all from the value of the counsels and services of the Board of Regents, in saying that the comprehensive plan on which the Institution has been organized, and the success with which it has thus far been executed, are mainly due to Professor Henry. And no one can fail to recognize in Mr. Jewett's report and suggestions relative to the library, the fruits of long devotion to bibliography, and of practical experience in the ill-understood art of collecting and arranging books. From the Reports of these officers most of the statements here given are condensed.

The Act of Congress establishing the Institution, directed, as a part of the plan of organization, the formation of a Library, a Museum, and a Gallery of Art, together with provisions for physical research and popular lectures. To secure these ends, as well as the general objects of the Institution, a *building* was necessary. We confess that our fears were strong, in the outset, that the Smithsonian money might be absorbed, as so much of Girard's had been, in a costly erection to adorn the City of Washington, leaving the main designs of the

Will to be accomplished, if at all, only after the lapse of many years. But we have to record, on the contrary, a most wise and sagacious employment of the fund—on a plan proposed, we believe, by Professor A. D. BACHE, the present able Superintendent of the Coast Survey—in such a way that a noble building will be erected, and yet the original fund will remain almost intact. The whole amount of the bequest received into the United States Treasury, was $515,169; the interest was, up to 1st July, 1846, $242,129, making in all $757,298. The Regents resolved that the expense of the building and grounds should not exceed $250,000; and, by dividing this expenditure through five years, keeping the unemployed part of the appropriation meanwhile invested, they expect to complete the whole without withdrawing more than $100,000 from the amount of accruing interest mentioned above, thus leaving $142,000 to be added to the original bequest. The annual income of the Institution will then be about $40,000 per annum. The building is now more than half finished,—and it will probably be completed before the expiration of the contract, March, 1852.

As above stated, the aim of Smithson's bequest, as stated in the will, embraces two objects, viz., the *increase* and the *diffusion* of knowledge among men. The Plan of the Regents for the accomplishment of this two-fold purpose, embraces four distinct features.

1st. The publication of original memoirs (or *Contributions*) on all branches of knowledge, in a series of quarto volumes; 2d. The institution of original researches under the direction of competent persons; 3d. The publication of a series of reports from year to year, giving an account of the progress of the different branches of knowledge; and, 4th. The formation of a library, and a museum of objects of nature and art. All these are in active operation.

The first volume of the *Contributions* is the great work of Squier and Davis, now before us, which has been distributed gratuitously among the various colleges and public libraries in the United States, and the learned societies of the world. The law of distribution is narrow; as we have found, on application, that it would not embrace the library established at the Methodist Book-Concern for the use of the editors of our Church Journals, through whom as large a *diffusion* of the substance of the works issued by the Institute could be secured, perhaps, as by almost any single agency within the reach of the officers of the Institute. We do not mention this by way of complaint, for we have received nothing but courtesy at the hands of Professor Henry, through whose kindness we have been allowed the use of most of the wood-cuts employed in the illustration of the article below. Such large and expensive works *cannot* be very freely given away. We are glad to see, from the last Report, that a cheap edition of Squier and Davis's work is contemplated. The Institute could make no more acceptable present to the general public.

What has been done in aiding *Original Researches* is thus summed up:—"The institution has assisted Lieutenant Gilliss in procuring instruments to be used in his expedition to Chili, and has caused to be computed, published, and distributed to astronomers, a set of occultations of fixed stars during the year 1850, for the scientific exploring parties and others. It has supplied magnetic instruments to the Mexican boundary survey. It has in preparation a Circu-

lar, to be issued to engineers and other suitable persons, requesting them to transmit to the Institution statistics of railway and canal explorations, measurements of heights, geological sections, &c. It has sent letters to different individuals, and various historical societies, asking them to assist in collecting information on the ancient monuments of North America. It has assisted explorers in New-Mexico and California in collecting Natural History and Botany, by subscribing for the specimens brought home by them, and in purchasing collections made in other parts of the United States; and has established an extended system of meteorological observations, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, now comprehending one hundred and fifty stations, from which returns are regularly received, and which, by the acts of the States of New-York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, with observations made at the military posts and naval stations, will probably comprise three hundred observations. Instruments are likewise to be furnished for offices of the telegraph lines, from which returns once a day are to be transmitted to the Institution: and it has aided its own observers to supply themselves with instruments, by having a large number constructed in a very superior manner, and selling them at about half cost."

In the third branch of the Plan, viz., the publication of reports showing the progress of the various branches of human knowledge, nothing has yet been laid before the public. But the first part of a report on Forest-trees of America, divested of technicalities, so as to adapt it to popular as well as scientific use, and containing all the recent discoveries, with much original matter, by Professor A. Gray, of Cambridge, Mass., will be published in a few months. A report on Meteorological Instruments, by Professor Guyot, and one on Recent Discoveries in Astronomy, by Dr. B. A. Gould, of Cambridge, Mass., are ready for the press. Also, a report on Agricultural Chemistry, by Dr. Lewis C. Beck, of New-Jersey. We regard this third feature of the plan as the one best adapted to secure the confidence of the mass of our people in the administration of the Institute. But, to accomplish this, the reports must be published at cheap rates, and kept for sale at places accessible to the public. We hope, before many years, to see a "Bookseller for the Smithsonian Institution" at every large city and town in the land.

The *library* is yet in an incipient state. If Professor Jewett's able plans be carried out, the time will come (though it *cannot* be soon) when the student can find in Washington, what is not now to be found in this country—a tolerably complete repository of bibliography. And this, in itself, would be a vast library.

A series of popular lectures in the Smithsonian building is now going on—a sort of appendage to the plans of the Institution, rather than a natural part of its organization. They may aid, it is true, in conciliating or enlightening such members of Congress as cannot otherwise be brought to understand the value of the Institution; we do not see on what other ground they can well be justified.

Our outline is necessarily bald and brief. But it contains a statement of *facts*, of which neither the managers and officers of the Smithsonian Institution, nor the American public, have any reason to be ashamed. The aim

of Mr. Smithson's will, we have no doubt, will be as faithfully carried out by the parties at present engaged in conducting the Institution which bears his name, as it would be possible for human agencies to secure it. And we commend both them, and the work in which they are engaged, to the attention and confidence of our readers.—Ed.]

It has long been known, that on the alluvial banks of nearly all the rivers, and on some of the upland plains, of the West, are found remarkable structures, apparently the monuments of an ancient and unknown people. Some have, however, supposed these apparent embankments and mounds to be the works of God rather than of man—the result of diluvial action. We ourselves once entertained this opinion, and it was rendered plausible by our observations on mounds similar in external appearance, found on the intervals of the Kennebeck, the Penobscot, and other Atlantic rivers. In making a geological survey of that region, we frequently found along the rivers small rounded knolls, evidently of diluvial origin, yet so regular in shape as to appear the result of human labour. But when once we had the opportunity of seeing the structures at the mouth of the Miami, along the Wabash and the Tippecanoe, and on the Shawnee and Wea Plains, we no longer doubted that human intelligence had planned, and human hands erected, these strange and extensive works. If any doubts had remained, they would have been fully removed by the work named at the head of this article.

The facts incidentally mentioned by travellers, and briefly noticed in occasional publications, often derived from cursory and disconnected observations, had given rise to many crude speculations and indefinite conjectures in regard to the nature and purposes of these curious remains. Under an impression of existing deficiencies of our knowledge on the subject, from the want of well-authenticated facts, and from the unsatisfactory manner in which the investigations had been made, E. G. Squier, A. M., and E. H. Davis, M. D., undertook to make a thorough exploration of a section of the valley of the Scioto river, near Chillicothe, Ohio. Their investigations, however, were not confined to this section, but extended over many other parts of Ohio and the adjacent States. They also entered into correspondence with a large number of gentlemen in various parts of the Union who felt interested in the subject, and had devoted attention to it. The results of their observations and inquiries are embodied in an elegant and costly book of upwards of three hundred quarto pages, with forty-eight highly finished plates, and upwards of two hundred wood engravings. In what proportions the credit of the work is to be allotted to the two authors we cannot fully decide, nor is it necessary. We infer, however, from the statements

of the preface, that the literary labour was performed chiefly by Mr. Squier, while the investigations, especially so far as they involved inquiries in natural science, were principally made by Dr. Davis. It appears, also, that Dr. Davis had been engaged in independent researches and inquiries for a series of years, and with abundant fruit, before the joint enterprise which has issued in this ample volume was agreed upon. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a brief sketch of the results laid before us in the book.

On commencing their investigations, Messrs. Squier and Davis began anew, as if nothing had been known on the subject,—having no theory to confute or sustain, and being influenced solely by scientific aims. They spent two years in the examination. They personally examined, surveyed, and measured, upwards of a hundred different enclosures. They opened more than two hundred mounds, carefully noting down on the spot every fact which might be of value in the solution of the difficult problem of the origin and purpose of these remarkable works. They observed the position, structure, and contents of the works in their relations to each other, and to the general features of the country. To comprehend these relations, we must understand the peculiar geological formation of the great Western Valley. Were it not for the rivers and streams, the immense region bounded on the east by the Alleghanies, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the north by the great Lakes, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, would present the appearance of a great plain, or shallow basin, of nearly uniform level, without a hill or valley. As it is, there are no hills in the valley of the Ohio, or any of its northern tributaries,—not *one*. We mean what is usually understood by a hill in the Atlantic States, —an elevation. There are no elevations in this valley. But there are depressions, or, more properly speaking, mere channels for the streams. The rivers have worn for themselves channels, and sunk deep below the general level of the plain. The apparent hills along the Ohio are only the banks of the river, shaped, by the action of water, into bluff headlands. Every little stream that comes pouring into the river, has also worn its deep channel through the river-banks. Thus headlands and promontories, frequently several hundred feet high, appear all along the western rivers. But ascend one of these apparent hills, and you find a plain extending, with slight irregularity, as far as the eye can reach. Wherever a little brook exists, the plain is interrupted by a deep valley. But pass the brook, and you are on the same plain again. The valleys of the smaller rivers of the West are generally at least a mile, and frequently two miles in width. They are generally terraced valleys, the terraces

rising at various heights above each other. These terraces are called first, second, and third bottoms. The first bottom is frequently overflowed; the second rarely, the third never.' Without presuming to broach, or undertaking to maintain, a geological theory, we will illustrate the manner in which the Mississippi Valley may have been formed. Suppose the existence, in ages of unknown antiquity, of a great sea, nearly as large as the Atlantic Ocean, whose waves were dashing against the base of the Alleghany Mountains on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west: the bottom of the sea would naturally be nearly a plain. By some physical cause, directed, however, by Omnipotent Wisdom, the relations of land and water on the globe were changed, and the great western plain was drained off. In the lower parts of the basin the waters would settle, and form rivers, whose supply of water would be kept up by natural causes. The beds of these rivers were originally many hundred feet higher than now, being scarcely below the general level of the country. The waters were, of course, more shallow, being spread over a wider bed, as is the case now with the waters of the Platte and the upper Arkansas. Gradually a narrower channel was worn in the soil and soft rock, and the river retired, leaving the upper terrace, or highest bottom. Here it seemed to rest for a time, when it again proceeded to wear away a deeper channel, and leave a second terrace. And in the same manner a lower terrace has been formed, and the deepening process seems still going on. These terraces, or bottom lands, of the western rivers, are surpassingly beautiful, and of exhaustless fertility.

The remains of the works of the ancient inhabitants are nearly all on the *second* and *third* of the terraces above mentioned, or on the plain immediately adjacent. They are seldom found far from the rivers. The works are of two kinds—ENCLOSURES and MOUNDS.

The ENCLOSURES are formed by embankments of earth, and occasionally by walls of stone, varying in height from five to thirty feet, and in extent from a few rods to several miles. The most common areas are from one acre to fifty acres in extent; but occasionally they cover two or three hundred acres. The enclosures may be divided into two great classes, namely—those *irregular* in outline, and those *regular*. The *first class*, namely, the irregular embankments, conform in outline to the nature of the ground on which they are situated, running along the brows of hills, or cutting off approaches to strong natural positions, and are supposed to have been designed for defence. They are generally surrounded by a ditch on the outside. From this ditch, the earth for the embankment was evidently taken. To increase their defensive

value, they were, perhaps, surmounted by wooden palisades, which, of course, have long since disappeared.

One of the most extensive of these defensive enclosures is found on the banks of the Little Miami River, in Warren County, Ohio, about thirty-five miles north-east from Cincinnati. The embankment is nearly five miles in length, and in the more accessible places twenty feet high. It occupies a terrace on the bank of the river, two hundred and thirty feet above its waters. The place is naturally a strong one. On the western side is the river, with a precipitous bank of two hundred feet. On the east arise, near each other, two ravines, which, diverging, enter the Miami, one above, the other below, the work. The place is, therefore, a peninsula. The embankment is erected quite around it, on the very verge of the ravines, along the banks of the river, and across the isthmus. It required a party of a dozen active engineers two days to make the survey of this work, so meandering is its outline, to conform to the nature of the ground. The embankment varies in height from nine to twenty feet, being highest at the more accessible points. There are over seventy gateways, formed by interruptions in the embankment, at irregular intervals along the line. These openings are from ten to fifteen feet wide. The work consists of two divisions, the passage between which forms a long and narrow defile, across which, at its narrowest point, a transverse wall is thrown, as if to prevent the further progress of an enemy, should he succeed in carrying either of the principal divisions. There is no continuous ditch surrounding this work; but the earth for its erection was taken from pits which form large reservoirs, containing water sufficient for a large population. At numerous points in the line of embankment are found stones, in large quantities, apparently brought from the river. This position, thus selected, secured, and fortified, must have been—in the hands of a people capable of constructing such a work—impregnable.

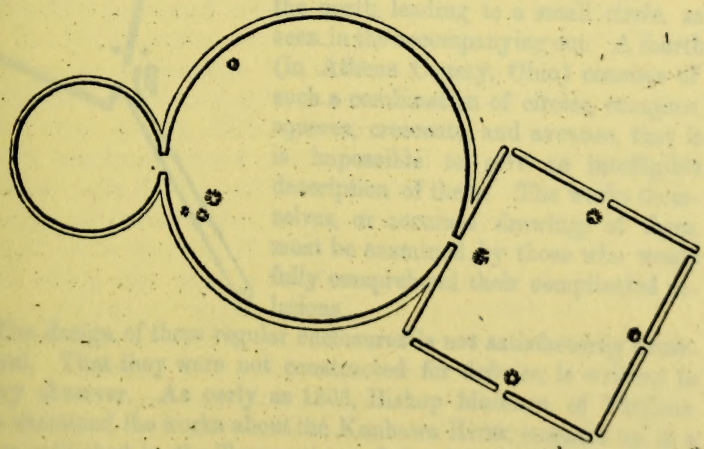
There is another remarkable work near the village of Bourneville, in the neighbourhood of Chillicothe. It occupies the summit of a hill nearly four hundred feet high. The hill has been detached from the plain by the valleys formed by two small brooks, which flow into Paint Creek, a tributary of the Scioto. The summit of the hill is a fertile plain, of about one hundred and forty acres. The sides are steep, and, in some places, inaccessible. The work consists of a heaped-up wall of stones, carried around the hill, a little below the brow, and extending across the isthmus connecting the hill with the range of high lands beyond. The wall does not appear to have been regularly laid up; but the stones were thrown into an irregular mass.

It is heaviest on the most accessible parts of the hill, particularly where it crosses the isthmus. The isthmus is seven hundred feet wide, and the wall is built across its narrowest part. Here are three gateways, opening on the continuous terrace beyond. At one part of the line, where the hill-side is so steep as to be inaccessible, the wall is discontinued. There is on the hill a small pond, covering about two acres, and furnishing a constant supply of water. This wall is two miles and a quarter in extent. Over it are grown trees of the largest size. The stones are of all sizes, and sufficient in quantity to form a wall eight feet wide and eight feet high. It must have required in its construction prodigious labour. The hill overlooks a great number of other ancient works, and the valley is one of the richest in the West.

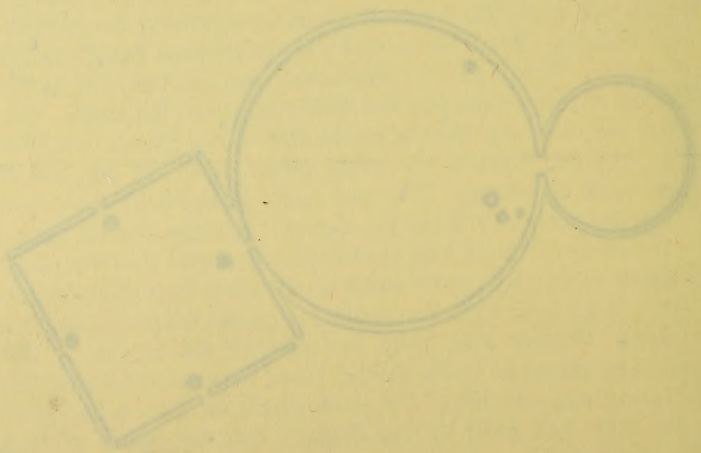
Some thirty distinct works of defence are fully described by Messrs. Squier and Davis; but the two above mentioned will serve as examples. It will be observed, that all these defensive enclosures are furnished with gateways. By what means these openings were closed, in case of attack, we know not. Near each gateway, sometimes within and at others without the enclosure, is generally found a mound, which might serve as a place of observation. A supply of water is always found within the enclosure. Such works as these, requiring so much labour, skill, and patience, could never have been erected by the hunter tribes who inhabited this continent at the time of its discovery by Europeans. They were not suddenly erected to arrest a sudden invasion, but seem rather to have formed a line of defences, like the great Chinese wall, extending diagonally from the sources of the Alleghany to the Wabash. None but a stationary population could construct such works. It will also be recollected, that the localities of these defensive structures are near the fertile valleys of the rivers. More fruitful soil than the valleys of the Scioto, the Miami, the White Water, and the Wabash, was never shone on by the sun, nor wet by the dews of heaven. The very spots occupied by these works are now the home of a dense population. But the cleared lands of the ancient people have long since been grown over by trees, distinguishable neither in age nor size from the other trees of the original forest. Who, then, were the wonderful people whose works we are noticing? Whence came they, and whither did they go? What sanguinary scenes of battle and of blood were enacted about these enclosures, who may tell? Did these people emigrate to the south? or did they melt away by slow degrees, like the snows of winter when the warm breezes come over them? or were they suddenly exterminated by more barbarous tribes?

The *second class* of enclosures is marked by *perfect regularity* of

outline, and exhibits no indications of defensive design. They are generally too small to answer the purpose of military works; the ditch is usually within the embankment, and they are situated on the broad and level river-bottoms, so as to be completely commanded by adjacent heights. The outline is generally a circle or a square. Occasionally they are found isolated, but more frequently in groups. Most of the circles are small, having a uniform diameter of two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet. They have a single gateway, generally opening to the east. Larger circles, enclosing in some cases fifty acres, are found, generally in combination with square or rectangular works, connected with them directly, or by avenues. The circles, whether small or large, are perfect. No engineer of modern days can lay out on the ground a more exact curve. The squares, rectangles, and polygons are also perfect in shape. Their perimeter is always regular. Some five or six enclosures, which Squier and Davis carefully surveyed, were found to be exact squares, each side measuring one thousand and eight feet. Other squares were found of larger dimensions, and some smaller. A few octagons were discovered. The squares have almost invariably gateways at the angles, and midway on each side. There are always small mounds within the enclosure, fronting each gateway. The earth from which the embankments were made was taken frequently from pits or holes outside of the enclosure; but sometimes it would seem to have been taken up evenly from the surface.

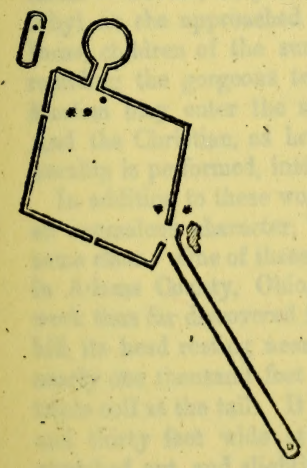


The above diagram exhibits the outline of one of a singular series of works of this class occurring in the Scioto valley—in



which the same figures (a square and two circles) are always combined, though not always occupying the same relative positions. The work here illustrated lies on Point Creek, near Frankfort, Ohio. The sides of the square are usually ten hundred and eighty feet in length. The larger of the two circles is uniformly seventeen hundred and twenty feet, and the smaller eight hundred feet in diameter. There is a communication by a gateway between the square and the larger circle, and also between the larger and the smaller circle. There are numerous other gateways in the square, and from the larger circle; but the smaller circle is entire throughout. It is also remarkable, that while the gateways of the squares are always fronted by a mound within the enclosure, nothing of the kind occurs in the openings of the circle.

In the works of this class found in other parts of Ohio, and in Indiana, the combinations vary. One group (two miles from Chillicothe) consists of four circles, three crescents, and two squares, with four mounds. Another (eight miles from Chillicothe) consists of four circles, three crescents, and two remarkable figures, consisting each of two parallel sides, seven hundred and fifty feet long, and sixty feet apart, united at each end by the arc of a circle.

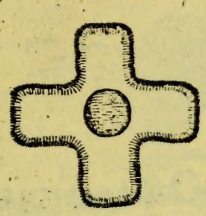


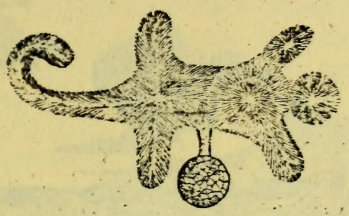
A third combination (six miles from Chillicothe) consists of a rhomboidal polygon, with an avenue extending eleven hundred and thirty feet to the south-east, and also a short avenue on the north, leading to a small circle, as seen in the accompanying cut. A fourth (in Athens County, Ohio) consists of such a combination of circles, octagons, squares, crescents, and avenues, that it is impossible to give an intelligible description of them. The works themselves, or accurate drawings of them, must be examined by those who would fully comprehend their complicated relations.

The design of these regular enclosures is not satisfactorily determined. That they were not constructed for defence, is evident to every observer. As early as 1803, Bishop Madison, of Virginia, who examined the works about the Kanhawa River, summed up, in a letter published in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, the evidences of their non-defensive design, as follows: 1. The ditch, when there is any, is within the enclosure. 2. There

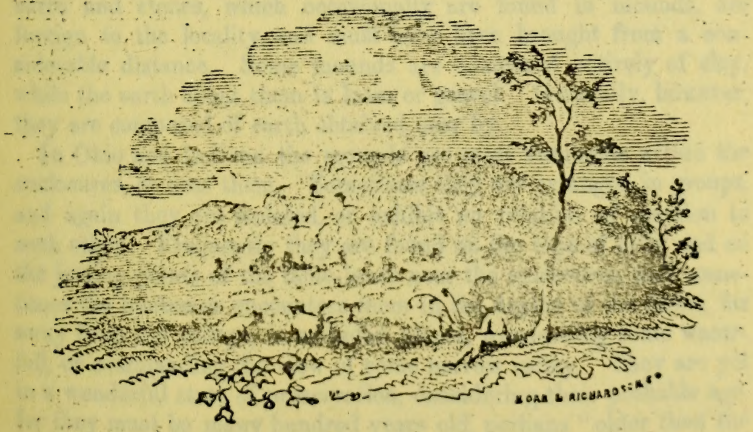
are mounds near every enclosure, effectually commanding the entire work, and thus affording an enemy the means of demolishing the fortification. 3. The enclosures often lie at the bottom of a hill. 4. There is not a supply of water to sustain a garrison. And, lastly, they are too numerous to admit of such a design. The bishop supposes they formed lines of demarcation between the farms of the people. This is a most strange solution of the question. Mr. Squier thinks that all these regular and anomalous enclosures were of a sacred or religious character, connected in some way with the superstitious and religious rites and ceremonies of the people. It has been customary among all nations to *enclose* the grounds appropriated to temple and religious worship. The open temples of the ancient Britons were embraced within parapets of earth, usually circular in form. The Teocallis of Mexico, on which were practised the religious rites and ceremonies, were enclosed. The tabooed grounds and sacred places of the islands of the Pacific are enclosed. The pagoda of the Hindoo is enclosed within high and massy walls. The wooden idol of the Laplander has its sacred limit, within which the devotee only ventures on bended knee, and with face to the earth. "Procul, O, procul este, profani!" exclaimed the Cumæan Sibyl, as she approached the sacred grove. None but the royal Incas, children of the sun, were permitted to pass the walls surrounding the gorgeous temples of Peru. None but the faithful Moslem may enter the sacred precincts of the Turkish mosque. And the Christian, as he approaches the temple in which public worship is performed, instinctively feels that it is holy ground.

In addition to these works of regular outline, there are others of an anomalous character, but which are supposed to belong to the same class. One of these is a well-defined figure of a great *serpent*, in Adams County, Ohio, perhaps the most extraordinary earthwork thus far discovered in the West. It occupies the summit of a hill, its head resting near the point, and its body winding back for nearly one thousand feet in graceful undulations, terminating in a triple coil at the tail. It consists of an embankment, five feet high, and thirty feet wide at the base. The neck of the serpent is stretched out, and slightly curved, and its mouth is opened, as if in the act of swallowing an oval figure, which rests partially within its jaws. In another place (Pickaway County, Ohio) we find the figure of a cross, ninety feet between the ends, with a circular depression in the middle, twenty feet in diameter, and twenty inches deep. In another is an alligator, two hundred and fifty feet long, forty feet broad, and with legs thirty-six feet long. The forms of these two are shown in the cut at the top of the next page.

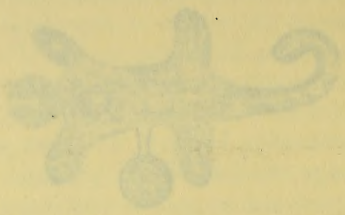


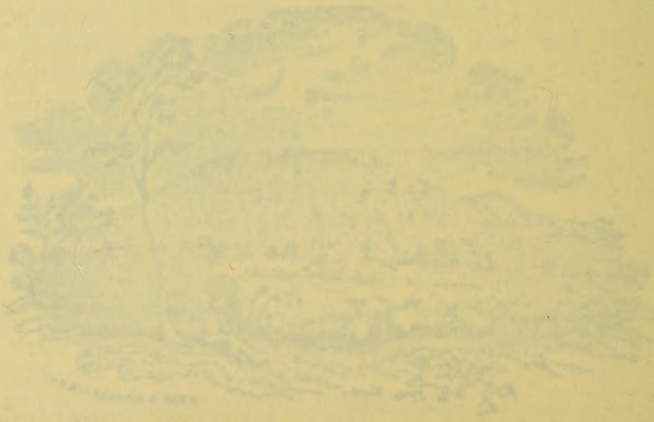


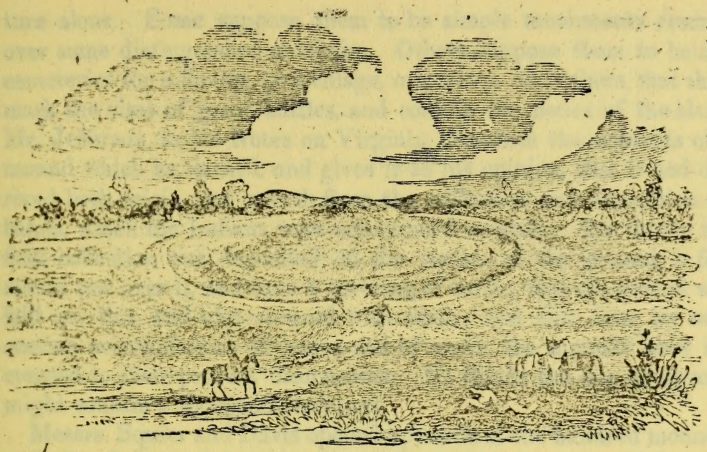
There remains to be noticed the most interesting variety of these ancient monuments, the MOUNDS. They are generally found in connexion, more or less intimate, with the enclosures already described, and are surprisingly numerous,—there being at least five hundred in a single county in Ohio; and Mr. Squier estimates the whole number in that State at ten thousand. They are of all sizes, some very small, and others of great dimensions. Near Miamisburg, Ohio, is one sixty-eight feet high, and eight hundred and fifty-two feet in circumference. At the mouth of Grave Creek, in Virginia, is one seventy feet high, and one thousand feet in circumference. At Cahokia, Illinois, is one ninety feet high, and two thousand feet in circumference; and another, in the State of Mississippi, is estimated to cover six acres of ground. Their form is generally conical, but some are pyramidal. The pyra-



mids are always truncated, so as to form a level space on the summit, and generally they have graded ascents, reminding us of the Teocallis of Mexico. One of the most beautiful and regularly formed of these remains is a circular work in Greenup County, Ky., consisting of an embankment of earth five feet high by thirty feet base, enclosing an area over a hundred feet in diameter, in the centre of







which rises a mound eight feet high by forty feet base. The earth to construct them was generally taken from pits, or "dug holes," which are still visible. Some of these pits are so symmetrical that they have been, by cursory observers, supposed to be wells. It is possible some of them might have answered, as a secondary design, for reservoirs. It would, however, appear in some cases, that the earth and stones, which occasionally are found in mounds, are foreign to the locality, and must have been brought from a considerable distance. Some mounds are composed entirely of clay, while the earth about them is loam or gravel. Generally, however, they are composed of earth obtained near by.

In Ohio and Indiana the mounds are most numerous within the enclosures, or near them. Sometimes they are arranged in groups, and again they are isolated, or exhibit no relation of position to each other. Frequently they are found on the tops of hills, and on the jutting points of the table-lands near the enclosures, and sometimes the huntsman encounters them in the depths of the forest, far away from the valleys, in secluded places, overlooking some waterfall, or commanding the view of some narrow valley. They are yet in a wonderful state of preservation, considering their probable age, for they must be many hundred years old, perhaps "older than the Pyramids." While the more imposing structures of civilized man have crumbled into shapeless ruins, the humble mound of the child of the forest yet remains little changed from its original proportions. Covered with the forest, its surface interlaced with the roots of trees and bushes, or protected by turf, it bids defiance to the storms of centuries.

It is the popular opinion, that all the mounds are places of sepul-

ture alone. Some suppose them to be simple monuments erected over some distinguished chieftain. Others suppose them to be the cemeteries for a family, or a village, or a tribe; and others, that they mark the sites of great battles, and contain the bones of the slain. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, describes the contents of a mound which he opened, and gives it as his opinion, that it had derived both origin and growth from the collection and deposition of bones, which the Indians were accustomed to make. He thinks the first collection was deposited on the surface of the ground, a few stones put over it, and then a covering of earth; that the second was laid on this, and also covered with earth; and that thus, by successive accumulations of bones and of earth, the mounds were increased to their present dimensions. He thinks the one he opened might contain a thousand skeletons.

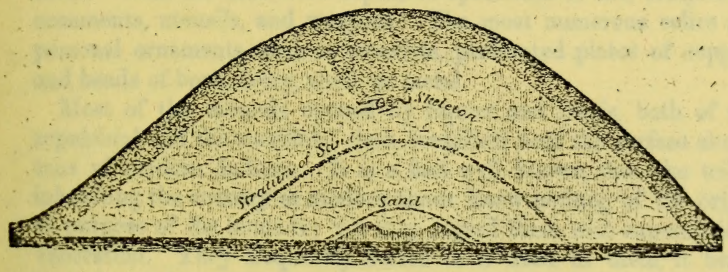
Messrs. Squier and Davis opened upwards of one hundred mounds, and they have satisfactorily ascertained that they are of different classes, and designed for different purposes. The conditions on which the classification is founded, are position, form, structure, and contents. The classes are four: *altar* or sacrificial mounds, *sepulchral* mounds, *temple* mounds, and *anomalous* mounds.

The most of those examined proved to be *Altar* mounds, or mounds of sacrifice. The general characteristics of this class are: 1. That they are stratified. 2. That they occur only in the immediate vicinity of the regular enclosures. 3. That they contain symmetrical altars of burned clay or stone, on which are deposited various remains, which, in all cases, have been more or less subjected to the action of fire. The stratification is not horizontal, but conforms to the convex outline of the mound. It does not resemble the stratification produced by the action of water, in which the layers run into each other, but is defined with the utmost distinctness, and always ends on reaching the level of the surrounding earth.

The altars are symmetrical, but not of uniform size and shape. Some are round, others elliptical, and others square. The usual dimensions are from five to eight feet across; but some are fifty feet long, and twelve or fifteen wide. They are modelled of fine clay, generally brought to the spot from a distance. They rest on the original surface of the ground. Sometimes, however, a small layer of sand was placed on the ground, and the altar built on it. The clay composing the altar is usually burned hard.

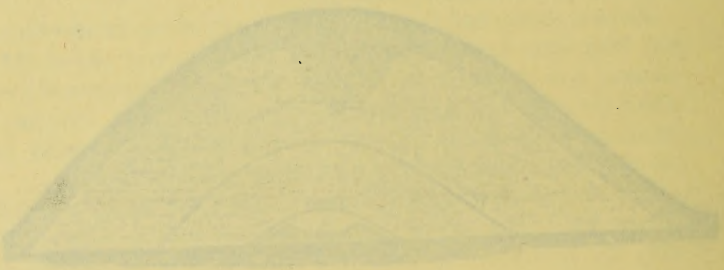
On the banks of the Scioto River, near Chillicothe, is an enclosure, in the form of a square, with rounded angles, including about thirteen acres, and containing twenty-four mounds. All these were excavated, and their contents examined. The first one opened was

seven feet high, and fifty-five in circumference. A shaft, five feet square, was sunk from the top, with the following results: 1. A layer of coarse gravel and pebbles, taken from the bank of the river. 2. A homogeneous mass of earth. 3. A thin layer of fine sand. 4. A deposit of common soil. 5. Another layer of sand. 6. Another deposit of earth. 7. A third layer of sand. 8. Still another earthy deposit. 9. An altar, or basin, of burned clay, perfectly round, and containing ashes mixed with fragments of pottery, of an excellent finish, and ornamented with tasteful carvings on the outside. The second mound was formed by similar layers of earth, and covered an altar, which was a perfect parallelogram, and which contained ashes mixed with pottery, and a few shell and pearl beads. The following diagram exhibits a section of this mound as opened.




The third mound was formed by similar strata, and the altar contained ashes, charcoal, and about thirty pounds of lead. The fourth contained an altar nearly fifty feet long, and burned to the depth of twenty-two inches. On examination, it appeared that several clay altars had been here erected, one above another, and all afterwards heaped over. The altar contained ashes, coal, pottery, and sundry implements of stone and copper. The altar in the fifth mound contained, among other relics, about two hundred pipes, on whose bowls are carved figures of animals, birds, and reptiles, all executed with fidelity to nature, and with great skill. Among the ashes in several of these altars were found indications of human remains—either fragments of calcined bones, or phosphate of lime, which is peculiar to bone. A horrid suspicion that these altars may have once smoked with human sacrifices forces itself on the mind.

Structures similar to these altars are sometimes found in the West, in the open ground, and are called by the people brick hearths. It would seem that places were prepared for sacrifice by a structure of clay on the surface of the earth, and that after being used for a time, and burned hard by frequent fires, most of them were heaped

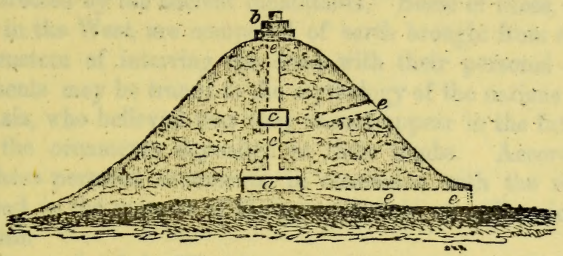


over by mounds, but some remained uncovered. Why were they thus covered up with so much care, as is implied in erecting a stratified mound? We have read of no ceremonies or customs in the superstitions of any people, to throw light on this question.

The *Sepulchral* mounds are very numerous. They are larger than the sacrificial, some of them being seventy feet high. They stand without the walls of enclosures, at considerable distance from them. They are not stratified in structure, nor do they contain any altars. These mounds invariably cover a skeleton, generally one only, though in rare instances more. The body, at the time of its interment, was enveloped in bark, or enclosed in a rude sarcophagus of wood, or in a chamber of stones rudely laid up. The dead were placed on the surface of the ground, and the earth heaped up over them. With the dead were deposited specimens of art, comprising ornaments, utensils, and weapons. The most numerous relics are personal ornaments, such as bracelets, perforated plates of copper, and beads of bone, ivory, shell, or metal.

Most of the mounds opened by Squier and Davis, both of the sepulchral and the sacrificial class, contained near the surface skeletons of modern Indians. It is a fact well known, that the tribes inhabiting the country in modern times know nothing of the origin or purpose of the mounds; yet they regard them with superstitious veneration. They frequently buried their dead in them, it being their invariable custom to select lofty points for the graves of their friends. Some mounds appear to have been long used as general cemeteries. But these burials are to be carefully distinguished from that of the more ancient distinguished personage for whom the mound was erected. The skeletons of the modern Indians are near the surface, in confused order, and accompanied by relics known to be of modern manufacture, being many of them of European origin. In the sacrificial or stratified mounds, whenever a modern interment has occurred, the strata appear disturbed and broken. So generally is this the case, that wherever Squier and Davis discovered indications of disturbed and broken strata, they expected to find modern skeletons, and were never disappointed. The process of the ancient burial was as follows: the surface of the ground was first carefully levelled and beat down, then covered with a layer of bark, on which, in the centre of the levelled area, the body was placed, with its accompanying relics, and then the mound was heaped over it. All the circumstances seem to indicate that burial was a solemn and deliberate rite, regulated by fixed customs of religious origin. The modern burial was conducted without order, and the bodies crowded into small and shallow graves in confusion.

We have said that the mounds are erected over a single skeleton. Our authors know of but one exception to this remark—the great mound at the mouth of Grave Creek, Virginia, twelve miles below Wheeling. This remarkable work, which measures about seventy




feet in height by one thousand in circumference at the base, was excavated by its proprietor in 1838.

"He sank a shaft from the apex of the mound to the base, (*b a*,) intersecting it at that point by a horizontal drift, (*a e e.*) It was found to contain two sepulchral chambers, one at the base, (*a*,) and another thirty feet above, (*c.*) These chambers had been constructed of logs, and covered with stones, which had sunk under the superincumbent mass as the wood decayed, giving the summit of the mound a flat or rather dish-shaped form. The lower chamber contained two human skeletons, (one of which was thought to be that of a female;) the upper chamber contained but one skeleton, in an advanced stage of decay. With these were found between three and four thousand shell beads, a number of ornaments of mica, several bracelets of copper, and various articles carved in stone. After the excavation of the mound, a light three-story wooden structure was erected upon its summit. It is indicated by *b* in the section.

"In respect to the number of sepulchral chambers and enclosed skeletons, this mound is quite extraordinary. It may be conjectured with some show of reason, that it contained the bones of the family of a chieftain, or distinguished individual, among the tribes of the builders."

Of all the monuments of the dead, the mound is the simplest, and seems to have been common to most peoples. A learned antiquarian, Gough, in his "Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain," considers it the most ancient sepulchral monument in the world. Homer describes the burial of Patroclus as follows: the body was laid on a pile of wood, the pile set on fire, and all reduced to ashes. The fragments of the bones were then collected, placed in an urn, and a high hill heaped up over it.

> "High in the midst they heap the swelling bed
> Of rising earth, memorial of the dead."

Herodotus mentions the mound erected over the body of Alyattes, king of Lydia. It was a mile in circumference. Virgil alludes to

this mode of interment in Italy. Xenophon refers to it in Persia, and the Roman historians speak of it in more modern times. In Siberia, sepulchral mounds are raised so high, as to appear in the distant plains like a ridge of hills. In England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, they are numerously scattered over the country, having been erected by the ancient inhabitants. Some of these, as well as some in the West, are composed of earth brought from a distance. The custom of interring the dead with their personal arms and ornaments may be traced to the mythology of the nations of Northern Asia, who believed that they should appear in the future world with the ornaments deposited in their tombs. Accordingly we find these personal ornaments, in connexion with the remains of the dead, in the mounds of Europe and Asia, as well as in those of America.

The mounds of the West by no means contain the remains of all the people who once lived in these fertile valleys. They were erected only over the distinguished chiefs. The graves of the mass of the people were made on the hill-side, with no monument to mark the place. The plough of the western pioneer frequently turns up in its furrow the crumbling bones of the ancient proprietor of the field, and the washing waters disclose on the river's bank cemeteries strangely populous. So ancient are the remains found in the mounds, that scarcely any portion of the skeleton can be restored. Decay has done its work most effectually. Yet the circumstances of the position of the bodies, the compactness and dryness of the earth, and the protection of the mound, are exceedingly favourable to preservation. The decayed state of the remains must, therefore, be evidence of great antiquity. In the mounds of the ancient Britons, well-preserved skeletons, eighteen hundred years old, are found. Of what age, then, must those of the West be?

The *Temple* mounds are distinguished by their regularity of form, and their large dimensions. They are generally within the walls of enclosures. They are pyramidal in form. In some instances they are terraced, or have successive stages. They generally have graded avenues to the top, which is always level, and frequently covers a large area. Squier and Davis found this class of mounds not numerous in Ohio. Near Chillicothe is one, known in the neighbourhood as the "elevated square." It is a truncated pyramid, one hundred and twenty feet square, and nine feet high. Being opened, it was found to contain no remains. Near it is a circle. At Marietta, within an enclosure of forty acres, are four elevated squares, or truncated pyramids, three of them having graded ways, or avenues, to the top. The larger pyramid is one hundred and

eighty-eight feet long, one hundred and thirty-two wide, and ten feet high. It has four graded ways, one at the middle of each side. The grades are twenty-five feet wide and sixty feet long. The pyramid next in size, being one hundred and fifty feet long, one hundred and twenty wide, and eight high, has three graded ways, one on the north, one on the west, and another on the east. The third elevation is one hundred and twenty feet long, fifty broad, and six high, and has two graded ascents, one at each end. The enclosure containing these elevations has, on the side next the Muskingum river, a passage, or gateway, one hundred and fifty feet wide. Leading from this gate towards the river is a graded way, of the same width as the gate, extending six hundred and eighty feet, where it terminates on the alluvial banks, whence the descent to the river is slight and easy. At Cahokia, Illinois, is a temple mound, the largest known in the north-west. It is a truncated pyramid, with a rectangular base, seven hundred feet long and five hundred broad. The altitude of the frustum is ninety feet. The top is level, and contains five acres. On one side of the mound is a terrace, three hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and sixty wide. There is a graded way to the terrace. As you go south, this class of mounds increases in number, and generally in magnitude. They have generally graded ascents to the summit. Some of them are ascended by spiral pathways, winding around them from the base to the summit.

As to the design of these elevated structures with graded ascents, the most probable opinion is, that they were "high places" of sacrifice. Some of them might have been surmounted by wooden structures serving as temples; but, in the long lapse of ages, every vestige of wood has disappeared. The question of their design may receive some light from the structure and uses of the Pyramids and Teocallis of Mexico. The stupendous mound at Cholula is a truncated pyramid, facing with its four sides the cardinal points, and divided into a number of terraces. Its base is over two thousand feet square, and its altitude is one hundred and seventy-seven feet. On the summit stood a sumptuous temple, in which was the image of the mystic deity, and on whose sanguinary altars palpitated human victims, midst religious rites and superstitious ceremonies. The great temple of Mexico, in the days of Montezuma, stood in a vast enclosure, surrounded by a quadrangular wall, eight feet high, and having four gateways opening on the principal streets of the city. It was a pyramid of earth, with five terraces, and a truncated top. It was ascended by flights of steps from terrace to terrace. The manner of ascent had a most imposing effect during religious ceremonies,

when the pompous procession of priests, with wild minstrelsy, came sweeping round the huge sides of the pyramid, as they rose higher and higher, in the presence of gazing multitudes, towards the summit. All the religious services, and the dismal rites of sacrifice performed on the top of this structure, were visible from the remotest corners of the city. Here the human victim, having wound his way up the long ascent, was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphics of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone. Five of the priests secured his head and limbs, while the sixth, with a sharp knife, opened the breast of the wretched victim, tore out the bleeding heart, held it up towards the sun, and then cast it down on the sanguinary altar, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The very striking resemblance in structure between the Mexican and the western mounds, would leave little doubt that both were designed for similar purposes.

In addition to the sacrificial, sepulchral, and temple mounds, there are others whose character is not well defined. They are classed as *Anomalous*. Some of them possess features in common with all the classes, while others are wholly unique. It is, however, probable that some of them were designed as places of observation and sites for signal-fires. Ranges of such mounds extend along the valleys for many miles. Between Chillicothe and Columbus, along the eastern border of the Scioto valley, may be selected several, so placed in relation to each other, that signal-fires might be transmitted in a few minutes along the whole line. On a hill, near Chillicothe, is one which commands a view of the valley for fifteen or twenty miles. Similar mounds are found on the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois; all commanding extensive views of the valley. They are so placed as especially to command a perfect view of the enclosures, and to prevent any one from approaching the work in any direction without being seen from the summit of the mound.

Similar mounds, for purposes of observation, were very numerous in Great Britain in ancient times. They were so placed as to enable the sentinels to look through all the windings and recesses of the circuitous dells, which they were intended to protect. They communicated one with the other. Some were placed at the extremities of long valleys, and others at the sides, so as to command a view of the opposite declivity. So systematically were these mounds of observation arranged by the ancient Britons, that a single individual could not proceed twenty yards in any direction without being seen by some one of the sentinels. Nearly as

perfect is the arrangement of those placed along the valleys of our Western rivers. They must have been essential to the safety of a people inhabiting, in a warlike age, a champaign country, whose illimitable level is only broken by the rivers which run through it. By means of sentinels placed on these, aided by signal-fires, notice of the approach of an enemy might be given in a short time to all the villages within the distance of thirty or forty miles.

Were it not for extending this paper beyond due limits, we might describe the *Remains of Art* found in the mounds. The material of art is chiefly clay, stone, and copper. The art of pottery attained to a considerable degree of skill and perfection among the mound-builders. Some specimens of vases recovered from the mounds, in elegance of model, delicacy, and finish, far exceed anything the modern Indians have ever produced, and are fully equal to the best Peruvian specimens. The interior of the mounds abounds in axes, knives, drills, and various other implements, both of stone and of copper. Ornaments, consisting of bracelets, pendents, beads, rings, dice, and buttons, are found in great abundance. Many of the ornaments are carved with much taste and skill. Sculptured tablets also abound. They are generally heads and figures of animals, true to nature, and highly finished. Human heads, of the general contour and likeness of the great American family, are common. Of animals, we find the beaver, otter, cat, elk, rabbit, and, what is remarkable, since the animal is not found in this latitude, but only in the tropics, the *sea-cow*. Of birds, we find the heron, eagle, swallow, duck, partridge, and various other specimens; some of them most exquisitely sculptured.

It is a remarkable fact, that nothing, either moulded, sculptured, or engraved, obviously designed for an idol, or object of worship, has been obtained from the mounds. Whatever, therefore, was the religious system of this unknown people, it could not consist in the worship of graven images.

We have thus endeavoured in this paper to condense, and place in a connected form, the principal facts obtainable from all sources accessible to us, respecting the celebrated antiquities of the West.

The following are some of the conclusions to which the investigation of the subject has led us:

First. The works are *very ancient*. Trees of the largest size, and of most venerable age, are growing on them. In one instance a chestnut, twenty-one feet, and an oak, twenty-three, in circumference, were growing on the embankment, while all around were scattered the fallen trunks of immense trees; the whole forest presenting the appearance of the highest antiquity. In another place

was found, in one of the ditches from which the earth was taken for the construction of a mound, an accumulation of vegetable deposit, thirty inches deep. Those only who have observed how slowly vegetable deposits accumulate, even in the luxuriant forests of the West, can form an estimate of the centuries necessary for the collection of such an amount. The decomposed condition of the human remains found in the mounds, is another evidence of great antiquity. Though the superficial skeletons, being of late date, (being the remains generally of the Indians who occupied the country at the time of its discovery,) are well preserved; yet those found at the bottom of the mounds, being evidently the remains of the builders, are in such a state of decay, as to render all attempts to restore the skull, or any part of the skeleton, entirely hopeless. Yet, as we have seen, skeletons may be preserved in the earth, under circumstances less favourable than those in which the mound-builders were placed, for at least eighteen hundred years. We can by this means only approximate an estimate of the age of the mounds. Another evidence of great antiquity is, that the races of Indians inhabiting the country when first visited by Europeans, had, so far as we can ascertain, lost all tradition of the erection of the mounds, or their uses. At least the modern tribes know nothing at all about the matter. They use the mounds for burial-places, as they would any natural elevation, but they have not the slightest trace of an idea of the age or design of the works, or of the people who constructed them.

Secondly. The people who erected the mounds were a *numerous, settled, agricultural* people. None but an immense multitude, labouring for a long time, could erect so extensive and gigantic works; and none but a settled people could be induced to undergo the necessary toil. No means but agriculture could furnish support for a numerous and settled people. There are comparatively few fish in the western rivers, and no settled population could long be sustained by the chase. The rich bottom-lands of the Scioto and the Miami, and the beautiful prairies of the Wabash, waved with the yellow harvest long before the white man's foot had pressed the soil. But the farms of the mound-builders have since been covered with trees, that must have required centuries to attain such gigantic dimensions.

Thirdly. The mound-builders were far advanced in skill, intelligence, and enterprise, beyond the modern races of Indians. They certainly understood the measurement of distances and angles, otherwise they could not construct a perfect square or circle. It may be easy to lay off a small square, or a small circle; but to extend the sides of a polygon for a mile or more, and keep them regular, or to

draw a circle a thousand feet in diameter, and make it a perfect circle, requires nice instruments and great care. They were, however, inferior to the Mexicans, and the tribes of Central America and Yucatan.

Fourthly. We cannot discover much, if any, evidence of relationship between the builders of the mounds and the modern Indians. The former differed greatly from the latter in religion, so far as we can conjecture, and in their general habits. The modern Indians throw up no embankments, and erect no mounds. The resemblance of the mound-builders to the Mexicans and Peruvians is much more evident than to the modern Indians.

So far as we can see our way, by the dim lights afforded us, into the ancient history of the American Continent, it would seem that the course of emigration has constantly been from the north and north-east, to the south and west. The lines of defensive works, extending from the Alleghany to the Wabash, would indicate that the pressure of attack was from the north-east. The era of the mounds certainly preceded that of the Aztec, or even that of the Toltecan civilization. It is possible, therefore, that the mound-builders had at last to yield to northern aggression; and retiring before the invaders, proceeded to the south, improving as they went, until they, or their descendants, spread themselves over the valley of Mexico, and the regions of Central America and Yucatan. The mound-builders might, therefore, have been the progenitors of the Toltecs, the Chichemecs, the Aztecs, or the Tezcucans.

But all on this subject is conjecture. The race of the mounds may, for aught we shall ever know, have been utterly exterminated by the races against whom they erected their defences. At any rate, they are now among the things that were, but never can be again. Their works alone remain. Their memory is lost. Their name, their language, and their fate, can never be known to mortal man. Even their very bones have crumbled to dust, and mingled, undistinguishable, with the same earth from which they built their mounds.

## Art. V.—INQUIRY INTO THE MEANING OF II. PETER III, 13.

*Καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν καινὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶμεν, ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ.*

*"Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."*

THIS passage has been very generally supposed to refer to the same thing as Rev. xxi, 1: "*And I saw a new heaven and a new earth.*"* Indeed, we do not remember an author who does not make the two places parallel. Where so many agree, it may seem presumptuous to propose any other interpretation. Yet such is the object of this article.

The new heavens and the new earth in our text are *according to promise;* and the Apostle seems to speak of the promise as well known. But where is it? In Rev. xxi, 1, it cannot be, as the Apocalypse was, without doubt, written after the Epistles of Peter. The state of the churches referred to in Revelation, especially in the second and third chapters, so different from that in the epistles of Paul, forbids that we should suppose that John was banished to Patmos earlier than that persecution by Nero which took Peter to heaven. Where, then, is it? In the sacred Scriptures, certainly; for vain is the supposition for which some have contended, that, as Peter had a revelation from Christ that He would create new heavens and a new earth, he might justly call that His promise. That he had such a revelation is a mere assumption. But had this been so, it would have been, not "according to *promise*," but "according to *revelation.*" But what scripture is it? Among the passages cited in answer to this question are, Gen. i, 26; Gen. xvii, 7, 8; Luke xxii, 29; and Heb. xi, 10–16. The reader need only refer to these passages to see their obvious inapplicability. Indeed, can a passage be found in all the Old Testament in which God promises a new heavens and a new earth, in the sense in which many understand 2 Peter iii, 13; that is, *a new literal, physical world, in which the righteous are to dwell after the destruction of this earth by fire?*

* So Rosenmüller, Koppe, Whitby, Thomas Adams, Ainsworth, Scott, Doddridge, Benson, Clarke, Barnes, and Macknight; also Tertullian, Augustin, Calvin, and others, as quoted by Koppe; Stuart, Wesley, Hammond, (with whom Le Clerc seems to agree, Com. on Rev. xxi, 1.) See also Robinson, N. T. Lex., *sub voce* Οὐρανός; Knapp's Theol., p. 479; Storr and Flatt, Bib. Theol., pp. 369, 370, and 375, 376; Dwight's Theol., vol. iv, pp. 477, 478; Limborch's Theol. Christ., lib. vi, cap. xii, p. 31; Leighton, Com. on 1 Peter ii, 21; Vitringa, Alexander, and Lowth, Com. on Isa. lxv, 17; Lightfoot, vol. iii, p. 442. This list might be extended to almost any length.

Yet in the Old Testament, without doubt, is our promise recorded. After some search, we have not been able to find in the whole Bible the expression, nor anything equivalent to the expression before us, "*new heavens and new earth*," except in the Apocalypse and in Isaiah. The Apocalypse we have already laid aside, because not then written. But the passage in Isaiah (lxv, 17) answers in all respects to the requirements of our text: "*Behold I create new heavens and a new earth.*" Is not this the promise to which Peter refers?* There is no force in the objection, that Peter cannot mean to quote Isaiah, because he does not use the phrase, "It is written," or, "The Scripture saith," or some expression of the kind. The Apostles did not bind themselves to any such formulas; nor can such an expression be found in 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1, 2, 3 John, Jude, Revelation, nor in Hebrews, except once, "The Holy Ghost saith," iii, 7. The writers of the New Testament often quote the Old without any reference whatever.† In the second chapter of the very Epistle before us, Peter quotes Prov. xxvi, 11, in a manner strikingly similar to that in which we suppose he here refers to Isaiah: "It has happened unto them *according to the true proverb*," &c. Verse 22. Nor is it any objection to this, that he adds, by way of illustration, another proverb not found in the sacred Scriptures. So the author of the book of Hebrews (xii, 26) quotes Haggai ii, 6,‡ with "He hath promised;" and Paul (Rom. ix, 9) quotes Gen. xviii, 14, with "For this is the word of promise:" almost the same phrase which is used in our text. We are driven, therefore, to the supposition that Peter intended to quote Isaiah lxv, 17. For why should we resort to passages like those referred to above, from Genesis, Luke, and Hebrews, which at best are vague and indefinite, when we have, in Isaiah, language definite, precise, and in every way apposite to the purpose of the Apostle? Only, as it seems to us, because, by giving a wrong interpretation to Peter, men have, as by an unholy divorce, put asunder what God had joined together.

* So Koppe, Whitby, Ainsworth, Thomas Adams, Macknight, Alexander, Lowth, and Hammond, Com. on 2 Peter iii, 13. See also Vitringa, *Observationes*, lib. iv, cap. xvi, and citations there. So, too, we understand Stuart, Dwight, Barnes, and Wesley. Vitringa, Clarke, Benson, Scott, and others, are more than half inclined to admit that Peter referred to Isaiah; but, as they had adopted two different interpretations for the two passages, they could not consistently make them parallel. So it always is: one error must always, for consistency's sake, be balanced by another.

† See Rom. ix, 7, 9, 12, 13; x, 6-9, 18; xii, 20; xiii, 9; 1 Cor. xv, 32, from the Sept.; Isa. xxii, 13; Gal. iii, 11; Eph. v, 31, from Gen. ii, 24, Sept.; Eph. vi, 2. What is more to the point, the author of this epistle quotes Scripture thus. See 1 Peter iii, 10–12; Acts iv, 11; compare Psa. cxviii, 22: in the Sept. cxvii, 22.

‡ From the Septuagint.

Grant, it may be said, that Peter quotes Isaiah, yet do not the prophet and the Apocalypse refer to the same new heavens and new earth? We answer, most unhesitatingly, No. John points to a new heaven and a new earth, after the "first heaven and the first earth were passed away," before the brightness of the glory of the descending Judge. (Rev. xxi, 1: cf. xx, 11.) At the period to which he refers, already had the dead, small and great, stood before God, and been judged, every man according to his works. Already had death and hell been cast into a lake of fire, with all whose names were not found written in the book of life, (xx, 11–15.) Whatever the new heaven and new earth of the Revelator may mean, we cannot feel justified in placing them before the final judgment. When we say we can see no proof that the account in chapter xx, 11–15, is given by anticipation, we only repeat what has been said, directly or indirectly, by nearly all the interpreters who have written upon the passage.

Far different are the times to which Isaiah refers. Then men still "build houses, and inhabit them; plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them," ver. 21: there are still births and deaths, (ver. 20.) And although in this new earth dwelleth righteousness,—for "they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them, (verse 23,)—yet "sinners" are found therein. Verse 20. True, there is an intimation of a vast difference between *these* times and the times of the prophet: "As the days of a tree (for instance, the oak or the terebinth) are the days of my people;" while the sinner who lives "a hundred years" without becoming a child of God, "shall be accursed," and, dying at that age, shall be considered as having died in childhood. Verses 22, 20.

Such a description cannot apply to our earth after the judgment. Is it not a highly figurative and beautiful description of the Gospel dispensation, especially of its latter days,—the millennium, using that word in its more sober sense, when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," xi, 9.* In this manner, substantially, have the great body of commentators understood this passage.†

This, then, is the promise to which Peter has reference. The fulfilment must accord with the promise. If Isaiah speaks of a new

* For parallel descriptions in Isaiah, see chapters xi, xxxv, lx, and li, 16. The last is to be especially noted, as conveying almost the same thought with chapter lxv, 17. There can be no doubt that it refers to the times of the Messiah.

† Inter peritos verbi prophetici disputandi materia his circumscribatur terminis. An propheta hic intelligendus sit de immutatione veteris œconomiæ legalis in novam; num' patius de instauratione ecclesiæ in meliorem formam et statum in fine temporum.—*Vitringa in Jesaiam*, tom. ii, 912.

heavens and a new earth as a figurative designation of the millennium, so must Peter. The course of thought in the context accords with this interpretation. The Apostle speaks of scoffers who should come, "walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." Verse 4. As if they had said, "This world will never be destroyed; Christ will never come to judgment." To this the Apostle replies, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night: in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up." There will be a judgment also; for that *day of the Lord* is "the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." Verses 10, 7. "*Nevertheless*," he says, (ver. 13,) "*we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*." As if he had said, "Christ will come to judgment, and this earth and all it contains will be burned up; but we, according to the promise made by God through his servant Isaiah, look, before the coming of that day, for a general spreading of the knowledge of the Lord throughout the world. We look to see 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, given to the people of the saints of the Most High.' Dan. vii, 27. We look to see 'the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: a kingdom which shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand forever.' ii, 44. We look to see 'the heathen given to the Son of God for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession.' Psa. ii, 8. We look to see, 'from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, the name of God great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense offered to his name, and a pure offering.' Mal. i, 11. In fine, we look to see the leaven of the gospel, which has been hid in the earth, leaven the whole lump."

How broad the foundation thus laid for the exhortation in the next verse: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look to see this world wrapped in flame; seeing that ye look for a judgment where every sin will be punished, and every good deed wrought in faith rewarded; and seeing that since God has promised it, we confidently look, ere the coming of that great day, to behold this world brought home to God, and brought home to God through the instrumentality of the Church, be diligent, that ye may be found of Him in peace. How shall we expect to be justified, if others are lost through our neglect? Moreover, your own sanctification, and the faith which brings sancti-

fication, depend much, under God, on your Christian activity. Be diligent, that you may be found of Him in peace, without spot and blameless."

Vitringa* and others object to this interpretation, that the Apostle, in verses 5, 7, 10, and 12, speaks of the heavens and earth in a *literal* sense, and that the sense cannot be thus forcibly changed, in verse 13, to a *figurative* one. This is, doubtless, the strongest objection that can be brought against our exposition. It is always suspicious for an interpreter to require his author to change, in the same connexion, from literal to figurative, or from figurative to literal. But in this case we believe no violence is done either to the context or to any rule of exegesis. The Apostle, after asserting that *this* earth shall be burned up, points us to a promise of a *new* earth. But in the promise the prophet speaks of a figurative earth. Of necessity the Apostle, in referring to that promise, must refer to a figurative earth also.

2. It is objected, that the "heavens and earth which *now* are," (verse 7,) stand opposed to the "heaven and earth" which shall be hereafter. Nay. The "heavens and earth which are now," were, unquestionably, by Peter opposed to "the world that then was," (verse 6,) and to the οὐρανοὶ ἐκπαλαι, καὶ γῆ (verse 5.)

It is nothing new to understand this thirteenth verse of the third chapter of the Second of Peter in a figurative sense. So have Lightfoot, vol. iii, p. 441, 442; vi, p. 290–301; xii, p. 435; Hammond, Com. on 2 Peter iii; Whitby, Com. on 2 Peter iii. (See also his treatise on the millennium, chap. ii, sec. iii, 2.)

Such is the exposition which we feel compelled to give of this text. It contains nothing contrary to the scope of the passage; nothing contrary to "the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets," verse 2; nothing contrary to the teachings of the Apostle Paul,—"in all his epistles speaking in them of these things," (verse 16.) We doubt if this can be said of the common interpretation.

If this exposition be correct, the passage affords no ground for the opinion, true or false, that this earth is to be the abode of the righteous after the judgment.

* Observatt., tom. ii, 1125.

## Art. VI.—THE MEANING OF יום.

To deduce general conclusions from particular facts, is one of the strongest tendencies of the human mind. It may, indeed, be considered a law of our nature, that, facts being given, theorizing will follow.

The science of geology has furnished abundant material for the exercise of this faculty; and cosmogonies have been constructed with a facility only equalled by the labour afterwards required to defend them. The crust of the earth presents so many indications of gradual deposition, that many have passed to the conclusion as certain and forever irrefutable, that, from the reign of chaos over the dark void of unformed matter, to the creation of man and the planting of the garden, there must have intervened an immeasurably long period of duration; and any interpretations of Scripture that will not consist with this opinion, though received as truth from the earliest times, must be laid aside. Others, reading in Moses, that "In six days the LORD made heaven and earth; the sea and all that in them is," claim that the express words of Revelation must be paramount in authority to the theories of man, however apparently demonstrated by acknowledged facts: for, in the deductions of human wisdom, there may be error; in the truths which the Holy Ghost indites, there may not.

The difference between these views turns on the word *day*;—the one party affirming that it may signify an indefinite period of time; the other, that it can be applied only to designate the present period of the earth's diurnal revolution.

A later theory, it is true, has been put forth, adopting and seeking to reconcile the essential parts of each of these. It proposes to open a gap between the first verse of Genesis, which says, "God created," and the succeeding portion of the chapter; and in the chasm thus invented, it locates a deep chaotic gulf of indefinite extent, whose long-repeated convulsions and revolutions, with a gradual development of vegetable and animal life, may satisfy the geological theory of formation; and then, after these unmeasured ages of confusion, and the reign

"Of gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire,"

it supposes the Almighty to have commenced anew the work recorded by Moses in detail, and to have completed it in six common days. This theory has gained the assent of many Christians, who have felt compelled to yield to the inductions of science; and the

rather, we think, from the natural desire to retain undisturbed a long-established interpretation of a passage of Scripture, than from any conviction of merit or consistency in the theory itself. The fact, indeed, of the existence and partial reception of a theory of this bi-formed nature, we take as merely another expression of the difficulty the mind has had to encounter here, and of the want of a clear conviction of any satisfactory solution of the problem; and if ever we advance into the light of truth, the incongruous parts of it will fall asunder, as not possessing in themselves any principle of coherence or affinity.

The grand question, then, lying, as we conceive, between the two first-named theories, depends simply on the interpretation of the word rendered *day*. For if that word may signify an indefinite period of time, there is no objection against receiving the views which science seems to require; but if it means literally a period of twenty-four hours, and is limited to that one signification, the question is settled. The authority of God's words puts to silence the seeming wisdom of human studies.

The question, then, is purely a philological one—what is the meaning of יוֹם (*iom*) *day?*

Before entering directly on the subject, we respectfully ask that these remarks may be viewed with candour by any who may differ from us in regard to the conclusion. We are aware, that on few subjects has speculation exposed itself more to censure, and even to ridicule, than on philology. The wildest conjectures have often been propounded with the gravity of solemn conviction. But science has its limits and laws, and these we have diligently sought to observe. And in matters of etymology, guided by the certain laws of derivation, we shall often find ourselves arriving at conclusions which would stagger the faith of one who saw not the several steps of the process. One might place it among the absurdities of speculation, if you tell him that our word *tear* and the French *larme* come regularly from the same root; but to the eye of the etymologist, the connexion is perfectly clear and simple. Equally strange might it seem, that names of the same origin, and differing only, as Aristotle would say, τῇ πτώσει, in the accidents of form, should be used to designate *a sacred edifice*, or any *limit of consecrated space;* a surgeon's *forceps;* a shoemaker's *knife;* that part of the head where the arteries are observed to beat; the *mouth; stump of a tree; volume* of a book; *time;* a *storm*, and several other things equally diverse. Yet from the root τεμ- (τέμνω,) as naturally as different branches rise from the same trunk, these various terms proceed. We have τέμενος and *templum*, to signify

a *section* of space, whether in the heavens or on the earth, either with or without an edifice consecrated to sacred purposes. A *tome* (τόμος) is a *cut* of parchment, or other writing material of convenient length for one roll or *volume*, (*volumen*.) Time, *tempus*, is duration cut into parts. The *temples* (of the head) were, in classic Latin, *tempora*,—the *times*, or the *cuts*, in some sense.* And without further specification, it is evident that any variation of the notion of *cutting*, whether as the act, or agent, or instrument, or object, or effect, may philosophically be represented by a corresponding variation of this etymon. To what extent usage may have developed forms for this multifarious application is merely a question of fact. It is no rare thing to see several hundred words in the same language,—and, tracing them into the cognate dialects, several thousands,—grouping themselves together as one family of derivatives from a single parent stem.

But as in other things, so in words; in so numerous a progeny there will be aristocracies and other conventional distinctions. An instance of this we have in the list just given. While we say *the temples*, (of the head,) the Latins, in their classic or book language, generally said *tempora*, (the times,)—very rarely *templa*. But *templa* was undoubtedly the word in colloquial use, and has therefore been preserved in the living language of the people in Italy; while the classic use of *tempora*, in this sense, ceased with the decay of Roman literature. For the same reason the form *templa*, and not *tempora*, (the *temples* and not the *times*,) was carried with the progress of Roman arms, and became naturalized in France and the British Island. Such a phenomenon is worthy of notice, and as we shall have occasion to refer to it as an important fact in the argument, we wish to illustrate it a little further. The primitive meaning of γράφω, *scribo*, was to *mark* or *scratch*; secondarily came the specific use, to mark with the stylus on the tablet, that is, to *write*; and in this sense, almost exclusively, is it found in the classic authors of Rome. But if we go now into certain mechanics' shops in our own country, we shall hear the word in its primitive sense, *to mark*, while the secondary sense has never found its way, in the verb, into our language at all. Roman conquests carried Roman arts, and with them the technical terms of Roman artisans, to those who learned not the language of the court and the schools. Such facts show the distinctive character, to a certain degree, of a spoken and a written

* Of the *reasons* given for this use of the word, a probable one is, that the ancient warriors aimed at that part, as most easily receiving a mortal wound. The one commonly given in our medical books, we must think erroneous. We strongly suspect there is a lost fact which would supply a very natural link, and make the connexion obvious.

language, a classic and a colloquial,—an under and an upper current, not always liable to the same fluctuations.

But we further see the under-current sometimes rising to the surface, or the disparted streams becoming re-united. The Greek ἔω, or εἰμί, designated both existence and motion; as if, in the conceptions of the early Greeks, the one state reciprocally implied the other. In the Latin the two forms are used distinctively, *eo*, *ire*, to go, and *sum*, *esse*, to be; but when we come to the præterit of *sum*, we have a new form, *fui*.* The grammarians suppose an obsolete *fuo*. Whether this form was ever in use in the Latin or not, the root of it is evidently the same from which arose *fugio*,† bringing again, more undisguised, the idea of motion. In the modern language of Italy, *fui* remains as the præterit of *essere*; but of *ire*, the few forms that are not already obsolete have, except one, and that in one dialect, become antiquated.‡ The Spanish preserves in common use both *ser*, to be, and *ir*, to go, and supplies the præterites from the same source, *fui*, *fuisté*, &c., identically the same in both throughout; thus exhibiting a re-union of the words, after their so long separation, on the same form. The French also has substantially the same coincidence in the præterites of *estre*, to be, and *fuir*, to flee.§

Though the labyrinths of etymology are sometimes difficult to thread, we are safe so long as we follow the principle that every etymon has a single meaning of its own; and that every secondary

* [We have the roots in Greek, ἐσ-, and φυ-; in Latin es-, fu-. The perfect in Greek, πέ-φυ-κα, corresponds with that in Latin, fu-i. We have been accustomed to consider the root (ἰ-) of εἶμι, *I go*, as a different radical.—*Ed.*]

† The addition of a palatal is a common mode of lengthening a verb stem, e. g., τμήγω, from τεμ-; τρέχω, fr. δρα-; &c. In the French and Spanish the *g* is lost again, and the *fugere* has become *fuir* and *huir*.

‡ The participle *ito* alone is current in the Tuscan.

§ With these we may compare the English *be*, evidently from the root βε- or βα- (βαίνω,) Latin, *be-o*, (obsolete, but implied by *be-to*;) and hence the anomalous form of the first person singular, which is in German *bin*; in Dutch *ben*; corresponding to the primitive tense (aor. 2.) of the Greek, βην, and in the Anglo-Saxon *beō* and *bin*, corresponding to the Latin also. Richardson, in his Dictionary, says, "The etymologists do not attempt to settle the meaning of this word:" of which, however, he seems to have had a correct notion, though not of its derivation. The sense of motion is still often perceptible in it, as, "Are you *going* to market?" "I *have been*." And hence so often in the mouths of the unlearned,—who have an intuitive sense that *gone* is not the word, and to whom *been* is not strong enough to express their ruder sense of action,—*he has went*. Such "ungrammatical expressions" are embodiments of mental phenomena which the philologist must investigate, and which he generally finds to be only secondary and legitimate, though imperfect, forms of a true ideal; just as the mineralogist sees in the many-faced and many-angled thing which he calls a trapezohedron, the idea of the simple cube as its perfect form,—and knows that this multiform character results, by certain replacements, according to ascertained *laws* of crystallization.

or metaphorical sense in which it may be used, or which may accede to its derivatives, must have a natural and essential relation to the meaning of the radix. If we forsake this clew we tread in darkness, and are at once bewildered,

"In wandering mazes lost."

Of the various ways in which secondary senses may arise, it shall suffice to name the following: 1. A generic term may be employed to designate any species included under it; for example, the oak, ash, or chestnut, may be called *tree*. Sometimes the generic term attaches itself to one species, and loses, in a greater or less degree, its generic use. This happens, (a) when one species becomes matter of more frequent attention or engrossing importance, and (b) when a new species arises which lacks a specific name, or does not readily discover one which shall gain general acceptance. Of the former kind is *meat;* and of the latter, the word *corn*, as used in this country, is a recent example.* 2. Qualifications which are in idea general or abstract, become by ellipsis specific and concrete substantives; for example, *altus*, which as adjective may be applied to anything which has the quality of height or depth; but *altum*, (sc. *mare*,) *the deep*, (that is, *the sea*;) *universus*, (sc. *mundus*,) the *universe*. But it is evident there is nothing in the nature of the word *altus*, whereby it should signify the *sea*, any more than a well, or tree, or mountain. 3. Derivatives acquire an almost endless variety of signification, but always in accordance with fixed laws. Verbs from nouns may stand in the relation of cause, as *strengthen* or effect, as *gravitate*. Derivatives of verbs may signify, (a) the direct effect, or (b) any state, condition, or quality indirectly resulting from the action; (c) any attendant circumstance, whether necessarily or by custom associated with it; (d) any complete action, of which the simpler action of the primitive forms an essential or a conspicuous part, though in different combinations the resultant, or specific end of the actions, may be widely different. Thus the Latin *supplicium*, which etymologically denotes only the posture of the body, signifies either *prayer* or *punishment*. It will of course happen that in those languages which, like the English and some of the ancients, are barren of inflections and derivative endings, the same form will often be compelled to subserve a variety of secondary uses; while in those which are prolific in this respect, this will seldom occur.

These are some of the immediate links of that internal development, which, to a greater or less extent, has gone forward in every

* In some parts of our country the *apple* has nearly laid aside its own title, and usurped the generic one of *fruit*.

cultivated language. And, as each derived form constitutes a new basis from which the same process may be repeated, the ramifications may go on multiplying themselves, till their ever-diverging lines, crossing, and re-crossing, and intermingling, have compassed as with a net-work the sphere of human thought; insomuch, that it would seem we could almost say, that those philosophers who, like Lord Monboddo, have derived an entire language from a few vocal monads, have only been pursuing a system which is not realized in fact, rather than one which is by nature impossible or absurd.

Let us now examine some of the words which designate divisions of time. *Spring* is an instance in which the abstract idea of the primitive becomes in the derivative or secondary use concrete; and the same form not only denotes the season of the year, but it receives a variety of other and widely different applications, all equally appropriate, though the arbiter *usus* may not elect to make the same specific distribution of a corresponding term in any other language. To go through the same range in the Latin, we would have to say *ver*, *fons*, *saltus*, *momentum*, and *principium*, besides resorting to a circumlocution, *vis resiliendi*, or the like, to denote an elastic recoiling spring, as of a watch. *Fall* exhibits a similar variety of use. The Latin has *auctumnus*, the season of gathering the *increase* of the earth. *Summer* is in Latin the *hot* season, *æstas*, cognate and sometimes synonymous with *æstus*, *heat*. Whether our word is, as some have supposed, a derivative of *sun*, is not clear. More probably it is the same as the ancient Celtic, which exhibits itself fully in the Gælic *Samhradh*, as a compound of *trath* (*time*, *season*) and *saimh*, (*rest*, *luxury*, *voluptas*.) *Winter* (the same etymologically in the Teutonic dialects generally) and *hiems*, χεῖμα, indicate that in the northern latitudes the season was characterized by the prevalence of *winds*; and in the more southern, by that of *rains*. In the Anglo-Saxon, *winter* also signified *year*; that is, they reckoned by winters instead of years. The transition from the idea of a particular season to that of the period of its return is natural and easy; especially if that season be the most important or engrossing one of the year, as is the fact of winter in high latitudes. It is on this principle that the ancient Germanic and Celtic tribes reckoned shorter periods by nights instead of days;* relics of which usage remain in our *se'nnight* and *fortnight*. *Month*, *mensis*, μήν, from *moon*, μήνη. The lunar period is probably distinguished by a similar derivative in all languages. *Year*; a comparison of orthographies and significations shows this to be evidently of the same origin

* Tac. Germ., c. 11; Cæs. Bell. Gall., l. 6, c. 17.

as the verb *ear*.* We have it in the Anglo-Saxon, *gear;* German, *jahr;* Swedish, *år*, (*aor;*) Danish, *aar;* Iceland., *ar*.† Richardson (Dictionary, under *year*) says; the Swedish *aor* also signifies *annona*, that is, yearly crop or provision. In the Anglo-Saxon the derivative *geara* signifies the same thing, annona; and secondarily, provision in general, παρασκευή, hence, *gears*. The verb *ear*, to plough,‡ Anglo-Saxon *er-ian* is the common inheritance of the Teutonic dialects. From the Greek and Latin (*ar-'o*) it has descended to the modern languages of western Europe. It is also found in the Shemitish dialects, though not in so simple a form. In all these languages there is a derivative corresponding to *earth;* Heb. אֶרֶץ (*erets,*) "the dry land," that is, the *arable*. The general sense of this word, applied to time, would signify primarily the *ploughing season*, and this sense it retained in the Greek ἔαρ, ἦρ, εἶαρ, and the Latin *ver*, *spring;* secondarily, the period from one earing-time to another,—*year*.

These examples suffice to show that the names of divisions of time are generally derivatives, and significant of some essential or obvious circumstance of the portion of time designated.

From these preliminaries and general illustrations we proceed

I. To seek the origin of the word יוֹם and the literal meaning of its root.

II. To trace some of the derivatives from this root, and notice their specific uses.

III. To determine the appropriate sense of יוֹם in relation to time, as indicated by its derivation and by usage.

I. *The origin and meaning of the root.*

1. The noun יוֹם is referred by lexicographers to the verb יָחַם. But this is from the simpler form יָם, in which the only essential element is the consonant מ; though in the earliest forms that are preserved to us,—and it is found in the Shemitish dialects generally,—we see it joined with one of the weak consonants or semi-vowels. We have in Heb. מַי, *mai;* מוֹ, *mo;* יָם, *iam;* Arab. *ma; iam;* Syr. *iam;* Æthiop. *mai;* in which the semi-vowel is sometimes prefixed and sometimes subjoined, but affecting differently, as we shall presently see, in its different positions, the meaning of the root. In the most general and evidently primitive sense, the *m* is initial; in the secondary and more specific, it has the prefixes.

* It is a curious fact, that in certain parts of our country the noun *ear* is by a large part of the people uniformly pronounced *year*.

† We give these on the authority of Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

‡ Though this is probably a secondary meaning of this etymon, we are not concerned in the present connexion with its more elementary character.

2. The meaning. (a.) One sense common to this word in all its simpler forms is that of *water*, a *body of waters, sea;* and in the simplest, is that of an unbounded extent of waters It is the word used by Moses to denote the unformed elements of things at creation,—the "discordia semina rerum." "And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the *deep;* and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the *waters*" (מַיִם.) (b.) The Arabic, (*ma,*) besides the common signification of *water*, is defined by Freytag, *semen*, (admissarii.) But this limitation is special; it was, of course, said of animals in general. That the Hebrew in the simple form must have had this sense in the days of Lot, is evident from the compound מוֹאָב (*moab.*) So also in Isa. xlviii, 1, the מֵי יְהוּדָה is equivalent to the more common phrase, "*the loins* of Judah;" and in the nineteenth verse of the same chapter the derivative מֵעַח is synonymous with מֵי of the first verse.

From these facts we conclude, that a word of which *M* was at first the sole, or, at least, the principal element, was originally used to designate the primeval chaos—the wide sea of undistinguished matter. The nearest metaphorical sense is that of origin in general—anything which has the power of originating or propagating—the "*semina rerum,*" viewed in the concrete and specifically.

3. After that the world was "created and made," the prevailing use of the word, as applied to things actual, and so of course secondary to the primary sense of chaos, was doubtless that which is preserved in the Hebrew in the simplest form; that is, with the *m* initial,—to wit, *water*, in the general sense; *aqua*, not *unda:* or a body of waters of unknown extent; or said without reference to shores, as Oceanus, *æquor*, not *mare.*

II. *Of the derivatives.*

1. The first step in the modification of this word was to place one of the semi-vowels before the *m*. We notice the *aleph* first; not because it is first in order, but because we have but a single form in this class to claim our attention at present. The metaphorical sense of *origin* we have seen in one of its specific applications. But of these, certainly none is more natural than that which we have in אֵם, a word which, with its simple variations, *am, em, ma*, &c., and sometimes with an additional syllable, as in *ma-ter, mo-ther*, is diffused through nearly all the languages of the globe. The derivation of this word, which is here supposed, will not, we think, be questioned, when prudently considered. For it is not true, as books have assumed, that infants utter the *m* sound first, as easiest of articulation. Our observation, at least, has generally found them

reiterating the middle mutes and the nasal *n* with facility, months before they could articulate *em* or *ma*.*

2. Returning to the literal sense, we have first, with the weakest of the semi-vowels prefixed, יָם, *iam*, signifying *sea, ma-re ;* also *lake, river*, in which the generic idea is that of a *defined* body of water. The Arabic and Syriac have the same form, as near as the orthography of the languages allows. In the Æthiopic is the same word, and in the same sense, but lengthened in form analogically, as we shall notice hereafter.

3. With the weak aspirate ה prefixed to the *m* was represented, (*a*) The idea of the commotion of a great body of water and its immediate effects,—that of a continued resounding noise, and that of impelling forcibly objects against which it may strike. The simple verb in this grade is biliteral, הָם, *ham*, (disused,) varying into הוּם, הָמָה, הָמַם, הָמַל, הָמַן, and הָמַר, and corresponding forms in the cognate dialects, signifying to be in a state of commotion; to move, impel; to roar, (as the sea or a storm ;) to flow, (as water;) to rain, &c. Among the derivatives are הָמוֹן, a *roaring*, (as of a storm, 1 Kings xviii, 41;) and תְּהוֹם, another name for the chaos, and rendered in Gen. i, 2, "the deep." (*b*) These words denoted, secondly, the agitation of water, as in boiling, with the concomitant circumstance of *heat*. See particularly the Arabic *hamma*, and its derivatives. In this twofold sense these words present an exact analogy to the Latin *æstus*, and *æstuo*. (*c*) From this accidental idea of heat come significations of the common effects of heat, both on the animal body and on inert matter; and, (*d*) metaphorically, fervour of mind, *anger*, *passion*.

4. With the stronger aspirate ח prefixed, the prevailing idea is that of *heat*, with its effects, both in the literal and metaphorical senses noticed above.

5. We have next both the aspirate and the semi-vowel *yod* or *vau* prefixed: Hebrew, יָחַם *iahham ;*† Arabic, *vahama*. Besides the physical sense of *heat*, these words are more frequently used in the metaphorical one of *passion*. The Hebrew is defined by Gesenius: "Incaluit libidine pecus ; *cŏivit ;* hinc *concepit*, etiam de muliere"—to lust, to conceive; said as well of the human race as of the lower animals. The Arabic further denotes inordinate passion: "Inobsequens admissario præbuit se prægnans *jumentum ;*" also any peculiar affection to which the female is subject in gestation: "Peculiari

* "The nursery is an excellent school for speech unfettered by the *art* of grammar," is the true remark of an eminent philologist, and perhaps the greatest that England has yet produced.

† This is the form to which lexicographers generally refer יוֹם.

et vehementi appetitu laboravit, *de gravida muliere;* "and the noun *vaham:* "appetitus venerei congressus;" and, "appetitus vehemens gravidæ;" also, "*res* quæ vehementer appetitur a gravida." (Freytag.) With these we may compare the Greek *λαν-* (*λαίνω*,) used primarily in the physical sense of *heat*, associated, as above explained of the Hebrew and Arabic, (3, 6,) with boiling water. Homer uses it with *ὕδωρ*, and also with *χάλκον*; just as we say, per synecdochen, *to boil the kettle.* We compare also the Latin *am-o*, and the Greek *μά-ω*, used only in the metaphorical sense.*

6. From the general sense of these words, and the fact that the natural phenomenon of heat, and the instinct of propagation in animals, return at regular and appointed periods, comes secondarily the sense, to *determine*, to fix or appoint a certain time. This is conspicuous in the Arab *hamma*, and *hana* for *haiana*, and their derivatives.

7. One effect of heat is to stimulate the powers of nature, both animal and vegetable, to exuberant growth and prolific multiplication. It also induces physical languor and lassitude, or dejection of mind. These meanings, among others, are expressed with *ayin* prefixed to the *m*. The Arabic *ġ-mma*† is defined, "luxurians fuit, (*planta;*") also, "auxit fervore (*dies*) ita, ut fere spiritum intercluserit;" also, "mœrore, tristitia affecit." With the softer sound of the same guttural *ġ-mma* it seemed to regard rather the multiplication of individuals than increase of size. Among the derivatives, *ġ-mm* signifies magna hominum turba. Another form, slightly different, multitudo; also, magnitudo corporis, (*in homine aliisque;*) and another, vulgus hominum; and still another, congregatus, copiosus, &c. That these *ayin* forms—and with the cognates and derivatives there is a great variety—do certainly arise from the *m* stem, is clear from the fact that they are continually returning upon the more primitive ideas of water, sea, and heat; and many of the derivative significations are more immediately connected with these than those are which we have given. From these we see that the Hebrew עַם, people, and עָמַם, to collect, or bring together in crowds, which, without the link which the Arabic supplies, might seem isolated, claim their place in the same family. This paragraph, as one

* Should it seem to any one far-fetched to class the Latin *amo* under this root, mature consideration will, we think, remove all reasonable doubt. Mark the distinction between *amo* and *diligere*, correctly expressed in Facciolati and Forcellini;—"*amare* est ex appetitu, *diligere* ex ratione. Hinc *amare* dicuntur etiam bruta animalia, *diligere* soli homines." Between the older stock of the Latin and the Shemitish languages subsists a closer affinity than is generally noticed.

† We indicate the ghain by the common sign of the spiritus asper, and the ain by the lenis.

bout of the clew, has detained us only for the sake of an ulterior form to which it leads.

8. Of the verbs thus far noticed, the stem-form, except where both a semi-vowel and aspirate were prefixed, is properly biliteral, though the *m* is sometimes pronounced double. But the grammatical type of the Shemitish verb is triliteral; and this perfect form the shorter stem seeks in the following ways: (*a*) By doubling the last consonant, as in many of the preceding examples; (*b*) by prothesis of one of the weak consonants; (*c*) by paragoge of an aspirate or liquid; and (*d*) by epenthesis. For this last method Nordheimer (see Gram., § 115) supposes of the Hebrew, that only the semi-vowel *vau* is properly interposed; but adds, in a note, "There are some instances in which the insertion of ל is equivalent to that of ו; for example, אוֹר=אֲלַח; עוּק=עָלַק." Examples of this kind can be multiplied, in which one of the liquids is inserted directly or interchangeably with *vau* or *iod*. We add one because of its exact analogy to the form we seek; אֵם=אֵמַם=אֵלַם.* Inasmuch as this middle place freely admitted either liquid or semi-vowel, it is reasonable to suppose that euphony should have had at least some influence to determine the choice; and certainly it consists with our occidental notions of euphony, that when the initial is one of the imperfect letters, it should prefer a liquid for the intermediate. By insertion then of *l*, according to this principle, we have עלם. The definition of עָלַם, given under Gesenius's first head, *abscondit,—to hide, conceal*, identifies it directly with the biliteral forms of the Arabic *ȧ-mma*, and *ȧ-mma*, and of the Hebrew עָמַם. In the forms given above at § 5, the idea of passion is the prevalent one. The Arabic *hamma* is also defined,—"barba prodire cœpit, *adolescenti*;" and Gesenius gives for this עָלַם (II.) "pubes fuit, et coëundi cupidus." The Arabic *ȧ-lema* is defined in almost precisely the same words. The nouns also, in the lengthened and the shorter forms, agree in sense; the Arabic *ȯ-laiiem*=עֶלֶם, *ėlem, youth;* and *ȧ-ilam*=יָם *iam, sea*. The Æthiopic also agrees with יָם, *sea*; and with עֶלֶם, *ȯ-lam*, another sense, which will be noticed presently. And, finally, a comparison of the aleph and ayin forms in the Hebrew is of itself sufficient to show that with or without the *l* the word is etymologically the same.

III. Our next inquiry is concerning the *connexion of this word with the idea of time*. From the primary sense of *chaos*, or *unbounded body of waters*, we see no passage to this point. Should we attempt to bridge over such a gulf, we find no opposite shore on

* Other examples are הָלַךְ, הוּךְ; דָּרַךְ, דּוּךְ; אָכַל, אוּל; דִּיס, דִּוּס, דָּרַס, דּוּס.

which to rest the extremity of the arch. But from the secondary senses of heat, &c., so prominent in the verbs that are noticed above, the transition is natural and easy to the idea of the *time of the recurrence of heat*, whether of the day or the year; and from the metaphorical significations, to that of the period of life when animal bodies acquire the faculty of reproduction,—*adolescentia*, the time of conception, (*de animalibus;*) the time of the inception of any series of events; or of a defined period, as the life of an individual, an epoch in history; or a revolution of physical phenomena; or, lastly, any appointed time, whether fixed by custom, by civil authority, or by the laws of nature, as death, national epoch, public festivals, &c. As denoting a *period* of time, it would embrace the interval from one such season of heat, or one appointed time, to the recurrence of the same; or from the inception to the completion of such series of events. This two-fold sense of the dating point and the period of its return—the epoch and the era—is precisely that which we have seen in the words from *ear*, *ar-o*, which were differently determined by usage in different languages: as, ἔαρ, ἦρ, *ver*, spring; that is, the season of ploughing; and *year*, from ploughing-time to ploughing-time. Now these several significations of time, which, with a great variety of modifications, lie scattered all along through the numerous groups of derivatives that spring from this prolific germ, are, it is evident, but the specific distribution of a general idea,—all equally natural and appropriate. And we have seen, both by a general principle and by examples already given, that in such cases several specific meanings will often attach themselves to the same form; that is, for want of a sufficient variety of inflection, the same form will subserve a diversity of uses. We cite one additional instance, because of its direct bearing on the case in hand. The Greek ἐνιαυτός signifies specifically *one year*, and generically any complete space of time; *a period, cycle;* in Hesiod, (Theog., v. 59,) the period of gestation. If, therefore, in the first chapter of Genesis, יום be taken to mean an unknown period of duration, a great epocha of nature, the period of the completion of a series of physical evolutions or generations, it is not by a figurative use of the word *day;* but one of these senses is just as legitimate, and just as near the literal meaning of the root, as the other.

The grand question then comes to this:—Of the several specific senses which such a term may receive with equal appropriateness, in which one is it used in the history of the creation? A question totally different from that which seeks whether a word literally signifying *day*, and nothing else, is used here in a figurative sense or

not, which is the only point of philology in this discussion that has been, so far as we know, hitherto treated.

The question is in its nature a simple one; but what means have we of determining it? If we had contemporaneous writings in which the word repeatedly occurred, the *usus loquendi* of the period, clearly ascertained, would, if univocal, be authoritative to determine its sense in this passage. But no such helps exist. We have no body of literature, no writings of any considerable extent, that can be compared with the passage in question for antiquity. Not even can the subsequent parts of the Pentateuch lay unquestioned claim to this rank; for we have reasons amounting to strong probability for the belief that, for at least the antediluvian history, Moses made use of very ancient original documents. It does not consist with the limits of the present paper, if we were otherwise competent, to review the considerations which go to sustain this opinion. Nor does it greatly concern us to do so, for the opinion is by no means essential to our argument. We give it merely as the conclusion to which learned and critical minds have arrived on this subject. But if we reject the notion of written documents, the considerations which have led to this opinion do at least demonstrate that the traditions must at the earliest dates have received a fixed form, and were preserved with wonderful care; so that we cannot easily resist the conviction that, at least in passages of a special nature, or of unusual import, the language is, in all its principal terms, the same in which Adam and the early patriarchs were wont to repeat it. A moment's reflection will show how far from being considered coëval with documents or traditions so ancient as these, must be the compositions of Moses and the standard Hebrew of his day. Between the creation of man and Moses was an interval, according to the shortest estimates, of about two thousand five hundred years, and according to other authorities, of over four thousand. It will be reasonable to admit that the language of the earliest ages must have been comparatively simple, and limited in the number of words. What changes it may have undergone previous to the deluge we cannot tell. Some time subsequent to that great catastrophe, the confusion of Babel must have wrought some important modifications. From the call of Abraham to the descent of Jacob into Egypt, the wandering life of the Hebrews subjected them to intercourse with a great variety of tribes who must have used dialects differing more or less from their own. From the going down to Egypt to the Exodus they were in a condition most of all likely to corrupt their language;—slaves to a powerful, and, for those times, highly cultivated nation. Moses, taken from among

his people in infancy, was brought up at the court of Pharaoh, and was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. From them he obtained his knowledge of the sciences, which was of course received in the language of the Egyptians, and not of the Hebrews. From them the Israelites learned many of the useful arts, which we cannot suppose to have been practised by a nomadic tribe; this would of necessity introduce to them many new terms and new modes of expression. And it was this Moses, thus educated, and the leader of such a people, who stands as the father of Hebrew literature, and whose writings undoubtedly gave form and permanence to their language. If, then, after the lapse of so many ages, and under such circumstances, Moses, in compiling a history of the patriarchs, should introduce a memorial of the creation containing from fifty to a hundred words, preserved (whether written or oral) from the earliest times, and guarded with sacred care in the very terms* originally used, we see the almost infinite number of chances that such memorial should contain words not known in the common language of the Hebrews in his day; or, at least, not in the same sense.

The force of this argument is easily illustrated. Let us suppose that from the time of Alfred the Great to the present, all the literature and written records of our language were blotted out of existence, except a scrap of some few pages from the hand of the royal scholar, and some small part of the publications of the present year, and that the vocabulary of known English was limited to the words comprised in these; and that now a question should arise as to the meaning of the word *ceorl*, found in a passage from Alfred. Or suppose it to be a law of William the Conqueror respecting *vileins*, and that we had no means of knowing the meaning of that word but from such few books as we have here supposed. The present use of *churl* and *villain*, if indeed they were found at all in these modern productions, would throw but a false light on each of these questions. Or suppose that from the Iliad of Homer to the present time, all the accumulations of Grecian literature had perished, what uncertain aid would the modern Greek give to the interpretation of the prince of heathen poets! We may safely state a still stronger case. Go back from Homer through two or three centuries more,

* We do not, by this expression, necessarily imply, that, if the first chapter of Genesis is good Hebrew, this language is therefore the same as that spoken by the antediluvians; but only that Moses retained the *radical elements* of the important words, however he may have adapted the orthography and inflection to his own standard. It is probable that none of the tongues spoken after the confusion of Babel preserved an identity with the original speech.

to the day of those heroes whose forms he has reanimated, and whose battles he has renewed on his immortal page; and suppose that instead of his glowing pictures, which almost interpret themselves by their own light, we had barely a copy of a treaty between Agamemnon and Priam; and from that time we had only now and then some jottings of history, making in all a pamphlet of about fifty pages, till you come down to this nineteenth century; and that now we have a version of the sacred Scriptures made into the modern Greek;—who would assert that from the usage in this volume he could determine in which of several senses, equally appropriate, a certain word was used by those ancient chiefs? Yet, this is precisely the office which those undertake who promise to settle an ambiguous term in the history of the creation by an appeal to the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew.

We can suppose but one objection to the safety of this deduction. It is that, in the parts immediately following the history of creation, יוֹם is used to mean *day:* and granting all that is claimed by the theory of ancient documents, the language of this portion must be nearly coeval with the earliest; and this, it may be urged, would give validity to the common argument from usage.

To this we reply: That if the whole premise of the objection be granted, it shows that the word did signify *day* in very early times, but does not prove that it was not also used in a more extended sense. But in the introductory sentence of the second division of the Book of Genesis, (ii, 4,) if plain language can be understood, it certainly includes the interval from the בְּרֵאשִׁית ("In the beginning") to the close of the sixth demiurgic period. This is generally admitted by those who claim for it the literal meaning of *day:* and the fact they seek to explain, by saying that *it is here used in a figurative sense!* But if it appears that it may have a literal sense which foregoes the necessity of assuming a figure, we submit it to the judgment of the candid critic which position it is the more reasonable to take. The fact admitted, then, that it must signify here a cycle, embracing a series of *ioms*, the most that can be made out from the usage of this part, is, that the word is ambiguous.

But, to place this point in a clearer light, we notice that this idea of a *period*, greater or less, is continually recurring in the cognate forms of the word.

(1.) The Arabic *d-m* for *d-um*, or *om*, signifies both *day* and *year*.

(2.) This form, lengthened by the insertion of L, was synonymous, as we have already seen, to the Arabic and Æthopic, with the Hebrew יָם (the sea.) Applied to time, it signified, in the oriental

languages generally, *an age, sæculum;* a period immeasurably long, *eternity;* also a remote period of time, past or future; and in this sense it remains in the Latin as an adverb—*olim.*

(3.) The Latin *iam,*—the derivation of which lexicographers have stumbled at, for want of proper attention to the connexion of the Shemitish and Japhetic dialects,—presents, like *olim,* the idea of time as lying in two great bodies or seas, to which the present is the dividing line. The difference in the use of them is, that *iam* refers the action to the proximate, and *olim* to the remoter, portion of the undivided past or future.

(4.) We have seen the undoubted connexion of the Greek verb *ιαν-* (*ἰαίνω*) with this root. The authority of so great a scholar as Gesenius will hardly be questioned, when he reckons the noun *αἰών* as a branch of the same stem; for, surely, it is time to have given up the untenable derivation, though honoured with the assent of antiquity, from *αἰεὶ* and *ὤν.* Rather may the adverb, if there is any connexion between them, be considered as (by analogy of *ἀκηρυκτεί* and others) from the dative of the noun, and marking the limit of the period. This notion would give a consistent explanation, and it is the only one we know of which does, of a frequent use of *αἰεὶ*; as in Æschylus, (Prom. Vinct., 937,) when he makes his hero say of Jupiter, *τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί,* which, according to our view of it, should mean, "domineering, his *allotted time;*" while in the same breath he declares that the period of his tyranny shall soon terminate: and the *ἀεί* is certainly equivalent to the phrase in the second verse below, *τόνδε τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον,* "this brief space of time."

But, whatever may be said of the particle, we think that if Aristotle had been an etymologist as well as philosopher, and as good a master of oriental learning as of logic, he would never have puzzled the world with such a derivation of *αἰών*; for he must have seen that it fails utterly to explain the word. A slight inspection will show this. It is found to signify, (*a*) The spinal marrow; (*b*) The creation, to wit, 1. (Of inanimate matter,)—*the world, universe;* 2. (*Perhaps* by synecdoche) animate, and particularly spiritual beings,—*dæmons;** (*c*) A defined space of time, as a lifetime, *age,*

* On no other supposition than that this sense continued the living inheritance of this word, can we account for the fact, that, when Oriental Gnosticism sought to express itself in Greek, it found this term suited to designate its imaginary beings intermediate between God and matter—emanations of the Infinite, or, in Platonic phraseology, (for this is Zoroastrian, if not originally Indian,) generations of the *ψυχή,* as matter was of the *ὕλη.* The *speculations* of Mosheim (Eccl. Hist., cent. i, part ii, ch. i, sect. 7, *note*) might have plausibility, if the doctrine of Æons was a native development of Greece. But, even then, the fact that this system always guarded a clear and wide distinction between the Æons and the supreme Spirit, is fatal to his theory.

era, the period of a dispensation, and, by extension of the idea to all duration, as one period, *eternity:* but this idea is frequently expressed by the plural, *i. e.*, a repetition of ages indefinitely; or, still stronger, by multiplying the plural into itself, *οἱ αἰῶνες τῶν αἰωνῶν*, "ages of ages," without known or assignable limit.

To say nothing of the absurdity of adding infinites to infinites, or of multiplying them into each other, how shall we get from the idea of eternity to that of spinal marrow? But if we turn to the Shemitish languages, we find these meanings constantly recurring in this family of words, and legitimately arising from the meaning of the etymon. The brain or spinal marrow may popularly be regarded as the germ of animal life, as it is scientifically declared to be the part earliest distinguishable in the fœtal organization. This would connect it with the generic idea of origin; and, whether in this or another way, it was in use connected with this class of words. In the limited vocabulary of the Hebrew Scriptures, the word *brain* does not occur; but the word for *marrow* is מֹחַ *moahh*, of which the etymological relation is apparent at sight. The corresponding word in the Arabic, *mohh*, signifies both *marrow* and *brain*. The word for *mother* in the Arabic, one of the simplest forms in the group *um*, signifies also the membrane which encloses the cerebrum—the *pia mater* of modern science; and, besides the metaphorical sense of *origin* in general, it also signifies, in the plural, the simple elements of matter, —— *elementa corporis simplicia.* Numerous other words, which we need not here exhibit, abundantly elucidate this connexion.

The second signification of *αἰων* is found more frequent than the first, and is continually interlinking with the notion of time. An immediate derivative of the word for *mother*, *ummah*, signifies *world, creatures, people*, and *time*. The lengthened form *olam*, in several (all to which we have found access, and probably others) of the Shemitish dialects signifies *world, mundus*. In the Arabic it is further defined by Freytag, "*res mundo contentæ, creaturæ*, sc., *dæmones, homines, angeli.*"

We see here, then, a full explanation of the various uses of *αἰων*, —which any other derivation that we have seen fails to give.

(5.) The Arabic *heion* is defined, "Tempus, *genr. vel* tempus incertum, omni temporis spatio accommodatum sive longum sive breve sit, sive sit annus sive maius temporis spatium, *vel spec. significat* quadraginta aut septem aut duos annos aut sex aut duos menses aut tempus matutinum aut vespiternum;"—any assignable period having natural or appointed limits.

Seeing, then, that these cognate forms designated various periods

of time, longer or shorter, definite and indefinite; to ascertain whether they were used in the larger sense in the early ages, or acquired that use only in later times, must have an important bearing on the general question; and, happily, this inquiry is of easy solution. So long as a class of derivative words is held in clear and obvious relation to their common root, which embraces the ideal meaning of them all, they are susceptible of variation in their use, and even of fluctuation. Or, if the parent stem be lost, yet so long as the family tie is a living principle among them, those of near kin may, on occasion, bestead one another. Thus the twofold sense of *supplicium* is perfectly natural. There is nothing violent in using *tempestas* and *tempus*, or *tempora* and *templa*, interchangeably. But if such terms wander away from their kindred stock, in possession of some defined portion of the common inheritance of ideas, they lose, in their isolated state, this play of associations, and become like original stems with a fixed meaning. Thus, *supplicate* can never vary into the sense of *punish; tempest* and *time* are distinct and unchanging; and any connexion of idea between *temples* and *times* seems inconceivable, till you carry them back to another stage of their history. Now the sons of Japheth, who peopled "the isles of the Gentiles" and the land of Kittim, parted from their brethren of the house of Shem as early at least as the second generation from Noah,—a period, according to the most probable chronology, nearly midway back from Moses to Adam; and in that early migration, we see this *iam*, and *αἰων*, and *olim*, carrying out, in respect of time, the one meaning of a great age; and with this solitary idea, wandering over the plains and wildernesses of the western world; and having preserved everywhere their identity, through the revolutions of empires and the vicissitudes of cultivation and barbarism, for so many revolving centuries, yet standing as the imperishable monument of a great and important fact,—an embodiment of the voice of antiquity. Who may say that such monuments are not planted by Almighty care, and preserved by an ever-watchful Providence, waiting the time of their recognition, when the progress of other great movements shall have rendered them of service to illustrate the language of His revelation?*

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole."

* The principle implied in this sentence is one, of the reality and truth of which we have a conviction, strengthened by every year's experience and study. But because it may appear to some not well founded, we are happy to find the same sentiment received, and clearly sustained, by so sound a scholar as Dr. Tayler Lewis, in his Notes appended to his "*Plato contra Atheos*"—a body of dissertations of rare merit for their philosophic reflections, and their wholesome tone of true conserva-

But we return to the particular form יוֹם of the Hebrew, and inquire further if usage is so decidedly universal. There are several uses of it, which, if they do not clearly exhibit the generic notion of time or *period*, do at least strongly argue the lateral idea of it; as (*a*) in the phrase *this day*—this *iom*—where we must of necessity give to the noun a wider scope than a solar day, though the definitive *this* limits the sense to a comparatively short period. Moses says to Israel, (Deut. ix, 1,) "Thou art to pass over Jordan *this day*," whereas they did not attempt to pass over till several months after; (*b*) The passage in Psalm ii, 7, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee," is understood to be said of Christ; of which Wesley's exposition, (in Heb. i, 5,) adopted by many learned divines, is,—"I have begotten thee from *eternity*, which, by its unalterable permanency of duration, is one continued unsuccessive day;" or, literally, one *iom;* (*c*) The phrase כָּל־הַיּוֹם, *all the iom*, is rendered in our common version quite variously. Where our translators took כָּל distributively, and have given it the sense of *each day, daily, day by day*, there is still the idea of a period, greater or less, a καιρός, of which, in many instances, the limits are indicated by the circumstances or the nature of the case. Sometimes the writer seems to have in view the term of his life, or of those of whom he speaks, and it might be rendered, *all my life*, or *their lives*—πᾶς ὁ αἰων (ἐμοῦ ἢ αὐτῶν.) In other places it is rendered, and with propriety, *ever, forever*, or *continually*, that is, time running on to the limit of its own duration.* If the noun in these places were plural, it would present nothing peculiar. In such a sense the Latin might say *omnes dies*, though more naturally there, *omnes annos*, and the French say *tous les jours;* but what language, with the noun singular, and circumscribed with the definite article, says *all the day*, to signify the *period of the world?*

But if any insist that יוֹם means day taken tropically here, it still remains for them to show the reason of the thing—the λόγος as well as the ὄνομα; and that reason, we apprehend, must be in the generic idea of the word itself. Otherwise, why may not *month*, whose inherent and only idea is specific, be generalized with equal facility? Do they plead usage? We must remember that *Usus*, whose poor authority is often abused, is only Arbiter, not Autocrat,—is subject to laws from a higher power than itself.

tism. In No. xxiv. he says, "We cannot help indulging the thought, however extravagant it may appear to some, that the divine Author of our race, 'who careth for us,' and who arranges all things to bring about his own eternal decrees, *does exert a providential control over so important an instrument as speech.*"

* See Psa. xxxvii, 26; xliv, 23; lii, 1.

But if all these cases be laid out of the account, there yet remains the unequivocal use of this word in the second chapter of Genesis. And this one instance, for its bearing on the question at issue, stands on an eminence from which its authority cannot be easily gainsaid. Such an instance in Ezra or Nehemiah, or any writer treating of *human events*, subsequent to the time of Moses, would be of comparatively little weight. But one standing in immediate connexion with the history of the creation, and evidently referring to the period of that great work of the Omnipotent Hand, cannot be counterbalanced by the lack of instances through all the Hebrew writers of later ages. To refer again to an illustration we have already used,—though one could find a thousand instances, in our standard literature of the last two centuries, where *villain* means a wicked, rascally fellow, and not one where it signifies the attaché of a villa, it would weigh nothing against a single well-defined instance of its use in the latter sense in the time of the Norman.

In a language whose history, with its vicissitudes and ever-working changes, stretches over a period of several thousand years; a language which passed through the extremes of primitive rudeness, of cultivation, decay, and corruption, and of which now we have so meagre a vocabulary left as of the ancient Hebrew, this matter of usage must be the most precarious authority imaginable. The יוֹם of creation may have been obsolete in the time of Moses, in the particular sense which we suppose it to have had, and yet be retained by him, because the common language of the people afforded no other to supply its place. The word for *day*, in his time, agreed in orthography with the demiurgic *iom*; but in the antediluvian ages it may have been quite different. And the variety of orthography exhibited in the extant forms of it, serves to weaken, if not quite neutralize, the force of the argument from usage here. For we have in the Arabic two forms to signify day, and of one of these the plural shows still a third ground form. The Syriac had three forms in the singular, while in the Æthiopic it does not appear at all in the sense of *day*, though it does in the other specific senses, as *sea*, *age*, *world*; and yet more, in the Hebrew, the orthography of the plural argues that the earlier form of the word, which signified a civil or common day, was יֹם and not יוֹם.* But not to suppose it obsolete, yet, that it should remain a living word in the language for many ages without

* Plurals generally resist the corruptions of orthography and orthoëpy longer than the singular; for example, our *women*, from *wif-man*; written formerly *wymmen*, then *wemen*; and at length its mate, to which is given the precedence, having erred, it has, for appearance' sake, yielded all in the matter of orthography, but still claims the right to use the tongue in its own way.

appearing in their literature at all, and especially in a limited portion of their writings, is only that which is seen everywhere. How many thousand words in our language are wanting in the brief vocabulary of the Bible? How many have one meaning there, which have, in popular and classic use, another? And the Hebrew מֵ or מוֹ, as it is written in the name of the patriarch Moab, does not appear, as we can discover, in the sense which it bears in that compound, neither before his day at all, nor afterwards, for at least about twelve hundred years, when it occurs once in Isaiah. The word רָקִיעַ, *the firmament*, which occurs nine times in the first chapter of Genesis, is after that found only twice in the Psalms, in two several chapters of Ezekiel, and once in Daniel;* and in neither of these places, except in the nineteenth Psalm, does it signify the visible heavens.

We have not sought to prove that the word in question does in the first chapter of Genesis signify a great period; but only to set it in such a light, that whatever extent the geologist feels compelled to assign it, he shall not find a discrepancy here between the works of God and the words of His revelation. And we think the following conclusions may be safely received.

I. That the idea of time in this word is generic, and it may with equal propriety signify a day, a year, or any other period having limits fixed by nature, authority, or custom.

II. That the argument from usage fails to establish that the form יוֹם was restricted to the sense of *day*.

We rest the argument here, though it might, with great confidence, be pushed further; for these two points, the one neutral, the other negative, are all that we wish to establish. And these settled, it becomes a matter of more importance how the ancients understood this account, than how the moderns have interpreted it. And for the elucidation of this question antiquity brings from every quarter her varied store of tradition. The great miracle of creation was everywhere remembered as the wonder of the universe. And in many of these traditions, when separated from the fable which ignorance and imagination have drawn around them, we find a veritable paraphrase of the primitive record. What testimony then do we gather from the profane Targums?

The legends of the Hindoos, the Birmese, and the Egyptians, so far as they are intelligible, agree with the theory of great cycles for the Mosaic days. The myths of the Greeks and Latins, though indefinite, point unequivocally to the same notion. The Etruscans, a people who parted from the Asiatic tribes in very early times, who

* So Turner, "Companion to the Book of Genesis."

did not degenerate into barbarism, but retained a high degree of cultivation till swallowed up in the Roman empire; whose language, though almost entirely unknown, has some marks which seem to ally it directly with the Oriental; and whose testimony is therefore of the highest moment, are very explicit. We give it in the words of an eminent and judicious scholar,* that the inference which follows may bear the weight of so excellent an authority:—

"According to Suidas, the ancient Etruscans had a history of very early date, in which the work of creation was described as accomplished in six periods of 1,000 years each. During the first chiliad or millennium the heavens and earth were created; during the second, the visible firmament; during the third, the waters of the ocean, and those contained in the earth; during the fourth, the great luminaries of heaven; during the fifth, vegetables, and all kinds of animals; and during the sixth and last, man. A similar opinion prevailed among the Persians.

"It is very clear that the Hindoo,† Etruscan, and Mosaic cosmogonies were derived from the same original source. There is too much common to them to permit the belief that each of them had an independent origin. How happens it, then, that the idea of long periods, instead of literal days, is so thoroughly incorporated into the two former? Can we avoid the presumption that the demiurgic periods were thus originally understood, and that they are thus to be interpreted in the Mosaic accounts?"

* Professor Hitchcock, in the Bib. Rep. for Oct., 1835, p. 293,—a very able and temperate article, giving a review of the various theories proposed for reconciling revelation and geology. A little farther on (p. 327) this writer adds, in the spirit of true philosophy,—"But, finally, even if none of the modes of reconciling the two records that have been examined are satisfactory, we still maintain that it would be premature, in the present state of geology and of sacred philology, to infer any real discrepancy between them." And again, (p. 329:)—"The exegesis of the first chapter of Genesis can be considered as by no means settled."

† Not only is there coincidence in the great facts of the narrative, but sometimes a remarkable preservation of the original terms. The Hindoo Vach is represented as saying, (we quote from Milman, Hist. Christ., c. 2, note, and he from De Guigneaut:)—"La première parole que proféra le Créateur, ce fut *oum:* Oum parut avant toutes choses, et il s'appelle le premier né du Créateur. Oum ou Prona, pareil au pur éther renfermant en soi toutes les qualités, *tous les élémens*, est le nom, le corps de Brahm, et par conséquent infini comme lui, créateur et maître de toutes choses. Brahm, méditant sur le Verbe divin, y trouva *l'eau primitive*." That is, *oum*, interpreted *light* (φῶς) and *ether*, was the first word spoken by the Creator, or the name given to the first created substance, and was personified under the title of Vach or Word, as the efficient agent (like the Logos in John) in the work of creation. So in Moses, "Let there be *light*," were the first words uttered by the Almighty. "And God called the light, *iom*." In Moses the dark chaos of *waters* was first, and light, or *iom*, second. In the Brahmic cosmogony, *oum* was first, containing in itself the *elements of all things*. Out of it was produced next the *waters*, or material substance, from which the agency of *oum* formed, and still governs, the world.

No one feature more generally pervades the ancient cosmogonies than that of an active and a passive principle combining for the production of the world,—the dark mass of inert matter, the origin of which was ever a mystery to the heathen; and on the other hand an active, pervading, developing, generating, and vivifying power,

Viewed in the light of the commentaries which these traditions afford, it would be consistent with the highest reason, in the absence of all testimony, to believe that the Hebrews, down to the later periods of their history, may have understood this term to mean a great age, not only here, but elsewhere, as in the decalogue, whenever the work of creation is referred to. But neither are we without some slight testimony to this very point. Josephus intimates that he understood the first chapter of Genesis as having truly some particular explanation not obvious, according to the common understanding of the Hebrew in his day.* Professor Hitchcock (*supra*, p. 287) says, that "Philo affirms that the Mosaic account of the six days is metaphorical; and it is a piece of rustic simplicity to understand it literally." And to this express declaration he adds, on the authority of De Luc and De la Fitte, "It seems to have been a prevalent opinion among the Jews, that each יום occupied one thousand years; hence that people reckon six millenaries before the advent of the Messiah."

Descending to the era of the Christian fathers, we find the most eminent of them revolving doubts or expressing opinions similar to these.† The language of St. Augustine is, "It is very difficult, if not impossible, for us to conceive, much less to explain, what sort of days these were." The venerable Bede, one of the latest luminaries of the ancient church, says, "Perhaps the word day here means all time, and includes all the revolutions of ages."

When these uncertain words—the failing echo of that voice sent down from the morning of time, and repeated along the line of centuries in so many different tongues—were uttered, the light of the Christian world was beginning to suffer that obscuration which settled at length so dark and dense on all her borders. She had already passed the verge of that awful gulf, and was fast descending to the wide chaos of hieratic despotism, the misrule of ignorance, and the tyranny of fearful superstitions, in which the learning and wisdom of the ancient world were wrecked, and well-nigh lost. In that "night of a thousand years" which oppressed the nations, and shut men's minds from knowledge and from inquiry, the Hebrew became a sealed tongue; Greek literature was unknown in the West; the Latin was almost forgotten, even in the formularies of the

—denominated variously, *fire*, *light*, and *ether*,—a tertium quid, too subtile to be called matter, and too gross to be reckoned pure spirit. Query: What shall a better knowledge of the nature and office of electricity add to confirm or refute this notion?

* Cf. Ant., b. 1, c. i, § 2, and Pref., § 4.

† See Wiseman's Lectures, Lect. 5, and Hitchcock, *supra*.

Church; what of grammar remained in the cloisters degenerated to puerilities for the divertisement of idle monks; philology was never dreamed of. And when a new order of things began to dawn, and some rays, penetrating the gloom, shed their light on an humble student of nature, teaching him to enunciate faintly some of the simple principles of science, he was speedily arraigned for damnable heresies, and kneeling at the footstool of an unholy inquisition, was made to swear, with his hand on the Gospels, "With a sincere heart and undissembled fidelity, I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies;" his indignant soul the while, deeply moved, still forcing him in the next breath to give utterance to the convictions of science; casting thereby a perjury on his life, if, indeed, it be not a desecration of the dignity of perjury to affirm it of such stark mockery. The fate of the unhappy Galileo is but an index to the profound degradation in which the world reposed, and of the struggle which then waited. Every successful effort for the recovery of lost truth, or the investigation of new, was thenceforth to meet with an opposition, the same in kind, though, by the spirit of this reformed age, graduated to that which is reckoned a wholesome conservatism. And when, among other questions of a liberal kind, this old one—not new—of the days of creation, was brought forth from its millennial slumbers, and the demonstrations of science seemed of necessity to unsettle the vulgar opinion, it was natural that skepticism, with her wonted temerity, should seize upon the fact, in hope—vain hope—to find a new shaft for her impoverished quiver. It was natural that the cautious believer should look with suspicion, and the timid with alarm, on the announcement of sentiments which struck the world, at first, as a dangerous novelty. But considering that the common opinion became settled in the age when that lofty pyramid of darkness overshadowed the lands; and in view of all the obstacles that have beset the progress of truth; and of the yet imperfect state of sacred philology; and the yet further fact, that the interpretation which claims for יום in this place the sense of a solar day, has all our strongest prejudices in its support, and the other has them all against it; we submit to the candid reader, whether an opinion, which, if our deduction be true, can be at the most only a choice between two equals, can, in a just balance, preponderate against the consent of antiquity and the strong and inevitable indications of science.

We have directed attention mainly to such considerations as have not, to our knowledge, been before exhibited, to show that the word in question *may* have the full range of meaning needed to make it agree with the demands of geology. Many other and weighty rea-

sons may be gathered from previous discussions, going to sustain the same position. It would extend the present article too far, and is quite unnecessary now, to notice the secondary objections to this view, which have been urged from other parts of this history; as the *morning* and *evening*. We simply remark, that if this leading proposition be established as a philological *fact*, all the minor parts, as has been already shown by previous writers, will easily adjust themselves to this primary one.

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## Art. VII.—SUNDAY-SCHOOL LITERATURE.

*Descriptive Catalogue of the Sunday-School Publications and Tracts of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* 8vo., pp. 180. New-York: Lane & Scott.

"After God had carried us safe to New-England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we looked and longed after was, to advance learning, and to perpetuate it to posterity." Such were the sentiments of the Puritans of New-England. And they are noble thoughts, pregnant with wisdom, patriotism, and piety; beautifully illustrating the lofty exaltation of soul which moved those heroic men to abandon their ancestral homes, and to establish themselves in the primeval forests of an inhospitable climate, amidst a savage race, whose tender mercies were cruelty. The grand idea which ruled the mind of the Puritan was, that if men would enjoy free, pure, and permanent political or social institutions, they must build them upon the corner-stones of Evangelical religion and universal education. Springing from this, there grew up another mighty conception, which swayed him with the force of a conviction: he believed it to be the duty of every good man, and of every Christian Church, to labour earnestly in the work of diffusing intelligence and virtue. And if in America republican liberty has its strongest fortresses; if popular education, social purity, and religious influence, are more universally prevalent throughout our Titanic confederation than in any other part of the globe; our superiority is mainly attributable to the blessing of God operating through these expansive and energetic thoughts.

The characteristics of the present age, startling beyond all precedent, imperatively demand of the modern Church a scrupulous

fidelity to these great principles. As the divinely appointed guardian of truth, as the visible agent of Jesus Christ, she will be sadly recreant to truth and to duty, if her efforts to impart religious truth are not commensurate with the exigencies of the times. As with the blast of a trumpet, or the voices of the great deep, she is summoned to put forth her gigantic power in an irresistible effort to furnish the nation and the world with a pure, Scriptural, and elevating literature.

The schoolmaster is now abroad. He is destined to traverse the earth, until the youth of the world, from the pampered child of the palace and the hall to the half-nude and stunted offspring of the wigwam and the kraal, shall be seated at his feet to receive the elements of knowledge. The question of universal education may be considered as settled. As a profound thinker recently remarked, The PEOPLE WILL BE EDUCATED! The cupidity of mankind, aided by the omnipotence of the press and steam, is scattering *thought* broadcast on the mind of the world, as God scattered manna upon the sands of Arabia for the chosen bands of Israel. And thought is the natural food of mind: as choice viands tempt the unwilling appetite, so thought allures the sleeping intellect to action; as the flower, with upturned petal, drinks in the refreshing dew, and inspires life from the solar beam, so does mind kindle into vigorous life under the power of thought. And this element of life is spreading with unprecedented rapidity. The genius of education is marshalling powerful States, wealthy associations, and vast combinations among his hosts. He is bringing an almost irresistible enginery into the field. The mighty press, made more mighty by the as yet unmeasured power of steam, throws off thoughts with the speed of light; the stereotyper writes them in ineffaceable letters, and gives them perpetuity; the flying monster of the rail-road and the beautiful aquatic palace, both instinct with artificial life, convey them, as on the wings of the wind, to the extremities of population; while the wires of the electric telegraph, destined ere long to interlace the globe, confer upon them a power next to that of Omnipresence. And these instrumentalities possess the power of reproducing and multiplying themselves. Ere long we shall see State vie with State, kingdom with kingdom, association with association, teacher with teacher, until the energies of the world are directed to the great work, and man shall be universally educated. This must be accomplished, for Jehovah hath spoken: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

The effects of these aids to education are already perceptible in various directions. Among them is the vast increase of readers and thinkers in those classes of society which, in former generations,

were doomed to spend life in almost brutal ignorance. Their knowledge may be more or less superficial; but it is still sufficient to awaken thought in minds which, if they had existed a century since, would never have known the thrill of a great idea.

Another characteristic deserving of notice is, the unrivalled, and almost marvellous, mental activity of the age. Great thoughts are rushing through society with the grandeur and force of a majestic river, cutting for themselves a wide, deep, tortuous bed in the social strata. On this rapid stream of thought millions of minds are embarking,—the hitherto unchangeable Asiatic, the dusky African, the energetic European, and the mercurial American, are sailing upon its waters, apparently bewildered and intoxicated by the speed with which they are borne towards some distant and mysterious goal. This spirit of motion infects all classes of society, and penetrates every recess of human life. It unceremoniously whirls a King from his imperial palace, and rudely hurries a Pope from his lordly throne; it spurs the vassal to advance and seize the rights of manhood from the grasp of a tyrannic lord; it inspires the depressed colonist to lay the sceptre of the fatherland in the dust, and to stand erect, a self-governed freeman; and (smile not, thou cynical child of Diogenes) it condescends to invade the nursery and the school-room, and to wage war on Tom Thumb, Jack the Giant-Killer, and the hosts of heroes who in paint and picture have for generations held undisputed possession of the infant imagination. More than this: it is breaking up the "dull stagnation" in which ignorance has, for ages, held the mind of the masses; it has roused the slumbering ear of the world to listen to that glorious word, so long spoken to it by its Creator almost in vain:—

> "On! said God unto the soul.
> As to the earth, forever, on it goes;
> A rejoicing native of the infinite—
> As a bird of air—an orb of heaven."

Under these circumstances, which have no precedent in the past ages of the world, what is the duty of the Church of Jesus Christ? May she innocently sit down in stately indolence, and leave her youth to the tender mercies of a mere *worldly* education? May she content herself with the pulpit only? May she be guiltless of the blood of souls, and refrain from a vigorous employment of every instrument of real strength which, Minerva-like, leaps full-armed from the fervid brain of invention? Nay! nay! By every command of her great Head; by every law of her divine constitution; by her high responsibility; by the infinite obligations which bind her to her Author; by all that

is holy, sacred, solemn, or fearful, she is adjured to spare no energy, refuse no aids, reject no inventions,—to leave untried no means of increasing her power to mould the mind of the world after the model of Christ. The salvation of the world is her great task. Her commission is to every living soul, and it binds her to be in advance of the world in sacrifices, in skill, in zeal, in improvements, in labours. It furnishes her with motives equal to her duties,—motives as much above the sordid, selfish springs which give motion to worldly mind, as the glowing intellect of an archangel is above the instinct of an insect. She should, therefore, stand at the head of the great educational movement which is working such wonders on the minds of men, since she cannot bestow her purity on the young minds whose education she does not influence.

Popular vice has been ascribed to popular ignorance. Education has been prescribed as the grand panacea for crime. Theologian, orator, philosopher, and politician, have combined to promulgate its praises and its power. Schools for the people were to empty our jails, and leave our prisons to rot. Vain imagination! As if the sources of vice were in the intellect, and not in the heart; as if crime were caused by mental contraction, and a few expanding ideas could set everything right! The evil lies deeper. The vices of mankind proceed from the depraved heart, and can only be remedied through the enlightenment of the head and the transformation of the heart by the Holy Ghost and the truth. It is not merely education, but *religious* education, that must cure the moral ills of society. The finger of history points with solemn meaning to innumerable proofs of this proposition; it shows a host of highly educated intellects with depraved hearts and vicious lives. It reveals its Bacons, Bolingbrokes, Rousseaus, Voltaires, Byrons, with their sparkling wit, their sublime genius, their profound reason, their finished culture, combined with hardened infidelity, gross licentiousness, or base dishonesty; and thus demonstrates that learning and cultivation, however they may refine the forms of vice, do not of themselves diminish its amount or intensity. A contemporary journal* says, that "of the futility of the hope that the spread of education will have any effect in checking the increase of crime, decisive proof is afforded in the criminal returns, [of Great Britain.] From them it appears that the number of *educated* criminals in England is above twice, in Scotland *above three times and a half, that of the uneducated.*" After presenting well-authenticated statistics in support of this astonishing averment, the writer adds: "Nay, what is still more alarming, it distinctly appears, from the same returns, that the

* Blackwood.

proportion of educated criminals to uneducated is steadily on the increase in Great Britain!" We have not the means at hand to compare these facts with the criminal statistics of our own land; but, from previous examinations of prison reports, we are satisfied that they abundantly sustain the position, that the mere education of a people is no safeguard against crime. Education is as a mighty steam-engine to a ship,—it gives her power: skilfully regulated, it enables her to mount the loftiest wave, and wage successful war with the fiercest storm; directed by violence and hate, it makes her powerful to destroy; submitted to ignorance, it carries her to destruction on the rock, or rends her to fragments in mid air. Thus education controlled by rectitude is powerful for good; swayed by depravity, it spreads destruction over society, and destroys its possessor. Tennyson thus beautifully paints an educated mind unsanctified by the Spirit of God:—

> "A sinful soul, possess'd of many gifts;
> A spacious garden, full of flowering weeds;
> A glorious devil, large in heart and brain,
> That did love beauty only, (beauty seen
> In all varieties of mould and mind,)
> And knowledge for its beauty; or, if good,
> Only for its beauty."

What, then, is plainer than the duty of the Church of Christ to exert her mightiest energies, in conjunction with the spread of popular education, to furnish the saving leaven of RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE for the people? to scatter sanctifying truth in books, papers, and tracts, so widely, that they may reach every mind that is capable of digesting a thought?

The relation that exists between virtuous education and the stability of our free institutions, furnishes another motive for the Church to be diligent in diffusing religious truth. Our wisest statesmen concede that virtue or intelligence can alone give cohesion, duration, and stability to the American republic; that without these we must lapse, like ancient Rome, into monarchy, or be dashed, like modern France, between the whirlpool of revolution and the rock of military despotism. Has the Church no interest in the stability of our political institutions, which enjoy the proud distinction of leaving her in the full possession of her spiritual freedom? Is it not a truism that every departure from free government is a step toward the bondage or the persecution of the Church? Are not the seeds of popular freedom in the Gospel? and is not the existence of a despotic government beside a free and independent Church an impossibility? Yea, it is now beginning to be well understood, that a

free church and a pure gospel can only flourish peaceably under the shadow of free government. An approach to despotism would either wind a golden band of State favour, and corresponding corruption, around the Church, or raise the armed hand against her in persecution. Achilles and Hector were not more bent on mortal conflict than a free Church and despotism; one or the other must ever fall! How great, how unspeakably intense, then, should be the interest of the Church in every question relating to the perpetuity of our free institutions! And never was anything placed more completely in her power than is the perpetuity of the government of this glorious land. She has only to bestir herself, and do her duty in spreading religious knowledge by pulpit, press, and Sabbath-school, and the work is done!

It is one of the glories of Methodism, that, from her foundation, she has zealously recognized in her economy the principles of the Puritans concerning intelligence and education. She has done what she could, *under her circumstances*, to diffuse knowledge among her people. What Church ever did so much, with such resources, and in so short a period, for the promotion of knowledge among the masses? Wesley was a ripe scholar, and showed his appreciation of knowledge by the prodigious labours he put forth in its propagation: he actually created and circulated a literature for the people. His mantle fell on his successors, and the English Wesleyans are diligently engaged in carrying out his principles and his plans. So also in America. The plan for establishing Cokesbury College, evolved by the patriarchs of American Methodism, marks the strength of their aspirings after means and power to impart education. But these master-spirits could not give instant embodiment to their lofty aspirations for want of suitable materials. The field in which they reaped their first harvest was within the domains of poverty; they laboured among a people who had previously no taste for reading,—whose intellectual life had been dormant. They summoned these minds to a spiritual existence, and thereby excited a desire for knowledge. They thus elevated whole classes of society from sensuality and vice to thought and virtue; and the prodigious amount of reading matter put forth from the presses of our Church, and the rapidly increasing number and efficiency of her seminaries and colleges, show that, *considering her means and opportunities*, she has not been a whit behind the chief in promoting the religious education of the people.

On the great question of Sunday-school education the Methodist Episcopal Church has ever stood in the front rank. Had we space to enter into historical details, it would be easy to show that Methodism had the first Sunday-schools ever organized in the New World; and that the institution became a part of her ecclesiastical economy, one

year before the existence of "the First-day or Sunday-school Society of Philadelphia," which was not organized until January 11, 1791. This will be more fully shown in an article already prepared for insertion in a future number of this journal.

The Philadelphia Sunday-school Society, after many years of usefulness, gave birth to the idea of a great national combination of evangelical churches for the spread of the institution, and for the preparation and diffusion of a suitable literature. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1824, that society was merged into the "American Sunday-school Union;" which forthwith began its benevolent labours with eminently praiseworthy zeal. This noble Society, receiving the contributions of most, and the patronage of all, the evangelical churches in the land, has since grown into a magnificent establishment, receiving an average annual donation of some $27,000, and having on its list over seven hundred volumes of bound books, besides smaller issues, swelling the whole number of its publications to upwards of fifteen hundred. May it live, successfully prosecuting its great work, to the end of time!

Toward this society our Church indulges no hostile feeling. On the contrary, she has always been one of its extensive customers, and the means of our people have thus greatly aided to increase its magnitude. But for various and substantial reasons she has refrained from so far identifying herself with it, as to preclude the necessity of a similar organization within her own ecclesiastical circle. Accordingly, on the 2d day of April, 1827, the Sunday-school Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church was duly organized, under auspices and with results which perhaps are without a parallel; for in one year from its formation it reported the formidable array of 251 auxiliaries, 1,025 schools, 2,048 superintendents, 10,290 teachers, and 63,240 scholars.

The creation of our Sunday-school Union provoked a considerable degree of hostile feeling and unkind remark in various quarters; and even at the present time it is regarded with no little jealousy by some of the more ardent supporters of the American Union. We can perceive no just ground for such feelings. There is no reason why both institutions cannot live in fraternal affection. Indeed, we are unable to imagine how *our* Church could do her whole duty in the religious culture of her youth, without an organization which, like our Sunday-school Union, brings them within the embraces of our great ecclesiastical system. To surrender them to the American Sunday-school Union would be the pledge of their alienation from Methodism; for our faith, usages, and system are so diverse from all others, and, consequently, so

offensive to the prejudices of persons trained up under other systems, that it would be difficult to find a Union Sunday-school in which our children would not imbibe these prejudices from persons of a contrary faith. Neither can it be the duty of our Church to confine her youth to a literature which carefully excludes not only her doctrines, but even her historical reminiscences,—her great names, whose memory is as "precious ointment poured forth." What would our children know of Wesley and Fletcher, of Clarke and Watson, of Moore and Benson, of Coke, Asbury, Lee, and the hosts of truly heroic spirits, who toiled and died in establishing the broad foundations of our magnificent temple, if their entire reading came from the presses of the American Union? Nothing whatever. Other denominations do not suffer in like manner; their great names are freely introduced; Whitefield, Edwards, Newton, Hall, Wilberforce, Richmond, are not excluded, like those of Wesley and others. Our Church would be unjust to herself, and to her honoured patriarchs and fathers, if she left her sons and daughters wholly to such writings. Neither can she justify herself in refusing them books which teach her own theological views. Our doctrines are the palladium of our Church. She holds them amidst communities trained, for generations before she rose into being, in a different belief. Her doctrines live, therefore, in an atmosphere of polemic hostility, and can be maintained only by sincere and zealous enunciation. True, many of our peculiar doctrines are not absolutely necessary to salvation; but they are necessary to our church existence, and especially to that lively, cheerful piety, for which our people are distinguished above all others. Would she be doing herself or her youth justice, did she feed them only on a literature which not only sedulously excludes her opinions and history, but is in phraseology and spirit actually contrary to them?

For these and kindred reasons, those devoted friends of the Church who organized our Sunday-school Union, regardless of all hostile demonstration, proceeded to extend its influence by encouraging the formation of schools, and sustaining the Book Concern in the issue of a Sunday-school literature. The agents and editors zealously employed the limited means then at their command, and produced a very respectable collection of books, which were unfortunately destroyed by that disastrous fire which in 1836 laid the Book Concern in the dust. From this period the Sunday-school Union languished until 1840; when it was remodelled and reorganized, with its present admirable constitution, by the General Conference. Its sphere and duties were not changed; but through its officers and the Annual and Quarterly-meeting Conferences, it now

became so connected with the motive power of our Church system, that it could not well avoid sufficient activity to demonstrate its existence. But having no one mind to direct and inspire its actions, its operations were far from being commensurate with the vastness of the work to be accomplished: the editors and agents, encumbered by various and multiplied duties, did what they could in the production and publication of books, but were utterly unable to meet the growing demands of the Church; and our people were annually expending large sums for books elsewhere, many of which were not only unsuitable for Methodist children, but positively heretical and injurious in their sentiments. The Union was also nearly powerless for want of resources for the aid of destitute schools. Hence the General Conference of 1844 was memorialized to appoint an editor of Sunday-school publications, and for authority to make collections in our churches. These requests were generously responded to by that body; Rev. Daniel P. Kidder was appointed editor, and collections were authorized in the Sunday-schools throughout the Church for the benefit of the Sunday-school Union.

The effect of these judicious arrangements, and the sound judgment of the Conference in the selection of Mr. Kidder to fill the responsible post of editor, soon became apparent. The Union started into a new and healthy existence; its salutary influence rapidly extended to the extremities of the connexion, and to every department of the Sunday-school enterprise. But nowhere is that influence more apparent than in the production of books. Glancing at the book Catalogue of 1844, we find a list of 288 bound volumes, and a meagre collection of reward-books and requisites. Five years have passed, and we have before us an octavo Catalogue, of which the Harpers or Appletons might be proud, enumerating the titles and character of 731 bound volumes; 100 of which are beautifully got up in gilt cambric for gift-books; some 50 packages, of six or twelve books each, in paper covers; a superb array of Sabbath-school requisites, such as Librarian's Account-book, Roll-books for superintendents, and Sunday-school Registers; all combining simplicity, perspicuity, and economy: various certificates of admission, dismission, &c.; a chaste and beautiful series of classified Scriptural truths and precepts, splendidly printed in colours on large sheets; catechisms, maps, cards, tickets, Hymn-books, a few works in German; and, in short, the most complete set of equipments for a Sabbath-school of any size to be found on this side of the Atlantic.

The books in this library are also very judiciously classified. First, we have a "Children's Library in Two Series," then a

"Youth's Library," and, finally, an "Adult Library." The Youth's Library is distributed under various heads, such as Biography, History, Natural History, Missions, &c. Our list of excellent Tracts is also suitably arranged under sixteen heads, showing the work of a mind to which order is natural.

We are happy to be able to add, that this great enlargement of our Sabbath-school literature has not been carelessly made. Mr. Kidder has toiled incessantly at his task. We believe that every book and tract which he has put forth, and to which, by a vote of the Book Committee, he was required to affix his name, has passed under the calm scrutiny of his correct judgment and refined taste; so that it may be safely affirmed, of the nearly 450 volumes published under his direction, that they are pure in sentiment, sound in doctrine, simple and correct in style, juvenile, but not puerile, in their character, beautiful in their mechanical execution, suitably embellished, and as cheap as the issues of any other establishment in the world. Besides performing these onerous labours, he has ably edited the Sunday-school Advocate, and the Sunday-scholar's Mirror.

But no examination of the Catalogue can convey an adequate impression of the amount of severe labour performed by the Secretary of the Union in meeting the multiplied duties of his office. He has travelled from Conference to Conference, inspiring the preachers with his own zeal for the benefit of children; he has successfully appealed to the Church for funds to enable the Union to assist poor and destitute schools; he has given vigour to the excellent system of our Discipline for the collection of *statistics*, by furnishing an admirable set of blanks for that purpose, and enlisting the action of the Annual Conferences on the subject, until this important matter is almost as perfect among us as the most sanguine could anticipate.

These splendid provisions for the necessities of the Sunday-schools in our Church, naturally suggest an inquiry as to the responding patronage of the people. Happily for the credit of Methodism and the interests of the Book-Concern, we are enabled to speak favourably on this point. The patronage of the Church has been munificent. In 1846 the Book-Concern printed seventy-nine millions seven hundred and sixteen thousand pages of Sunday-school books; in 1847, forty-seven millions seven hundred and eighty-eight thousand pages; and in 1848, forty-six millions nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand; making the astounding aggregate of *one hundred and seventy-four millions five hundred and three thousand pages* of Sunday-school books in three years! To this must be added the annual circulation of about eighty-five thousand copies of the Sunday-School Advocate. Besides purchasing this enormous amount of

reading matter for her children, the Church has begun to respond to the call of the Union for funds for benevolent distribution. The last General Conference provided for an annual collection in its behalf *in our congregations*, instead of in the schools, as heretofore provided; and in 1848 the sum of thirty-five hundred dollars found its way into the treasury of the Union, to be distributed, without any outlay for agents, in books to poor Sabbath-schools.

The effects of the attempt to obtain complete statistics are equally gratifying and satisfactory, as may be seen by comparing the following figures. The Report of 1845, including the statistics of the Southern Conferences, shows an aggregate in round numbers of 50,000 officers and teachers and 300,000 scholars. The Report of 1849, of course excluding the Southern Conferences, exhibits a grand total of 6,758 schools, 70,264 officers and teachers, 357,032 scholars; a truly imposing army of children and youth. With all this, it has come to our knowledge that there are some quarters in which Methodists are yet unaware of the extent and excellence of their own Sunday-school literature. We are credibly informed, moreover, that an impression prevails in some quarters, that our Church, as such, has a definite interest in the American Sunday-School Union, has an adequate representation in its Executive Board, and has, or ought to have, full confidence in its literature. However this impression may have originated, it is high time to remove it. Our Church, as a Church, has *no* share in the responsibilities of the American Sunday-School Union. As we have before remarked, our Methodist literature is almost wholly excluded from the Union's list of publications.

So, too, the impression is said to prevail extensively, that our own list of publications is far inferior in point of extent and efficiency to that of the American Sunday-School Union; and that the *prices* of our books are greater than theirs. On these points we fearlessly challenge the comparison which our new Sunday-School Catalogue serves to suggest. The American Sunday-School Union, with whose prices ours are frequently compared, calls annually upon its supporters for large sums to carry forward its operations. It received in donations, during the past year, the sum of $31,189 10. And yet, on a careful comparison of the books published by the American Sunday-School Union and our own, it has been found that we are *below them in price*. While, at the same time, the above-named society is annually *receiving* thousands of dollars from public benevolence, we are annually *disbursing* some thousands to our superannuated preachers, and other claimants upon our conference funds.

We have given a brief and concise sketch of the history and pro-

gress of the Sunday-school movement in our Church, and of the operations of the Sunday-School Union. We have no space left for reflections or inferences. A great work has been *begun* among us. The Church has done much, especially during the last five years, to diffuse evangelical ideas through the press. But she must do more in future. The moral wants of the American population are increasing daily: the position of our Church is growing in importance and prominence; the eye of the nation is upon her. To maintain her numerical ascendency, and make that numerical greatness a true index of her strength, she must be indefatigable in the use and patronage of the press. Her army of preachers must both cultivate their own minds, and excite a desire for mental culture in the people. Our Sabbath-school teachers must be suitably taught, by libraries, lectures, and Bible-classes, that they may be workmen who need not to be ashamed.

Our youth, too, must be especially cared for and taught. Catechumen classes must be organized. A deep, *principled* desire must be begotten in the Church for their conversion. As they grow up to manhood, their places must be filled through aggressive labours among the surrounding population. The poor, the outcast, the stranger, must be visited, invited to church and to Sunday-school, educated, loved, saved, and elevated. By such means Methodism will continue to advance in true greatness; God will smile upon her; the nation will bless her institutions; and it shall be said of her, as of ancient Salem, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King. God is known in her palaces for a refuge."

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## Art. VIII.—TICKNOR'S SPANISH LITERATURE.

*History of Spanish Literature.* By George Ticknor. 3 vols., pp. 589, 566, 563. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1849.

The history and character of Spain are surrounded with peculiar associations of romantic and poetical interest. The Spanish peninsula is by its physical position somewhat isolated from the rest of Europe, and yet closely connected with institutions, events, and discoveries which have changed the current of history, and the aspect of the modern world. To this day, it is marked by traces of the primeval populations which, ages before the earliest date of authentic history, swept in mighty waves from the parent sources in pro-

lific Asia, guided by the great natural pathways across the continent, to the uttermost shores of Europe. Changes of religion, foreign conquests, successive languages, have passed over the whole or parts of the territory: Celtiberian barbarism yielded to Carthaginian conquest and Roman culture; Roman culture to Gothic rudeness, and Heathenism to the Christian faith; the crescent drove back the cross, and for centuries shone "full high advanced" over the fairest realms of Southern Spain; then the swarthy misbelievers were uprooted from the soil they had conquered, and repelled by force of arms in deadly struggles, fighting inch by inch, from the land they were deemed to pollute by their hated presence.

Again, what an illustrious part was played by Spain in the great age of discoveries, which added another continent to the world! What promise of future and increasing greatness lighted up the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella! What inexhaustible fountains of wealth seemed to pour their golden streams upon this land—the blest of Heaven! What lavish genius in another age gave an earnest to the world that a literature, original as that of Greece, but enriched with the warmer sentiments of Christian chivalry, and varied by the broader compass of modern thought, should in the course of time reflect, in transfigured beauty, the glories of a nation whose past was filled with deeds of more than mortal prowess, sung in strains that almost rivalled the rhapsodies of Homer; and whose present was crowded with marvellous adventure, and glowing with the deepest enthusiasm of the fiery national heart!

What has brought Spain down from the height to which she once ascended? What arrested her course in mid career, and forbade her attaining those further heights to which her destiny seemed to point? With an early poetry superior, perhaps, to the corresponding poetical development of any other modern nation; with a language compounded of the richest elements of human speech, endowed with a stately march scarcely inferior to the imperial tread of the parent Latin, fitted alike for the varied rhythms of every species of verse, and the noblest movements of eloquence in prose; with a multitude of poetical forms unborrowed from foreign literature, and expressing, with unaffected fidelity, and a grace beyond the reach of art, every emotion of the national spirit; with an early drama as racy and original as the natural growths of the soil itself, sparkling with the brightest gems of fancy, wit, imagination, and plastic power,—a drama, whose mines have furnished, without exhaustion, the costly materials out of which no small portion of the great dramatic works of the foremost nations of cultivated Europe have been wrought,—with a past running back into an unfathomable antiquity to draw

upon, and a future gilded with the light of promise and hope; Spain has not availed herself of these innumerable and priceless blessings to perpetuate, enlarge, exalt, and immortalize her national glory. She has not pushed forward in the march of progress, in which the other nations, with less or greater speed, have been and are advancing. She neglected to lay solid and deep foundations for outward national prosperity, in the generous cultivation of science, and the establishment of free political institutions: she crippled her moral force, by yielding to a harsh and gloomy bigotry, which took the place of the benign religion of Christ, fruitful of every moral and intellectual good to man: in the madness of her folly she submitted her mental freedom to the terrors of that accursed institution—the Inquisition—which slowly but surely wound its coils round the national mind, and killed in its fatal embrace the living energies of genius as inevitably as the bodies of its victims perished amidst the penal fires of the Acts of Faith. And so, with all her great achievements, Spain has given us but a magnificent presentiment of what she might have been. She has produced a few artists, whose works are the ornaments of foreign galleries, and the admiration of men of taste; but most of her treasures are scarcely known beyond the Peninsula, and Spanish art, if not dead, is in a death-like trance. She has shown the world an affluence of poetical invention, and a daring felicity and rapidity of poetical execution, whose history sounds almost fabulous: but Spanish poetry now belongs to the past; its many voices have died away amidst the scenes of national decay and degradation, or, at least, are heard only in faint and dirge-like echoes, mourning the frustration of hopes whose moment of accomplishment vanished with the retreating horizon of time.

Yet the productions of Spanish genius have always attracted the attention of scholars. The political relations, both in war and peace, between England and the Peninsula, have kept the attention of some at least among the English men of letters constantly alive to the literature of Spain. Of late years several works on Spain have appeared in England, of high merit. The poet Southey, Mr. Hookham Frere, alike at home in the delicate refinements of classical literature, and in the varied productions of modern poetry,—translating with equal felicity the brilliant and witty lines of Aristophanes, the grave and didactic Theognis, and the fine old ballad poetry of the Cid; that illustrious scholar and statesman, the late Lord Holland, whose house was the resort of all that was most cultivated in English society, the author of a life of Lope de Vega; more recently, Mr. Ford, to whom the world is indebted for a valu-

able Hand-book of Spain, and Lord Mahon, the distinguished historian of the War of the Succession, together with numerous contributors to the periodical journals of the times, have made many parts of the Literature of Spain and Portugal familiar to the reading public. American writers have also contributed their share to the illustration of this subject. Mr. Slidell Mackenzie's Year in Spain enjoyed, and still enjoys, an extensive popularity, for its vivid delineations of Spanish life and scenery. The works of Mr. Irving, written after his appointment as minister to Spain, furnished many agreeable pictures, wrought with his inimitable grace, besides his beautiful Life of Columbus. The name of Mr. Prescott is already classical, and will be forever connected with the glory of Spain. Mr. Longfellow has touched upon the subject here and there, and, wherever he has touched, adorned it. Spanish poetry is indebted to his accomplished pen for some of the most exquisite translations which have ever been made, as well as for the scholar-like discussions which he has contributed to American periodicals, or embodied in his work entitled, The Poets and Poetry of Europe. Other writers, too numerous to be further specified here, have done much in the same field.

The study of Spanish literature in the United States has probably been somewhat promoted by our intercourse with Mexico and the South American republics. We may boast of several excellent editions of Spanish classics, published and extensively circulated in the United States; as, for instance, Don Quixote, a selection of the most celebrated pieces of the Spanish drama, some of the works of Iriarte and others, ably edited by that venerable teacher, Mr. Francis Sales, to whom so many generations of scholars in Harvard College are indebted for their knowledge of the Spanish language.

Of the professed histories of Spanish literature, there are two which deserve especial mention, as well for the ability with which they are written, as for the influence they have had in diffusing a taste for that literature among the scholars of the continent of Europe. We refer of course to those of Bouterwek, the well-known professor in the University of Göttingen, and of Sismondi, the great historian of France and of the Italian Republics. The work of the former constituted a portion of a comprehensive history of modern culture, by a combination of some of the most eminent scholars in Europe; that of the latter was a series of brilliant and eloquent discourses on the literature of the South. Both of these works have been well translated into English, the one by Miss Thomasina Ross, and the other by a son of the late William Roscoe, who has well sustained the hereditary reputation of his family. Sismondi's work

was largely indebted to that of Bouterwek; but neither of these able scholars had within his command the materials necessary to the complete development of the subject, neither had the means of collecting the documents for himself, and neither, we believe, had ever personally visited Spain. It will be readily understood, that in a country labouring under influences so fatal to the free unfolding of the rich literary germs that were springing up within its bosom, comparatively little was done towards placing before the world the writings of its great authors, in such forms of completeness, and with such illustrations, as the progress of intellect in other countries demanded for their respective literatures. The great libraries of the European universities, therefore, were inadequate to furnish the books necessary for writing a full and critical history of the literature of Spain. Of many important Spanish authors no accessible editions existed; of the works of others, parts only had been published, and these were not to be obtained through the ordinary channels of the book-trade; while others still were to be found only in manuscript, existing in the public libraries, or in the collections of the curious in Spain. The industry of Bouterwek, and the lively genius of Sismondi, were insufficient to cope with difficulties of this description; and though their works will always hold an honoured place in literary history, the one for its careful use of all accessible materials, and, with few exceptions, for its conscientious sobriety of judgment; and the other for the warmth of its eloquence, sympathizing with every form of poetical beauty, and for the elegance of its style; yet, an examination of the two leads us to the conclusion, that the history of Spanish literature still remained to be written.

It is with no ordinary pride, both as patriots and scholars, that we now take it upon ourselves to say that this hiatus in the literary history of modern times has been filled by an American scholar, Mr. George Ticknor. His great work, the title of which is placed at the head of the present paper, is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions to the literature of the present age. It is—as Thucydides, in the lofty consciousness of an immortal achievement, called his History of the Peloponnesian War—a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, a *possession forever*. Mr. Ticknor has long been known to the literary public as one of the most learned men of our times. His occasional writings commanded attention by the finished elegance of their style, and the unassuming but obvious mastery of a comprehensive scholarship by which they were characterized. In the year 1816, a liberal bequest was received from the late Abiel Smith by the corporation of Harvard College, for the foundation of a professorship of the French and Spanish languages and literature; and by a vote

of the corporation, passed in 1817, when this department of academical instruction was organized, the name of the donor was given to the professorship. Mr. Ticknor, though a graduate of another college, and though still a very young man, was singled out by the enlightened gentlemen who then governed the university, as the most suitable person to fill the newly-established chair. He had already, we believe, gone to Europe, for the purpose of studying in the great schools of learning on the continent; so that he was able to bring the best resources to bear directly on the department which, fortunately for the college, he was induced to undertake. Having pursued his studies with all the ardour of youth and enthusiasm—embracing in their scope not only the literature of the modern world, but also an enlarged and profound course in the ancient classics, with which he was already familiar—and having travelled over the most interesting portions of Europe, Mr. Ticknor returned, and entered at once upon the duties of his professorship. These he continued to discharge until the year 1836, when he was succeeded by the present distinguished incumbent, Prof. H. W. Longfellow, the poet. The successive classes who were graduated within the period of Mr. Ticknor's official connexion with the university, well remember the lectures by which he illustrated the chair. Several very copious and learned courses on French literature; others, on Spanish, Italian, and English, made his lecture-room not only one of the most brilliant and attractive, but one of the most instructive in the university. Mr. Ticknor's labours, however, were not bounded by his public lectures; the whole department of modern languages, in which provision was made for instruction in the French, Spanish, Portugese, Italian, and German, owes its present organization to his efforts and his influence, and has continued, down to the present moment, to hold the prominent position in the university at Cambridge which he first gave it. He frequently took charge of classes in the several languages embraced within his department, and many now, in the various walks of life, remember the zeal and ability with which he guided them in their studies of modern literature; not a few, doubtless, were first awakened to a love of letters by the inspiring power of his example. It would, perhaps, be encroaching upon the becoming reserve of private life, and violating the proprieties of social intercourse, were we to particularize the various ways in which Mr. Ticknor's beneficent influence has made itself felt among the younger literary men of his vicinity; and we will therefore barely allude, in passing, to the liberality with which the treasures of his costly library—the best private one in the United States—have always been thrown open to students, whether rich or

poor, who have shown capacity to make a faithful use of such an opportunity of improvement.

Mr. Ticknor states in his preface that he visited Spain in 1818, for the purpose of studying the language and literature of the country, and of purchasing Spanish books. Although in that dismal period of the reign of Ferdinand the Seventh most of the distinguished poets and men of letters belonging to Spain were in prison, or in exile, still Mr. Ticknor had the good fortune to gain the friendship of others, especially of Don José Antonio Conde, "a retired, gentle, modest scholar, rarely occupied with events of a later date than the times of the Spanish Arabs, whose history he afterward illustrated." With this gentleman Mr. Ticknor read the early poetry of Spain; and, aided by him, laid the foundation of his collection in Spanish literature, which, at the present day, is unequalled in Europe or the United States. To Mr. Alexander H. Everett, and to Washington Irving, both of whom ably represented their country at the court of Spain; to Mr. O. Rich, the well-known bibliographer, formerly a consul of the United States in Spain; and to Don Pascual de Gayangos, Professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid, Mr. Ticknor acknowledges his obligations for valuable aid in obtaining books and manuscripts. A second residence in Europe, between 1835 and 1838, was spent by Mr. Ticknor in consulting the public libraries on the Continent, and such private collections as those of Lord Holland, in England; M. Ternaux-Campans, in France; and the poet Tieck, in Germany.

It will be readily perceived that Professor Ticknor had thus made preparations, and collected materials, on a much more extensive scale than any of his contemporaries or predecessors. Special topics in Spanish literature have been learnedly examined by the great German scholars; excellent translations have been made from Spanish poets and prose-writers, by the most masterly pens, as the admirable version of Don Quixote, by Tieck; critics like the Schlegels and Ulrici have set forth the merits of the Spanish drama; or, like Wolf, have illustrated the Spanish ballads; but no scholar had such precious materials, and such resources for the illustration of the entire literature of Spain, as Mr. Ticknor. Of course a part of these materials were employed in his well-remembered lectures, delivered at the university previously to 1835; and Mr. Ticknor's first plan, on his return from his second residence in Europe, was to prepare these lectures for publication. "But when," he says, in the gracefully written preface, "I had already employed much labour and time on them, I found, or thought I found, that the tone of discussion which I had adopted for my academical audiences was not

suited to the purposes of a regular history. Destroying, therefore, what I had written, I began afresh my never unwelcome task, and so have prepared the present work,—as little connected with all I had previously done as it perhaps can be, and yet cover so much of the same ground."

Such is, in brief, the history of the present work. Mr. Ticknor judged wisely and well, when he laid aside his academical lectures, and remoulded his materials into the more permanent and classical form of a regular history. The tone of an academical discourse is, from the very nature of the case, materially different from that of a long-sustained history; and a lecture, however finished in its appropriate style, must always suggest the idea of a special occasion of limited and temporary interest. The general distribution of the subject, and the arrangement of the parts, have been differently disposed, in a manner better adapted to the requirements of the careful reader in the silence of the closet, than the freer method, approaching to the character of extemporaneous discourse, which is appropriate to lectures. In this respect—we mean in the orderly arrangement of his subject, and the just proportion of the parts——no work within our knowledge is superior to the "History of Spanish Literature." We regard the task of tracing out the growth of a national literature as more difficult and complicated than political history. In the latter, for the most part, there is a principal series of consecutive events, to which all the rest have a natural subordination. It is, in fact, the biography of a nation considered as an individual; the narrative of the outward and visible transactions in which the complex person of an active nationality has been engaged, together with their causes and consequences, and their general bearing on the course of human affairs. The literary history of a nation is the history of its moral and intellectual development, through all the phases of its inward life. The inquiries through which it leads the student are vastly more subtle and refined; the paths he is compelled to trace out branch off into innumerable directions, instead of following one direct course to the end. The flights of creative genius must be followed in their empyrean sweep; the combinations of art must be delicately analyzed; the outward forms in which the ethereal spirit of poetry clothes itself must be carefully and lovingly scanned; and all this must be done by a mind trained in no narrow school of partial criticism, but thoroughly furnished with the learning of the civilized world. It often happens, perhaps generally, that all the flowers of national culture blossom side by side in the same age, and then the historian of literature must so combine his narratives, descriptions, and illustrations, that each shall

have its proper effect, and no more. Great and rival names are to be impartially weighed, and the injustice of contemporaneous opinion to be corrected. Illustrious periods are to be contrasted with those of moral and intellectual dearth; and yet the general impression of all these multitudinous, diversified, and sometimes apparently contradictory objects of thought, analysis, and description, must preserve unbroken its integrity and unity of effect.

Let us see how Mr. Ticknor has worked out the problem of unfolding, in just order, and undisturbed unity, the origin and history of the literature of Spain. The general division of the work is into three chronological periods. The first period embraces the literature of Spain, which was produced between the first appearance of the present written language, at the end of the twelfth century, and the early part of the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, at the beginning of the sixteenth. The second period embraces the history of Spanish literature, from the last mentioned period down to the end of the seventeenth century, corresponding to the two centuries during which the Austrian family sat upon the Spanish throne. The third period carries the history forward from the accession of the Bourbon family, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to the invasion of Spain by Napoleon, early in the nineteenth. The literary fortunes of Spain are thus traced out through about six centuries, in which the struggling elements of the national character blended into its final and consummate form, and the great developments of the national genius rose from small beginnings to an affluent and imposing growth, and finally, under the wasting influence of bigotry, ignorance, and despotism, sunk rapidly into a state of feebleness, exhaustion, and decay.

We have alluded to the persevering labours of Mr. Ticknor in collecting all the accessible materials for his book. He has spared no time, expense, nor toil, to place himself in a position to do the work in the most thorough manner. His researches have not stopped with the printed literature of Spain, even including the books which, owing to the want of a general interest in their preservation, or to the effects of the repressive agency of the inquisition, have become rare, existing only in a few copies, or even sometimes unique; and to all these treasures from the press he has added numerous manuscripts obtained through the agency of foreign scholars, from the inedited collections in Spain.

Mr. Ticknor's general studies have ranged over the whole field of European learning, so that, in the first place, he has been able to give to Spanish literature its true position in the culture of the civilized world. Truth, in literature as well as in science, is best elicited by

extensive comparisons. Mr. Ticknor's familiarity with so many other forms of culture, has placed in his hands the means of apt and constant illustration, whether drawn from the precious relics of the ancient world, or the abounding treasures of other modern literatures. The reader of these volumes will be struck with the wide-extended knowledge and refined taste with which Mr. Ticknor applies these resources to the exposition of his special subject; never overloading it with a needless display of learning, but always casting a strong and concentrated light upon the object before him, from the many-sided acquisitions of long and studious years. Another trait which will strike the reflective reader, due partly to this cause, undoubtedly, is the sober, temperate, and catholic judgment which is always exhibited in the literary opinions of the writer. Mr. Ticknor had strong predilections for the study of Spanish literature. He has read the great authors of the country with admiration for their wonderful wealth of invention, and the racy originality which breathes through the works of many of them. He has given years to the most profound and minute investigation of their history, and the most careful appreciation of their merits. Under such circumstances, we should not be surprised to meet with some touches of exaggerating estimate: some marks of that one-sidedness of view, by which a scholar, long preoccupied with a favourite subject, can scarcely avoid the prejudices of personal partiality, can scarcely help softening or hiding defects, converting blemishes into beauties, and exalting beauties into unapproachable excellences. In most literary histories, this fault is observable; and the temptation to run into a strain of eulogistic eloquence beyond the bounds of rational criticism, has seldom been resisted by the enthusiastic lovers of literature.

Mr. Ticknor's style is, we think, extremely well suited to literary discussion. It is fluent and easy, but not so wordy and warm as that of Sismondi; occasionally we notice the repetition of certain epithets and phrases. And this is easily enough explained. In the long-continued examination of similar literary works, where similar or identical traits are to be set forth as they are continually recurring, a writer cannot be required to diversify his phrases beyond the reasonable use of the synonymes which the language he writes in furnishes. Should he attempt to do this, he would lose in precision more than he would gain in variety of style. The Attic writers understood this matter well. They were not afraid of repeating words, when they had occasion for a repetition of ideas. Many an admirable passage in Xenophon and Demosthenes would be condemned on this account by a modern rhetorician. The excellences

of Mr. Ticknor's style are perfect purity and freedom from affectation, unfailing perspicuity, and simple but polished elegance. We have none of those mystical combinations of speech which startle us by their gigantic shadows, portentous darkness, and vacuity of meaning in much of the fine writing of our days. Every word and phrase, on the contrary, is carefully selected to convey a sharply-defined idea; and the general structure of his language is that which best combines clearness, strength, and grace, rising occasionally into passages of impressive eloquence. His knowledge is so full and complete, that he never deviates from the expression of distinctly formed and logically connected conceptions into vague generalities wherein half-developed thoughts are made to fill out, with the deceptive appearance of ideas too big for utterance, the long-resounding swell of pompous and hollow sentences. In every part of the work we perceive that the idea of the whole is present to the author's mind; in the discussion of every individual topic, we feel that an exact image of every connected or subordinate topic, and a distinct notion of the place that each and every one should fill, prevent the treatment of the subject from running into disproportion, or falling short of its just measure of attention. Thus we are never confused by getting involved in an intricate labyrinth of ill-arranged details. Everything is laid out according to a thoroughly digested plan, which neither author nor reader ever loses from his sight. Each important branch of the literature is duly expanded to the extent that its value demands in a comprehensive view of the whole. The biographies of a vast number of authors are given, embracing the great characteristic facts in their lives; their places are assigned them in the picture of their times, and their works are fully, discriminatingly, and candidly appreciated, not according to any narrow and conventional code of criticism, but from the national point of view, and in accordance with the highest moral and æsthetic principles. The text is supported by a mass of excellent notes, in which are embodied numerous details of fact, discussions of controverted questions, critical opinions on works of inferior importance, and biographical and bibliographical notices, very interesting and instructive, but not easily wrought into the substance of the work. We observe in these notes the wonderful minuteness of Mr. Ticknor's information, down to the obscurest points; and we are charmed with the same candour and moderation of judgment, and the same liberal dealing with other scholars, which so powerfully command our confidence elsewhere.

After the great divisions of the subject are completed, Mr. Ticknor gives us an appendix, containing several elaborate papers on subjects which, though important, would not be in place in a general

history of Spanish literature. Perhaps we should except from the latter part of this remark, the learned essay on the origin of the Spanish language, which would, in our judgment, have formed a very appropriate introduction to the history of the literature. At any rate, in a philological point of view, it is of high value. The second paper in the appendix contains a history of the Spanish Romanceros, or Ballad-books, which were, from time to time, collected and published in Spain, beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, and continuing down to our own times. The third paper is a critical examination of the character of a collection of letters called the "Centon Epistolario," and attributed to one Fernan Gomez de Cibdereal, which Mr. Ticknor, while acknowledging their real merit, the ingenuity displayed in their composition, and the high position the collection has long held in the literature of the fifteenth century, pronounces, in his opinion, to be a forgery. The next paper is a curious account of a little book entitled "El Buscapié," or the squib.

A book bearing this title, and supposed to have been written by Cervantes, in explanation or defence of Don Quixote, was alluded to by one of the early biographers of that great writer, but, though much sought for, was not found, and was supposed to have been lost or never to have existed. Three years ago a little book with this title was published at Cadiz, by a young Spanish scholar, Don Alonzo de Castro, who asserted that he found the manuscript in a collection of old books which had been exposed for sale, and that it was written in the hand-writing of the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. Some of the Spanish men of letters accepted it with little examination. Others, both in Spain and elsewhere, denied its genuineness. Don Alonzo himself took part in the controversy, but we believe contented himself with answering the critical objections of his antagonists, without directly denying that he was himself the author. An elaborate article appeared recently in the Southern Quarterly Review, the writer of which volunteered to break a lance in favour of Don Alonzo. So that the squib has proved true to its name, though in another sense from that understood by its advocates, having burnt some people's fingers, and then fizzed itself out. Mr. Ticknor has proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that it is a forgery. It is the same game that was played by Ireson, in the time of Boswell, who fell on his knees in a fit of ecstasy at the supposed sight of a manuscript tragedy of Shakspeare's. We may add, that from a careful reading of the book itself, and a consideration of the alleged circumstances of the discovery of the original, we have no doubt that Don Alonzo is himself the *Squibber*.

This is followed by an account of the editions, translations, and imitations of Don Quixote. A paper on the early collections of old Spanish plays, in further illustration of the account of the drama in the body of the work, comes next; and this is succeeded by a brief statement of the discussions between the Spanish and Italian scholars, at the close of the last century, on the origin of the euphuistic style which prevailed in the Spanish literature, known by the name of *Cultismo*, or the cultivated style, especially in the seventeenth century. The last part of the appendix consists of three long and interesting poems, hitherto unpublished, which were furnished to Mr. Ticknor by Don Pascual de Gayangos. The first is on the Patriarch Joseph, written, as we are informed, in the Arabic character, and long supposed to be an Arabic poem. Mr. Ticknor assigns it to the fourteenth century. It is the Morisco version of the story of Joseph, and is one of the most attractive and beautiful poems in the early literature of Spain. The second is the "Danza General," or Dance of Death, being the Spanish form of that appalling invention so generally current in the early literatures of Europe. The third and last is entitled "El Libro del Rabi Santob," or the book of the Rabi Don Santob, belonging to the middle of the fourteenth century. All these poems are well worthy of being rescued from the dangers to which manuscripts are always exposed, and of taking their place among the permanent monuments of the poetry of their country. Mr. Ticknor has done a valuable service by giving them to the public in such a form, and under such auspices, that they must attract the attention of scholars.

From this brief outline we proceed to a more special consideration of a few among the innumerable topics of interest which the work opens before us. The first period embraces an account of the origin of modern literature, and the earliest appearances of the literature of Spain. Among the first productions of the creative genius of the country is the famous poem of the Cid, which belongs to the close of the twelfth century. The Cid is the title bestowed on the renowned champion Ruy Diaz, who flourished in the last half of the eleventh century, and became the popular hero of the contests between the Christians and the Moors in his time. He stands in a relation to the chivalrous age of Spain, similar to that borne by Achilles to the heroic age of Greece; and in the long-drawn conflict between the gallant Christian knights and their Mohammedan antagonists, there is, in many points, a striking coincidence of spirit with the series of heroic adventures that fill the legendary strifes of Hellas and Troy, of Greek and Barbarian, of the West and the East. The exploits of the Cid are known in every poetical literature of

Europe; but there is nothing on the subject better than the rude but vigorous and clanging lines in which his deeds were celebrated in the earliest breathings of his country's muse. We give a part of Mr. Ticknor's analysis of the poem, together with the short passages cited by him, as translated by Mr. Hookham Frere :—

"The first pages of the manuscript being lost, what remains to us begins abruptly, at the moment when the Cid, just exiled by his ungrateful king, looks back upon the towers of his castle at Bivar, as he leaves them. 'Thus heavily weeping,' the poem goes on, 'he turned his head and stood looking at them. He saw his doors open and his household chests unfastened, the hooks empty and without pelisses and without cloaks, and the mews without falcons and without hawks. My Cid sighed, for he had grievous sorrow; but my Cid spake well and calmly: 'I thank thee, Lord and Father, who art in heaven, that it is my evil enemies who have done this thing unto me.'

"He goes, where all desperate men then went, to the frontiers of the Christian war; and, after establishing his wife and children in a religious house, plunges with three hundred faithful followers into the infidel territories, determined, according to the practice of his time, to win lands and fortunes from the common enemy, and providing for himself meanwhile, according to another practice of his time, by plundering the Jews, as if he were a mere Robin Hood. Among his earliest conquests is Alcocer; but the Moors collect in force, and besiege him in their turn, so that he can save himself only by a bold sally, in which he overthrows their whole array. The rescue of his standard, endangered in the onslaught by the rashness of Bermuez, who bore it, is described in the very spirit of knighthood.

"Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go,
Their lances in the rest, levelled fair and low,
Their banners and their crests waving in a row,
Their heads all stooping down toward the saddle-bow;
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
'I am Ruy Diaz, the champion of Bivar;
Strike amongst them, Gentlemen, for sweet mercies' sake!'
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe they brake,
Three hundred bannered knights, it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they killed, a man with every blow;
When they wheeled and turned, as many more lay slain;
You might see them raise their lances and level them again.
There you might see the breast-plates how they were cleft in twain,
And many a Moorish shield lie shattered on the plain,
The pennons that were white marked with a crimson stain,
The horses running wild whose riders had been slain.

"The poem afterwards relates the Cid's contest with the Count of Barcelona; the taking of Valencia; the reconcilement of the Cid to the king, who had treated him so ill; and the marriage of the Cid's two daughters, at the king's request, to the two Counts of Carrion, who were among the first nobles of the kingdom. At this point, however, there is a somewhat formal division of the poem, and the remainder is devoted to what is its principal subject, the dissolution of this marriage in consequence of the baseness and brutality of the Counts; the Cid's public triumph over them; their no less public disgrace; and the announcement of the second marriage of the Cid's daughters with the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon, which, of course, raised the Cid himself to the highest pitch of his honours, by connecting him with the royal houses of Spain. With this, therefore, the poem virtually ends.

"The most spirited part of it consists of the scenes at the Cortes, summoned on demand of the Cid, in consequence of the misconduct of the Counts of Carrion. In one of them, three followers of the Cid challenge three followers of the Counts, and the challenge of Munio Gustioz to Assur Gonzalez is thus characteristically given:—

"Assur Gonzalez was entering at the door,
With his ermine mantle trailing along the floor;
With his sauntering pace and his hardy look,
Of manners or of courtesy little heed he took;
He was flushed and hot with breakfast and with drink.
'What ho! my masters, your spirits seem to sink!
Have we no news stirring from the Cid, Ruy Diaz of Bivar?
Has he been to Riodivirna, to besiege the windmills there?
Does he tax the millers for their toll? or is that practice past?
Will he make a match for his daughters, another like the last?'
Munio Gustioz rose and made reply:—
'Traitor, wilt thou never cease to slander and to lie?
You breakfast before mass, you drink before you pray;
There is no honour in your heart, nor truth in what you say;
You cheat your comrade and your lord, you flatter to betray;
Your friendship I despise, your hatred I defy!
False to all mankind, and most to God on high,
I shall force you to confess that what I say is true.'
Thus was ended the parley and challenge betwixt these two.

"These are among the most picturesque passages in the poem. But it is throughout striking and original. It is, too, no less national, Christian, and loyal. It breathes everywhere the true Castilian spirit, such as the old chronicles represent it amidst the achievements and disasters of the Moorish Wars; and has very few traces of an Arabic influence in its language, and none at all in its imagery or fancies. The whole of it, therefore, deserves to be read, and to be read in the original; for it is there only that we can obtain the fresh impressions it is fitted to give us of the rude but heroic period it represents; of the simplicity of the governments, and the loyalty and true-heartedness of the people; of the wide force of a primitive religious enthusiasm; of the picturesque state of manners and daily life in an age of trouble and confusion; and of the bold outlines of the national genius, which are often struck out where we should least think to find them. It is, indeed, a work which, as we read it, stirs us with the spirit of the times it describes; and as we lay it down and recollect the intellectual condition of Europe when it was written, and for a long period before, it seems certain, that, during the thousand years which elapsed from the time of the decay of Greek and Roman culture, down to the appearance of the 'Divina Commedia,' no poetry was produced so original in its tone, or so full of natural feeling, picturesqueness, and energy."—Vol. i, pp. 18–23.

To this period belongs the oldest Spanish poet whose name has reached us, Gonzalo de Berceo, a monk of Saint Millan, in Calahorra, who flourished from 1220 to 1246, and died in the reign of Alfonso the Learned. His poems are on sacred subjects, and, with one exception, written in Castilian Alexandrines, divided into four-line stanzas, with quaternian rhymes. The versification is regular, and sometimes harmonious. Mr. Ticknor has skilfully translated a passage into corresponding English rhythms, which give a very good idea of the old poet's manner and genius.*

* See vol. I, p. 31.

Among the most remarkable personages who adorned this period by their genius and their fame, was king Alfonso of Castile, on account of his acquirements, surnamed "El Sabio," or the Learned. He was born in 1221, and ascended the throne in 1252. He was considered the most accomplished prince of his time, not only being a poet, closely connected with the Provençal troubadours, but skilled in geometry and astronomy, and an adept in the occult sciences. He became a candidate for the imperial crown of Germany, and was elected, but his claims were defeated by Rudolph of Hapsburg, and disavowed by the pope. His life was filled up with painful vicissitudes, partly owing to a want of practical skill in dealing with the difficulties of his position, and partly springing from the unnatural conduct of his sons, and the turbulence of his people. "He was more fit for letters," says Mariana, "than for the government of his subjects; he studied the heavens and watched the stars, but forgot the earth and lost his kingdom." Notwithstanding the misfortunes by which the close of his life was darkened, Alfonso was one of the greatest intellectual benefactors of his country. Mr. Ticknor states that there are extant no less than four hundred and one poems of his, denominated cantigas, or chants in honour of the Madonna, written in the measure and style of the Provençal, though in the Gallician dialect—the first language that was developed in the north-western part of Spain, and the second that was reduced to writing. Another work bears the title of "Tesoro," or Treasure, and treats of the transmutation of the baser metals into gold. Besides numerous other services he rendered to literature and science, the Bible was translated into Castilian, a chronicle of Spain was written, and a collection of laws was made, under his direction, called "Las Siete Partidas," "which," says Mr. Ticknor, "is at this moment an authority in both hemispheres." It was through the influence of these prose works, whose merits are very great, and by requiring the Castilian to be used in all legal proceedings, that Alfonso raised what had been before a provincial dialect, though perhaps superior to any other in the Peninsula, to the rank of a national language. We have not time or space to dwell at any greater length upon the great benefits conferred by this accomplished but unfortunate monarch upon his country, but must refer our readers to the ample accounts of Mr. Ticknor.

In this period, we also encounter the famous names of Don Juan Manuel, the author of El Conde Lucanor, the finest monument of Spanish prose in the fourteenth century,—a work of moral and political philosophy, in a series of forty-nine stories or moral tales, written, as Mr. Ticknor remarks, in the oriental fashion of illustrating moral

truth, by fables or apologues: Juan Ruiz, known as the arch-priest of Hita, whose poetical compositions amount to nearly seven thousand verses, and are remarkable not only for their poetical merits, but for the variety of their metrical forms, which are no less than sixteen; the Rabbi Santob; Fernan Gonzales, and others of less importance. But the most characteristic features of the literature of this period, are the Old Spanish Ballads, the Chronicles, and the Romances of Chivalry. The former are known to the English reader by the beautiful but not very faithful translations of Mr. Lockhart, which have been repeatedly published, in England and the United States, within a few years. These ballads are very numerous, and for the most part anonymous; some of them doubtless running back to a very early date, earlier than any other form of poetical composition. Like the ballads of Scotland and Germany, and the Klephtic songs of modern Greece—perhaps the Homeric rhapsodies of ancient Greece may be added to the list—they long existed only in the memories of the people, and were handed down by tradition from age to age. They are now to be found in the collections called *Romanceros Generales*, consisting, according to Mr. Ticknor, of above a thousand old poems, of unequal length and various degrees of merit. From the very circumstances of their composition—being intended to be chanted to listening audiences—and the mode of their preservation by the memories of the singers—it is plain that they must have undergone numerous alterations from what they were when originally made. Taking them altogether, they doubtless reflect, in a singular degree, not the characters and passions of individual poets, but the feelings and features of the collective nation; resembling in this respect not only the early poetical literature of the rest of Europe, but the immortal poems in which the heroic age of Greece was sung at the Ionian festivals by the rhapsodists. Lope de Vega calls them "Iliads without a Homer." Every historical event, every great deed of martial prowess, every famous hero who figures in the half-mythical twilight of early Spain—the champions of Christendom, the peers of Charlemagne—Don Roderic, Bernardo del Carpio, the Cid—whatever of warlike achievement illustrated the seven centuries of the Moorish occupation of the south of Spain—all found their minstrels among the nameless singers of the ballads. The metrical structure of these heroic songs is very simple. The general form is that of the eight-syllable trochaic verse, sometimes divided into *redondillas*, roundelays or four-line stanzas, some of them rhyming in the second and fourth lines, and some in the first and fourth. The most remarkable peculiarity, however, is the *asonante*, or imperfect rhyme upon the vowels alone, beginning

with the last accented one in the line. Mr. Ticknor considers this to be original in Spain, and of great importance, because it passed from the ballads to other species of the national poetry, especially the lyrical and dramatic. In its rhythmical effect, it lies between blank verse and rhyme, properly so called. This illustrates, in a very curious manner, the philosophy of rhythm, and throws an interesting light upon the changes rhythmical forms have undergone in the progress of the ages. In the Greek and Latin languages, the movement of verse depended solely on fixed musical time. In the ancient Greek, especially, the connexion between poetry and music was never broken; and in very many cases, as in dithyrambic and choral composition, rhythmical movement of the body, or dancing, was added, to heighten the effect. Here rhyme would have been scarcely observable, and consequently was never thought of as a means of deepening the poetical impression. Wherever rhymes occur—as they do sometimes with the ancients—they are to be regarded simply as accidental coincidences of sound, caused by the similar endings of cases or tenses, which are found as often in prose as in poetry. Some writers have supposed that the ballad form, and especially the rhyme, were borrowed by the Spaniards from the Arabs. This theory Mr. Ticknor satisfactorily refutes; and the truth seems to be, that both the peculiar rhyme of the Spanish poets, and the complete rhyme of the other European languages, are the natural growth of the age and countries where they appeared, not imitated or transplanted from any foreign soil, but springing up in obedience to a general law, modified by the special circumstances of each case. We witness the operations of this general law, in the gradual introduction of rhyme in the Leonine verses of the Latin, in the hymns of the Catholic Church, where accent took the place of musical time or quantity; and more beautifully still, in the changes that gradually passed over the poetical forms of the Greek, where accent and quantity at length approached each other, then quantity disappeared, and, finally, rhyme came in and completely took the place of quantity, or the musical element of time, which was lost from the language. Now the Spanish rhythm retains a close connexion with music—poetry, music, and dancing being frequently united, in the poetical representations of Spain, as well as in those of ancient Athens. The complete rhyme was, therefore, less needed for perfect rhythmical effect in Spanish composition, than in other less musical languages; the *asonante*, though scarcely perceptible to the ear in English, answering the purpose perfectly in Spanish.

We give a very graceful translation of a beautiful ballad, beginning, "Fonte frida, fonte frida," from Mr. Ticknor's own pen. It

should be stated that all the translations in these volumes, except a few passages from the poem of the Cid, and the "Coplas" of Don Jorge de Manrique—the former of which are by Mr. Frere, and the latter by Professor Longfellow—are made by the author; and they are, for poetical spirit, and fidelity in idea and form to the originals, among the best in the English language:—

"Cooling fountain, cooling fountain,
Cooling fountain, full of love!
Where the little birds all gather,
Thy refreshing power to prove;
All except the widow'd turtle
Full of grief, the turtle-dove.
There the traitor nightingale
All by chance once pass'd along,
Uttering words of basest falsehood
In his guilty, treacherous song:
'If it please thee, gentle lady,
I thy servant-love would be.'
'Hence, begone, ungracious traitor,
Base deceiver, hence from me!
I nor rest upon green branches,
Nor amidst the meadow's flowers;
The very wave my thirst that quenches
Seek I where it turbid pours.
No wedded love my soul shall know,
Lest children's hearts my heart should win;
No pleasure would I seek for, no!
No consolation feel within;—
So leave me sad, thou enemy!
Thou foul and base deceiver, go!
For I thy love will never be,
Nor ever, false one, wed thee, no!"—Vol. i, p. 123.

The old Spanish Chronicles are among the most fresh, racy, and picturesque portions of the early Spanish literature, in many respects conceived in the very spirit of the ballads themselves; so poetical, indeed, in their narratives, and having so little of the critical spirit of history, "that large portions of them, with little change in their phraseology, have since been converted into popular ballads." Among them are the "General Chronicle," by Alfonso the Tenth; the "Chronicle of the Cid," known to English readers in Mr. Southey's paraphrase; the Chronicles of Alfonso the Eleventh, Peter the Cruel, Henry the Second, John the First, Henry the Third, John the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Ferdinand and Isabella; together with a series of Chronicles of particular persons, events, and travels; the whole extending over two hundred and fifty years, from the time of Alfonso the Wise to the accession of Charles the Fifth, and, in the words of Mr. Ticknor,

"unrivalled in richness, in variety, and in picturesque and poetical elements. In truth, the chronicles of no other nation can, on such points, be compared to them; not even the Portuguese, which approach the nearest in original and early materials; nor the French, which, in Joinville and Froissart,

make the highest claims in another direction. For these old Spanish chronicles, whether they have their foundations in truth or in fable, always strike farther down than those of any other nation into the deep soil of the popular feeling and character. The old Spanish loyalty, the old Spanish religious faith, as both were formed and nourished in the long periods of national trial and suffering, are constantly coming out; hardly less in Columbus and his followers, or even amidst the atrocities of the conquests in the New World, than in the half-miraculous accounts of the battles of Hazinas and Tolosa, or in the grand and glorious drama of the fall of Granada. Indeed, whenever we go under their leading, whether to the court of Tamerlane, or to that of Saint Ferdinand, we find the heroic elements of the national genius gathered around us; and thus, in this vast, rich mass of chronicles, containing such a body of antiquities, traditions, and fables as has been offered to no other people, we are constantly discovering, not only the materials from which were drawn a multitude of the old Spanish ballads, plays, and romances, but a mine which has been unceasingly wrought by the rest of Europe for similar purposes, and still remains unexhausted."—Vol i, pp. 215, 216.

The next division of the literature of this period is that of the romances of chivalry, in which Arthur, Charlemagne, Amadis de Gaul, and other renowned heroes, perform their bewildering and interminable exploits. These fictions did not originate in Spain, many of them having existed in France, under some form or other, nearly two centuries before they found their way into the Peninsula. The chapters devoted to these works are exceedingly interesting, but we have space only for the concluding remarks, upon the prevalent belief in their impossible adventures, and the passion for their recital.

"Such credulity, it is true, now seems impossible, even if we suppose it was confined to a moderate number of intelligent persons; and hardly less so, when, as in the admirable sketch of an easy faith in the stories of chivalry by the innkeeper and Maritornes in Don Quixote, we are shown that it extended to the mass of the people. But before we refuse our assent to the statements of such faithful chroniclers as Mexia, on the ground that what they relate is impossible, we should recollect, that, in the age when they lived, men were in the habit of believing and asserting every day things no less incredible than those recited in the old romances. The Spanish Church then countenanced a trust in miracles, as of constant recurrence, which required of those who believed them more credulity than the fictions of chivalry; and yet how few were found wanting in faith! And how few doubted the tales that had come down to them of the impossible achievements of their fathers during the seven centuries of their warfare against the Moors, or the glorious traditions of all sorts, that still constitute the charm of their brave old chronicles, though we now see at a glance that many of them are as fabulous as anything told of Palmerin or Launcelot!

But whatever we may think of this belief in the romances of chivalry, there is no question that in Spain, during the sixteenth century, there prevailed a passion for them such as was never known elsewhere. The proof of it comes to us from all sides. The poetry of the country is full of it, from the romantic ballads that still live in the memory of the people, up to the old plays that have ceased to be acted, and the old epics that have ceased to be read. The national manners and the national dress, more peculiar and picturesque than in other countries, long bore its sure impress. The old laws, too, speak no less plainly. Indeed, the passion for such fictions was so strong,

and seemed so dangerous, that in 1553 they were prohibited from being printed, sold, or read in the American colonies; and in 1555 the Cortes earnestly asked that the same prohibition might be extended to Spain itself, and that all the extant copies of romances of chivalry might be publicly burned. And finally, half a century later, the happiest work of the greatest genius Spain has produced bears witness on every page to the prevalence of an absolute fanaticism for books of chivalry, and becomes at once the seal of their vast popularity and the monument of their fate."—Vol. i, pp. 252–254.

A very elaborate account of the early drama of Spain occupies the next three chapters. These are followed by a history of Provençal literature, so far as it penetrated into the Peninsula; of the Catalonian and Valencian poetry; of the early influence which Italy exercised upon the literature of Spain, through the similarity of the languages, and the political relations between the two countries. A chapter is mainly devoted to the illustrious family of the Manriques, one of whom, Don Jorge, is well known in our literature, through the beautiful translation of his "Coplas" by Professor Longfellow. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of copying the fine passage in which Mr. Ticknor gives us an account of this extraordinary man:—

"Jorge Manrique is the last of this chivalrous family that comes into the literary history of his country. He was the son of Rodrigo, Count of Paredes, and seems to have been a young man of an uncommonly gentle cast of character, yet not without the spirit of adventure that belonged to his ancestors,—a poet full of natural feeling, when the best of those about him were almost wholly given to metaphysical conceits, and to what was then thought a curious elegance of style. We have, indeed, a considerable number of his lighter verses, chiefly addressed to the lady of his love, which are not without the colouring of his time, and remind us of the poetry on similar subjects produced a century later in England, after the Italian taste had been introduced at the court of Henry the Eighth. But the principal poem of Manrique the younger is almost entirely free from affectation. It was written on the death of his father, which occurred in 1476, and is in the genuinely old Spanish measure and manner. It fills about five hundred lines, divided into forty-two *coplas* or stanzas; and is called, with a simplicity and directness worthy of its own character, 'The Coplas of Manrique,' as if it needed no more distinctive name.

"Nor does it. Instead of being a loud exhibition of his sorrows, or, what would have been more in the spirit of the age, a conceited exhibition of his learning, it is a simple and natural complaint of the mutability of all earthly happiness; the mere overflowing of a heart filled with despondency at being brought suddenly to feel the worthlessness of what it has most valued and pursued. His father occupies hardly half the canvass of the poem, and some of the stanzas devoted more directly to him are the only portion of it we could wish away. But we everywhere feel—before its proper subject is announced quite as much as afterwards—that its author has just sustained some loss, which has crushed his hopes, and brought him to look only on the dark and discouraging side of life. In the earlier stanzas he seems to be in the first moments of his great affliction, when he does not trust himself to speak out concerning its cause; when his mind, still brooding in solitude over his sorrows, does not even look round for consolation. He says, in his grief,—

"'Our lives are rivers, gliding free
To that unfathom'd, boundless sea,
The silent grave;
Thither all earthly pomp and boast
Roll, to be swallow'd up and lost
In one dark wave.
Thither the mighty torrents stray,
Thither the brook pursues its way,
And tinkling rill.
There all are equal. Side by side
The poor man and the son of pride
Lie calm and still.'

"The same tone is heard, though somewhat softened, when he touches on the days of his youth and of the court of John the Second, already passed away; and it is felt the more deeply, because the festive scenes he describes come into such strong contrast with the dark and solemn thoughts to which they lead him. In this respect his verses fall upon our hearts like the sound of a heavy bell, struck by a light and gentle hand, which continues long afterwards to give forth tones that grow sadder and more solemn, till at last they come to us like a wailing for those we have ourselves loved and lost. But gradually the movement changes. After his father's death is distinctly announced, his tone becomes religious and submissive. The light of a blessed future breaks upon his reconciled spirit; and then the whole ends like a mild and radiant sunset, as the noble old warrior sinks peacefully to his rest, surrounded by his children, and rejoicing in his release.

"No earlier poem in the Spanish language, if we except, perhaps, some of the early ballads, is to be compared with the Coplas of Manrique for depth and truth of feeling; and few of any subsequent period have reached the beauty or power of its best portions. Its versification, too, is excellent; free and flowing, with occasionally an antique air and turn, that are true to the character of the age that produced it, and increase its picturesqueness and effect. But its great charm is to be sought in a beautiful simplicity, which, belonging to no age, is the seal of genius in all."—Vol. i, pp. 406–408.

We are tempted to extract the passages upon the Urreas and Juan de Padilla, but we have no room, and must pass them by.

The closing chapter of the first period is occupied with the dismal history of the establishment of the Inquisition, and its first steps in the atrocious career of blood and crime through which it afterwards passed in Christian Spain. We have already alluded, in general terms, to the deadly influence which this diabolical invention exercised over the outward prosperity and intellectual culture of Spain. No language is strong enough to express the horror which the long train of cruel and ghastly deeds connected with its hated name inspires. Far be it from us, as Protestants, to charge on all the members of the Catholic Church at any time, or on any members of the Catholic Church at the present time, a sympathy with its detestable outrages, committed equally against the rights of man and the honour of God. But in these latter days, when that ancient apostasy is again enticing men from the simple faith of the Gospel, by the allurements of æsthetic taste; by gorgeous ceremonials; by solemn music and priestly pomps, at shrines and altars ornate with

the costly gifts of kings and princes; by the splendours of pictorial and architectural art; by the images of saints, martyrs, and madonnas; by the pretended miracles attesting her transmitted holiness and power: when learned men and accomplished women are stifling the spirit of inquiry, and putting their doubts to rest by surrendering their reason captive to the asserted infallibility of the See of Rome; when to her other incantations, she has added, with the cunning of her worldly flexibility, the false appearance of sympathy with the liberal spirit of our age; and thus is gaining a foothold, slowly but surely, and, as some think, to the peril of our blood-bought civil and religious liberties, on these western shores: when we see all this going on around us, it is becoming the gravity of the occasion to pause and reflect; to look back on the past, and learn anew what have been the natural consequences of the principles of the Romish doctrines when they have been carried out, unchecked by the opposing forces of science and enlightened public sentiment, called into being by the Protestant Reformation. Mr. Ticknor has given us a simple and fair account of the Inquisition, in relation to the development of the national genius of Spain. His views are not polemic, but historical, and they are supported by documents of the highest authority, alike unquestioned in the Protestant and Catholic world. We see unfolded here the results that follow when man is allowed to assume the infallible attributes of God; to assert in his impious arrogance the right of controlling the thoughts of his fellow-man, of standing between him and his Maker, and of daring to wield with audacious wickedness the power that belongs to the Almighty alone.

The Inquisition was established in the city of Seville in 1481. The first meeting of the inquisitors was held on the second of January. Within four days from that date six persons were burned. In Andalusia alone, during the first year, two thousand perished at the stake, besides seventeen thousand who were subjected to punishments less severe. Mr. Ticknor impressively says:—

"Such severity brought with it, of course, a great amount of fraud and falsehood. Multitudes of the followers of Mohammed—beginning with four thousand whom Cardinal Ximenes baptized on the day when, contrary to the provisions of the capitulation of Granada, he consecrated the great mosque of the Albaycin as a Christian temple—were forced to enter the fold of the Church, without either understanding its doctrines, or desiring to receive its instructions. With these, as with the converted Jews, the Inquisition was permitted to deal unchecked by the power of the state. They were, therefore, from the first, watched; soon they were imprisoned; and then they were tortured, to obtain proof that their conversion was not genuine. But it was all done in secrecy and in darkness. From the moment when the Inquisition laid its grasp on the object of its suspicions to that of his execution, no

voice was heard to issue from its cells. The very witnesses it summoned were punished with death or perpetual imprisonment, if they revealed what they had seen or heard before its dread tribunals; and often of the victim nothing was known, but that he had disappeared from his accustomed haunts in society, never again to be seen.

"The effect was appalling. The imaginations of men were filled with horror at the idea of a power so vast and so noiseless; one which was constantly, but invisibly, around them; whose blow was death, but whose steps could neither be heard nor followed amidst the gloom into which it retreated farther and farther, as efforts were made to pursue it. From its first establishment, therefore, while the great body of the Spanish Christians rejoiced in the purity and orthodoxy of their faith, and not unwillingly saw its enemies called to expiate their unbelief by the most terrible of mortal punishments, the intellectual and cultivated portions of society felt the sense of their personal security gradually shaken, until, at last, it became an anxious object of their lives to avoid the suspicions of a tribunal which infused into their minds a terror deeper and more effectual in proportion as it was accompanied by a misgiving how far they might conscientiously oppose its authority. Many of the nobler and more enlightened, especially on the comparatively free soil of Aragon, struggled against an invasion of their rights whose consequences they partly foresaw. But the powers of the government and the Church, united in measures which were sustained by the passions and religion of the lower classes of society, became irresistible. The fires of the Inquisition were gradually lighted over the whole country, and the people everywhere thronged to witness its sacrifices, as acts of faith and devotion.

"From this moment, Spanish intolerance, which through the Moorish wars had accompanied the contest and shared its chivalrous spirit, took that air of sombre fanaticism which it never afterwards lost. Soon its warfare was turned against the opinions and thoughts of men, even more than against their external conduct or their crimes. The Inquisition, which was its true exponent and appropriate instrument, gradually enlarged its own jurisdiction by means of crafty abuses, as well as by the regular forms of law, until none found himself too humble to escape its notice, or too high to be reached by its power. The whole land bent under its influence; and the few who comprehended the mischief that must follow bowed, like the rest, to its authority, or were subjected to its punishments.

"From an inquiry into the private opinions of individuals to an interference with the press and with printed books there was but a step. It was a step, however, that was not taken at once; partly because books were still few and of little comparative importance anywhere, and partly because, in Spain, they had already been subjected to the censorship of the civil authority, which, in this particular, seemed unwilling to surrender its jurisdiction. But such scruples were quickly removed by the appearance and progress of the Reformation of Luther; a revolution which comes within the next period of the history of Spanish literature, when we shall find displayed, in their broad practical results, the influence of the spirit of intolerance, and the power of the Church and the Inquisition on the character of the Spanish people."—Vol. i, pp. 449–452.

This institution took its origin in the twelfth century. It was employed with bloody effect in the wars against the Albigenses. The first attempts to introduce it into Spain were vigorously resisted in some quarters; but it harmonized so well with the popular bigotry which had been developed by the Moorish wars, that the resistance was speedily overcome, and the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand

and Isabella, actuated partly by blinded fanaticism, and partly desirous of holding in their hands so formidable an engine of state, favoured its introduction. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi:* the royal pair sought to enhance their own glory by destroying heretics, Moors, and Jews; and in so doing, they led into the very citadel an enemy that undermined the greatness and glory of their country. The first grand inquisitor, Torquemada, whose name is consigned to infamy with the most ferocious monsters that have spread desolation over the earth, commenced his functions soon after his appointment in 1478; and between 1481 and 1808, according to the historian Llorente, who had access to all the records of the Inquisition, in his official character of secretary, the number of victims in Spain amounted to 341,021, of whom THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND TWELVE were burnt!!! From its first establishment down to its final abolition in 1823, its indirect action upon the fortunes of Spain, aside from the accumulated imprisonments, tortures, and murders that darken every page of its odious history, was utterly disastrous, without a single redeeming point. Mr. Ticknor has many strong passages, in which the effects of this mysterious power, as it rears its head from time to time, are traced with a masterly hand; but we must refer the reader to the volumes themselves.

The history of the second period opens with a general view of the condition of Spain during the two centuries which the period embraces. Among the topics handled here, are the Protestant Reformation in Spain, and of course the Inquisition, whose dread enginery was set in motion to suppress it. The bigotry which grew darker in the land, and the increasing power of the Holy Office; the persecution of scholars and men of genius; the degradation of the old spirit of generous loyalty, make a sombre introduction to the brilliant achievements of genius which filled its successive years. The first important literary phenomenon which distinguishes this epoch, is the appearance of the Italian school, formed under the influence of Boscan and Garcilasso. Next comes a more peculiar and national series of works of fiction, commencing with the Lazarillo de Tórmes of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; the parent of a class of tales, of which the Gil Blas of Le Sage is the most perfect type.

Didactic poetry and prose, and historical composition, were, to a considerable extent, cultivated. In the latter department we encounter the names of Fernando Cortés, Bernal Diaz, Oviedo, Las Casas, all peculiarly interesting to us on account of their connexion with the history of the American continent.

But the richest and most admirable portion of the literature of

this period is the dramatic. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Inquisition to this species of popular amusement, the theatre gained in public favour, and advanced rapidly from the rude but genial comedies of Lope de Rueda, and his still ruder apparatus for representing them, to the splendid dramatic compositions of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon, exhibited in the theatres of Madrid; reminding us of the progress of Greek dramatic literature from Thespis and his cart to the flower of Attic genius as displayed in the works of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, which drew together the cultivated men of the Hellenic World to witness the representations in the Dionysion beneath the Athenian Acropolis. Within this period we have the beautiful poems, and still more beautiful character, of Luis Ponce de Leon, who, as theologian, professor, and poet, contributed valuable works to the literature of his time. An opinion he had formed that the Song of Solomon, which he had translated and explained, at the request of a friend, was nothing more than a pastoral eclogue, brought him under the suspicions of the Inquisition. After a five years' imprisonment of extraordinary rigour, from whose hardships and tortures he barely escaped with his life, he was restored to his chair, and on meeting again a crowded audience, he began his discourse by simply saying, "As we remarked when we last met," and then went on, says our author, "as if the five bitter years of his imprisonment had been a blank in his memory, bearing no record of the cruel treatment he had suffered."

The life and writings of Cervantes, the world-renowned author of Don Quixote, occupy three very interesting chapters; but as the universal popularity of that work has made the name and adventures of its author better known than those of most other Spanish writers, we pass on with only this slight reference to them.

That "prodigy of nature," Lope de Vega, occupies six entire chapters. Lord Holland's life of this wonderful man is well known to English readers. Mr. Ticknor's acquaintance with Lope's numberless works, and the materials in his possession for the biography, and for a critical account of his writings, are much superior to those of the noble author to whom we have alluded.

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, called the "Prodigy of Nature," the "Phœnix of Spain," the "Potosi of Rhymes," was born at Madrid, Nov. 25th, 1562, and died August 25th, 1635. Montalvan calls him the "portent of the world; the glory of the land; the light of his country; the oracle of language; the centre of fame; the object of envy; the darling of fortune; the Phœnix of ages; the prince of poetry; Orpheus of sciences; Apollo of the Muses; Horace of

poets; Virgil of epics; Homer of heroics; Pindar of lyrics; the Sophocles of tragedy; and the Terence of comedy: single among the excellent, and excellent among the great; great in every way and every manner." His name became proverbial for whatever was best of its kind. A brilliant diamond was called a Lope diamond; a fine day, a Lope day; a beautiful woman, a Lope woman: and when he died, his funeral was attended by immense throngs, among them the principal nobles of Spain. Bishops officiated; and while the procession was passing through streets lined by windows and balconies densely filled with spectators, a woman in the crowd was heard to exclaim, "This is a Lope funeral," not knowing that it was the funeral of the great Lope himself.

Lope was a soldier and a student; he fought a duel, was sent into exile, and served in the invincible armada; he married twice, leaving only a natural daughter, and finally died a priest, and a familiar of the Holy Office. He wrote tragedies, comedies, autos, pastorals, in short, poems in every form that the poetical literature of his country had ever assumed.

Mr. Ticknor makes the following statement with regard to the number of Lope's plays, and the rapidity with which he wrote:—

"In 1603, he gives us the titles of three hundred and forty-one pieces that he had already written; in 1609, he says their number had risen to four hundred and eighty-three; in 1618, he says it was eight hundred; in 1619, again, in round numbers, he states it at nine hundred; and in 1624, at one thousand and seventy. After his death, in 1635, Perez de Montalvan, his intimate friend and executor, who three years before had declared the number to be fifteen hundred, without reckoning the shorter pieces, puts it at eighteen hundred plays and four hundred *autos;* numbers which are confidently repeated by Antonio in his notice of Lope, and by Franchi, an Italian, who had been much with Lope at Madrid, and who wrote one of the multitudinous eulogies on him after his death. The prodigious facility implied by this is further confirmed by the fact stated by himself in one of his plays, that it was written and acted in five days, and by the anecdotes of Montalvan, that he wrote five full-length dramas at Toledo in fifteen days, and one act of another in a few hours of the early morning, without seeming to make any effort in either case.

"Of this enormous mass, a little more than five hundred dramas appear to have been published at different times,—most of them in the twenty-five, or more properly twenty-eight, volumes which were printed in various places between 1604 and 1647, but of which it is now nearly impossible to form a complete collection."—Vol. ii, pp. 175–177.

Of several of these an analysis is given, sufficient to indicate the general character and bearings of the whole. We should be glad to quote further from Mr. Ticknor's account of Lope and his works, but our limits forbid.

The life and works of Quevedo, and the drama of Lope's school, take up the next three chapters. The greatest dramatic genius in Spanish literature next to Lope de Vega, is Pedro Calderon de la

Barca. His works are commended to the attention of the literary world through the somewhat exaggerating eloquence of Schlegel, who places him at the head of the Christian romantic poets. To American students he is best known by two plays which have been republished in this country—the "Magico Prodigioso," and the "Principe Constante." Mr. Ticknor gives a carefully considered account of his various works, and sums up his merits and defects with that thorough knowledge and judicial impartiality, which entitle his critical opinions to the greatest weight.

The two following chapters treat of the drama of Calderon's School, and the details of the old theatres; then two chapters are given to the historical and narrative poems of the period, in which the only well-known name among us is that of Alonzo de Ercilla, the author of the Araucana, the best perhaps of the heroic poems of Spain. The other species of poetry, the lyrical, satirical, pastoral, epigrammatic, didactic, and ballad compositions of the period, are discussed in four most important and interesting chapters. Romantic fiction, eloquence, historical composition, and didactic prose, exhaust the remaining portion of the history of the second period, the close of which was marked by the degradation of the country and the lamentable decay of literature, with the increasing servility and bigotry that marked the character of the court and the people. Mr. Ticknor points the moral of the whole, by the following striking remarks:—

"In any country, such a decay in the national character and power would be accompanied by a corresponding, if not an equal, decay in its literature: but in Spain, where both had always been so intimately connected, and where both had rested, in such a remarkable degree, on the same foundations, the wise who looked on from a distance could not fail to anticipate a rapid and disastrous decline of all that was intellectual and elegant. And so, in fact, it proved. The old religion of the country,—the most prominent of all the national characteristics,—the mighty impulse which, in the days of the Moors, had done everything but work miracles,—was now so perverted from its true character by the enormous growth of the intolerance which sprang up originally almost as a virtue, that it had become a means of oppression such as Europe had never before witnessed. Through the whole period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which we have just gone over,—from the fall of Granada to the extinction of the Austrian dynasty,—the Inquisition, as the grand exponent of the power of religion in Spain, had maintained, not only an uninterrupted authority, but, by constantly increasing its relations to the state, and lending itself more and more freely to the punishment of whatever was obnoxious to the government, had effectually broken down all that remained, from earlier days, of intellectual independence and manly freedom. But this was not done, and could not be done, without the assent of the great body of the people, or without such an active co-operation on the part of the government and the higher classes as brought degradation and ruin to all who shared in its spirit.

"Unhappily, this spirit, mistaken for the religion that had sustained them through their long-protracted contest with their infidel invaders, was all but

universal in Spain during this whole period. The first and the last of the House of Austria,—Charles the Fifth and the feeblest of his descendants,—if alike in nothing else, were alike in the zeal with which they sustained the Holy Office while they lived, and with which, by their testaments, they commended it to the support and veneration of their respective successors. Nor did the intervening kings show less deference to its authority. The first royal act of Philip the Second, when he came from the Low Countries to assume the crown of Spain, was to celebrate an *auto da fé* at Valladolid. When the young and gay daughter of Henry the Second of France arrived at Toledo, in 1560, that city offered an *auto da fé* as part of the rejoicings deemed appropriate to her wedding; and the same thing was done by Madrid, in 1632, for another French princess, when she gave birth to an heir to the crown;—odious proofs of the degree to which bigotry had stifled both the dictates of an enlightened reason and the common feelings of humanity.

"But in all this the people and their leaders rejoiced. When a nobleman, about to die for adherence to the Protestant faith, passed the balcony where Philip the Second sat in state, and appealed to him not to see his innocent subjects thus cruelly put to death, the monarch replied, that, if it were his own son, he would gladly carry the fagots for his execution; and the answer was received at the time, and recorded afterwards, as one worthy of the head of the mightiest empire in the world. And again, in 1680, when Charles the Second was induced to signify his desire to enjoy, with his young bride, the spectacle of an *auto da fé*, the artisans of Madrid volunteered in a body to erect the needful amphitheatre, and laboured with such enthusiasm, that they completed the vast structure in an incredibly short space of time; cheering one another at their work with devout exhortations, and declaring that, if the materials furnished them should fail, they would pull down their own houses in order to obtain what might be wanting to complete the holy task.

"Nor had the principle of loyalty, always so prominent in the Spanish character, become less perverted and mischievous than the religious principle. It offered its sincere homage alike to the cold severity of Philip the Second, to the weak bigotry of Philip the Third, to the luxurious selfishness of Philip the Fourth, and to the miserable imbecility of Charles the Second. The waste and profligacy of such royal favourites as the Duke of Lerma and the Count Duke Olivares, which ended in national bankruptcy and disgrace, failed seriously to affect the sentiments of the people towards the person of the monarch, or to change their persuasions that their earthly sovereign was to be addressed in words and with feelings similar to those with which they approached the Majesty of Heaven. * * * * * * * * * *

"It is this degradation of the loyalty and religion of the country, infecting as it did every part of the national character, which we have felt to be undermining the general culture of Spain during the seventeenth century; its workings being sometimes visible on the surface, and sometimes hidden by the vast and showy apparatus of despotism and superstition under which it was often concealed even from its victims. * * * At last, as we approach the conclusion of the century, the Inquisition and the despotism seem to be everywhere present, and to have cast their blight over everything. All the writers of the time yield to their influences, but none in a manner more painful to witness than Calderon and Solís; the two whose names close up the period, and leave so little to hope for the future. For the 'Autos' of Calderon and the 'History' of Solís were undoubtedly regarded, both by their authors and by the public, as works eminently religious in their nature; and the respect, and even reverence, with which each of these great men treated the wretched and imbecile Charles the Second, were as undoubtedly accounted to them by their contemporaries for religious loyalty and patriotism. At the present day, we cannot doubt that a literature which rests in any considerable degree on such foundations must be near to its fall."—Vol. iii, pp. 204–209.

The third period, commencing with the eighteenth century, is the last of this eventful history. It opened with the bloody scenes of the War of the Succession, in which the rival claims of the house of Austria and of the Bourbons for the crown of Spain were contested by Austria and her allies on the one side, and Louis the Fourteenth on the other, until the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, confirmed the claims of the Bourbons, and closed a struggle which had lighted the flames of war in both hemispheres. The establishment of a French prince on the Spanish throne naturally gave a controlling influence to French principles in the literature of the country. The reign of Philip the Fifth was signalized by the founding of a Spanish academy, modelled after that of France, which was established by Cardinal Richelieu, and the first great work undertaken by its members was the preparation of a national dictionary and grammar. This was followed by the foundation of the academy of Barcelona, and the academy of Spanish history, which dates from 1738, both important in their influence upon the state of literary culture in Spain. Mr. Ticknor justly says,—

"But such associations everywhere, though they may be useful and even important in their proper relations, can neither create a new literature for a country, nor, where the old literature is seriously decayed, do much to revive it. The Spanish academies were no exceptions to this remark. All elegant culture had so nearly disappeared before the accession of the Bourbons, and there was such an insensibility to its value in those classes of society where it should have been most cherished, that it was plain the resuscitation must be the work of time, and that the land must long lie fallow before another harvest could be gathered in. During the entire reign of Philip the Fifth, therefore,—a reign which, including the few months of his nominal abdication in favour of his son, extends to forty-six years,—we shall find undeniable traces of this unhappy state of things; few authors appearing who deserve to be named at all, and still fewer who demand a careful notice."—Vol. iii, p. 224.

In fact, this was the time in which the enfeebled genius of Spain yielded to the sway of France. French criticism, translations of the French authors, especially under the controlling influence of Luzan, superseded the old Castilian spirit, as well as expelled the bad taste which had infected the national literature from the time of Góngora. In connexion with this subject Mr. Ticknor makes the following remarks:—

"All the great sciences, both moral and physical, that had been for a hundred years advancing with an accelerated speed everywhere else throughout Europe, had been unable to force their way through the jealous guard which ecclesiastical and political despotism had joined to keep forever watching the passes of the Pyrenees. From the days of the *Comuneros* and the Reformation of Luther, when religious sects began to discuss the authority of princes and the rights of the people, and when the punishment of opinion became the settled policy of the Spanish state, everything in the shape of instruction that was not approved by the Church was treated as dangerous. * * * * *

"The Spanish universities, in fact, still taught from the same books they had used in the time of Cardinal Ximenes, and by the same methods. The scholastic philosophy was still regarded as the highest form of merely intellectual culture. Diego de Torres, afterwards distinguished for his knowledge in the physical sciences,—a man born and educated at Salamanca in the first half of the century,—says, that, after he had been five years in one of the schools of the university there, it was by accident he learned the existence of the mathematical sciences. And, fifty years later, Blanco White declares that, like most of his countrymen, he should have completed his studies in theology at the university of Seville, without so much as hearing of elegant literature, if he had not chanced to make the acquaintance of a person who introduced him to a partial knowledge of Spanish poetry.

* * * * "Few persons in Spain in the beginning of the eighteenth century were so well informed as not to believe in astrology, and fewer still doubted the disastrous influence of comets and eclipses. The system of Copernicus was not only discouraged, but forbidden to be taught, on the ground that it was contrary to Scripture. The philosophy of Bacon, with all the consequences that had followed it, was unknown. It was not, perhaps, true, that the healing waters of knowledge had been rolled backward to their fountain, but no spirit of power had descended to trouble them, and they had now been kept stagnant till life was no longer in them, and life could no longer be supported by them. It seemed as if the faculties of thinking and reasoning, in the better sense of these words, were either about to be entirely lost in Spain, or to be partly preserved only in a few scattered individuals, who, by the civil and ecclesiastical tyranny that oppressed them, would be prevented from diffusing even the imperfect light which they themselves enjoyed."—Vol. iii, pp. 239–241.

An attempt was made to remedy the state of things described in the preceding passage, by a learned monk named Benito Feyjoó, born in 1676. This task was accomplished by the publication of two miscellaneous works, called "The Critical Theatre," and "Learned and Inquiring Letters," the last of which was finished in 1760. These works produced an immense effect upon the country, notwithstanding the vehement opposition their author encountered from the prevailing bigotry of the people, and the still dangerous power of the Inquisition; "and when he died," Mr. Ticknor writes, "in 1764, he could look back and see that he had imparted a movement to the human mind in Spain, which, though it was far from raising Spanish philosophy to a level with that of France and England, had yet given it a right direction, and done more for the intellectual life of his country than had been done for a century."

In the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, some improvement upon the state of things in the time of his predecessor appeared, though Spain was still far behind the other nations of Europe. The reign of his successor, Charles the Third, witnessed the diminution of the power of the Pope in Spain, and is distinguished by the memorable fact that the last person who perished at the stake by ecclesiastical authority, was burnt for witchcraft at Seville in 1781. The external

prosperity of the country was increased by the judicious measures of the king and his able ministry. In this reign flourished the celebrated Father Isla, whose "History of the Famous Preacher, Father Gerund," made, by its satirical yet true delineation of the popular pulpit orators of the times, a profound impression, and introduced a reform in the style of preaching. He wrote other works, besides amusing himself with a translation of Le Sage's Gil Blas, which he declared to have been stolen from the manuscript of an Andalusian advocate. The controversy to which this question of original authorship gave rise is well known, particularly from a very able article published in the North American Review, by Mr. Alexander Everett, while he was Minister to Spain, and since republished in his Collective Works. The other principal writers belonging to this and the following reign are the two Moratins, Cadahalso, Melendez Valdes, Jovellanos, Quintana, and Iriarte. We had marked for citation a fine passage relating to the calamitous reign of Ferdinand the Seventh, but find room only for its concluding paragraph. After remarking that the masses in Spain have been less corrupted by the revolutions of the last century than those of any of the surrounding nations, Mr. Ticknor proceeds:—

"They are the same race of men, who twice drove back the crescent from the shores of Europe, and twice saved from shipwreck the great cause of Christian civilization. They have shown the same spirit at Saragossa that they showed two thousand years before at Saguntum. They are not a ruined people. And, while they preserve the sense of honour, the sincerity, and the contempt for what is sordid and base, that have so long distinguished their national character, they cannot be ruined.

"Nor, I trust, will such a people—still proud and faithful in its less favoured masses, if not in those portions whose names dimly shadow forth the glory they have inherited—fail to create a literature appropriate to a character in its nature so poetical. The old ballads will not indeed return; for the feelings that produced them are with by-gone things. The old drama will not be revived; society, even in Spain, would not now endure its excesses. The old chroniclers themselves, if they should come back, would find no miracles of valour or superstition to record, and no credulity fond enough to believe them. Their poets will not again be monks and soldiers, as they were in the days when the influences of the old religious wars and hatreds gave both their brightest and darkest colours to the elements of social life; for the civilization that struck its roots into that soil has died out for want of nourishment. But the Spanish people —that old Castilian race, that came from the mountains and filled the whole land with their spirit—have, I trust, a future before them not unworthy of their ancient fortunes and fame; a future full of materials for a generous history, and a poetry still more generous; happy if they have been taught, by the experience of the past, that, while reverence for whatever is noble and worthy is of the essence of poetical inspiration, and while religious faith and feeling constitute its true and sure foundations, there is yet a loyalty to mere rank and place, which degrades alike its possessor and him it would honour, and a blind submission to priestly authority, which narrows and debases the nobler faculties of the soul more than any other, because it sends

its poison deeper. But if they have failed to learn this solemn lesson, inscribed everywhere, as by the hand of Heaven, on the crumbling walls of their ancient institutions, then is their honourable history, both in civilization and letters, closed forever."—Vol. iii, p. 351.

We have thus surveyed a work whose foundations are laid broad and deep in the most comprehensive learning. The materials are wrought together with consummate art, and the finished structure will stand secure against the attacks of time. The political fortunes of the Spanish people, the intellectual developments, and the religious influences, which have marked the successive stages of their historical career, are traced in action and reaction upon each other. Heroic pictures of individual and national character, vast achievements of genius, seemingly able to bring within its grasp the whole world of human thought, have been swiftly followed by the dreary waste of bigotry, whose breath withered and blighted the fairest flowers as they sprang from the rich soil of the national heart. Man in his greatness and in his weakness is here impressively drawn; and we rise from the contemplation of the picture with the deep and solemn feelings which such tragical contrasts, so vividly set before us, cannot fail to inspire. The example at once instructs, warns, and purifies. The sadness which fills us as we draw nigh the end, is somewhat heightened by the hope, so beautifully expressed in the earnest closing sentences, of a nobler future for the Castilian race, and for the romantic Spanish land. Gladly sharing in this hope, we shut the book over which we have so long delightedly lingered, and take leave of the subject which has stirred up so many recollections of early studies.

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## Art. IX.—LIFE OF REV. JOHN COLLINS.

*A Sketch of the Life of Rev. John Collins, late of the Ohio Conference.* Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Power, 18mo., pp. 122.

This tribute to one of the most able, faithful, and successful of the pioneers of Methodism in the Great West is ascribed to the Hon. John M'Lean, of the Supreme Court of the United States. And it is not more interesting as an account of the religious experience and successful ministry of one of the most gifted preachers of his time, (for such, by all testimony, John Collins was,) than as a proof that the highest position and the most engrossing duties of public life are not incompatible with an humble, earnest, and devoted love for Christ and his cause.

Born in New-Jersey in 1769, Mr. Collins was converted in 1794, and soon commenced preaching. In 1803 he removed to Ohio, and for some years preached with great success as a local preacher. We quote the following ac-

count of the first Methodist sermon preached in Cincinnati, not only for its intrinsic interest, but also as an exhibition of the simple yet earnest Christian feeling of the author:—

"Mr. Collins preached, in 1804, the first Methodist sermon that was ever preached in Cincinnati, to twelve persons in an upper room. Who can read this and not think of that upper room in which the disciples of the Saviour met? An upper room, being retired, seemed to be a favourite place in which to worship in the introduction of Christianity. And this was not limited to Judea. One person, a most estimable lady, [Mrs. Dennison,] is still living, and is a member of the Church, who heard that sermon. Her father occupied a small house on Main-street, (at that time there were no large houses in Cincinnati,) and kept an article for sale which Mr. Collins called to purchase. He inquired if there were any Methodists in town, and on being informed that the wife of the gentleman was a member, and that he had been reared in the Church, Mr. Collins clasped him in his arms with joy. And on being invited to preach, he consented. Word was sent to the neighbours, and twelve persons were collected, the same evening, in the small upper room. Mr. Collins took for his text a part of the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of the sixteenth chapter of Mark, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.' In a short time after the commencement of the discourse, the preacher and his congregation were in tears, which continued during the whole course of the sermon. Under this discourse one individual received his conviction, and his conversion soon followed. He afterward became a local preacher.

"On his departure the next morning, Mr. Collins promised to influence the Rev. John Sale to visit them for the purpose of organizing a Church. He came in a short time, and formed a class having eight members, and appointed Mr. Gibson its leader. The above lady is the only survivor of that class. This was the beginning of Methodism in Cincinnati. Mr. Gibson was the only person in the Church whose circumstances enabled him to entertain the preacher.

"Will the reader linger a moment on that remarkable congregation of twelve; not remarkable for their positions in society, but as the first assemblage of Methodists, to hear a sermon by a Methodist preacher, in a town which, in a few years, was to become noted for Methodism. In the small apartment, lighted with one or two flickering candles, sat the twelve. The preacher performed his duty most faithfully and affectionately. Many tears were shed. Some wept under a conviction of their sins, others from a joyful hope of the future. The speaker had a word for each hearer, and it took effect. There were no dry eyes, nor unfeeling hearts, in the congregation. How small and how humble was this beginning! and yet who can limit the consequences which followed it! One step led to another, and thus a chain of events succeeded, and are still in progress at this hour. A pebble is thrown into the ocean, which causes an undulation of the water to an almost unlimited extent. And is it not so in the moral world? An impulse for good is given; it gathers strength in purpose and in numbers, until it bears down and overcomes all opposition.

"When states or empires rise in grandeur, we naturally recur to their earliest history with interest. We want to see and comprehend the germ, the embryo of that which has become great. And we are edified and instructed by the wonderful progression of events. All men feel the force of this important fact; and interesting as it is, in relation to the progress of states, it becomes still more so in relation to the progress of Christianity. It retains the same life-giving principle which was so gloriously manifested in the days of the apostles. However humble and unpromising, to all human appearance, the instruments may be in this great cause, their faithful labours are never in vain. What could have been more unpromising than the attempt of twelve fishermen and a tent-maker, to establish this system at the first, against the prejudices, the talents, the learning, and the wealth of the world? But the seed was sown, and the harvest was glorious. And Christianity is still the same. There is a divinity in it, and because its progress is a standing miracle, it does not strike the world as miraculous. But what can be more miraculous than to change the current of the human heart, depraved and corrupt as it is? This is the greatest of all miracles. Had the miracle of healing all manner of diseases been continued, as in the days of the apostles, it would have been less striking than the changes which are daily witnessed."—Pp. 15–21.

In 1807 Mr. Collins joined the travelling connexion, in which he remained effective, with a brief interval of location, until 1836, when he was returned as superannuated. Almost everywhere his preaching was so abundantly accompanied by the Holy Spirit, that revivals of religion and the establishment of new churches followed his footsteps. His biographer gives the following sketch of his qualifications for the ministry:—

"Mr. Collins was not a classical scholar, but he was a deep thinker and an extensive reader. Very few equalled him in Biblical knowledge, and he had a general acquaintance with history and literature. His perceptions were remarkably acute, and his power of discrimination just and logical. His mind was so well balanced, that he had rarely, if ever, to regret what he had said or done. His nature was impulsive, but it was disciplined by grace and prudence. Though an acute logician, he did not care to treat his subjects in the most approved rules of scholastic discussions. He was a profound judge of human nature, and, in his addresses, he aimed more at the logic of the heart than of the head. His manner was entirely free from all affectation. His countenance showed a glow of affectionate benevolence and earnestness, which, if equalled, was never excelled; and the silvery, plaintive tones of his voice at once captivated the heart. He never preached without shedding many tears himself, and he almost always had a weeping congregation. His sermons did not consist so much of an inductive chain of reasoning, as of the most striking illustrations of his subjects by facts drawn forth appropriately, and most impressively detailed. Many men of the most enlarged experience and observation have said, 'We have heard greater preachers than Mr. Collins, but we never heard one we liked so well.'

"He was not a Paul nor a Cephas; but he was like the beloved apostle John. His theme was love—love to God and man. His acquaintances, in going to hear him, expected a feast; and they were seldom disappointed. The entertainment afforded so many delightful dishes, so tastily got up, and so admirably suited to the appetite and the occasion, that those who attended were generally instructed and delighted; and it may be said with as much truth in regard to him as to any other man, that no one ever heard him without forming resolutions to reform his life. His mind, not unfrequently, became full of the inspiration of his subject; and on such occasions he rose to a height of impressive eloquence which was unsurpassed. These were never premeditated. They were of a character which defied all ingenuity and study. They were so spiritual in their conception, and so lofty in their description, as to seem to have no connexion with material things. And the gush of tears which always accompanied these elevations, made them irresistible. No one, for the time being, could find it in his heart to resist such appeals. He yielded at the moment, not only willingly, but penitently."—Pp. 42–45.

The incident narrated in the following passage gives occasion for some remarks on *special Providence*, which we take great pleasure in quoting:—

"In the early settlement of the country, Mr. Collins was riding up the Ohio river, some thirty or forty miles above Cincinnati, in company with a friend, when they came to the forks of the road: the left-hand road led to their place of destination; the right was more circuitous, and increased the distance; but Mr. Collins, against remonstrance, preferred the latter, from an impression which he did not particularly define. It led to the mouth of Red Oak, where the town of Ripley is now situated. As they approached this point they saw a funeral procession, which they immediately joined, and followed it to the grave. The corpse was the wife of a man who was an avowed infidel. After the grave was covered, Mr. Collins made known to the people that he was a preacher of the Gospel, and would then preach a sermon to all who should remain. No one left the ground. He read, for his text, a part of the twenty-fifth verse of the eleventh chapter of St. John: 'I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live;' and he preached with an irresistible power. The solemnity of the occasion, and the circumstances which brought him to the place, added, no doubt, to the effect of the discourse. No one could apply circumstances more forcibly than Mr. Collins.

There were many tears and sobs in the congregation. The infidel husband was overwhelmed; and from that day and hour he renounced infidelity, shortly after became a member of the Church, and lived to adorn the Christian religion.

"Mr. Collins believed in a special Providence, and he did not confer with flesh and blood, under a strong impulse of duty. And he yielded to the gentler emotions of the Spirit for good, even though he might not clearly see how the good was to be effected. The inclination to take the right-hand road was prompted, as he no doubt believed, by Providence, of which he could entertain no doubt when he saw the funeral procession, and preached to the mourning crowd. And is this too small a matter for Deity? Peter was called to preach to Cornelius; and his objections were overcome in an extraordinary manner. Philip, being prompted by the Spirit, joined himself to the chariot of the eunuch, and 'preached to him Jesus.' And who, that believes the Bible, does not believe that the same Spirit operates, more or less, upon Christians of the present day? The mode of its action may not seem to be miraculous; but it is spiritually discerned. It is a divine agency—that spirit, or light, a portion of which is given to every man. It leads to good actions and happy results. And we are commanded not to 'quench the Spirit.' Every religion, without this spirit, is cold and lifeless. John says: 'Believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they are of God.' The revelator was 'in the spirit on the Lord's day.' The apostles, 'after they came to Mysia, assayed to go into Bythinia; but the Spirit suffered them not.'

"This doctrine is Scriptural; and it affords the sweetest consolation to the Christian. He can readily believe, if a 'sparrow falls not to the ground without his notice,' and the 'very hairs of his head are numbered,' that there is a special providence in his ways. And this encourages him to be firm under the most trying emergencies."—Pp. 62–66.

Scattered through the work are several very suggestive passages in regard to the duties, responsibilities, and rewards of the Christian minister. From among them we select the following:—

"Who can estimate the good that may be done by a devoted minister of the Gospel? Whether at home or abroad, on a journey, or engaged in his pastoral labour, every day brings to him new duties and privileges. The dawn of every morning is new to himself and to the world, and it constitutes a new chapter in the great drama of life. The sun rises to its zenith and then declines, as it has done since the beginning of time. How numerous and important are the events of each day! Physical nature, true to its laws, moves onward in its infinite modes of operation; but moral agency affords a theme of contemplation, of far higher and deeper importance than the laws of matter, whether applied to this globe, or to the endless systems of the universe. On this moral agency is founded our accountability, and the day of judgment. And each accountable individual, every day of his life, adds something to that record by which he shall be judged. Is this, indeed, true? It is, if the Scriptures be true. What importance is thus given to the events of each day! and how little do we reflect upon it!

"But the pious minister of the Gospel, who has given up all for Christ, improves every hour in every day, in recommending the religion he professes. He does this in his appearance, in his words, and in his acts; and the impulse thus given increases with time. In this way the works of many are seen and felt, long after their acts have been forgotten by the living. But in the day of judgment, nothing shall be lost. All things will then be made manifest in the presence of the human race. What a glorious reward will await the faithful minister!"—Pp. 89–91.

On the qualifications *essential* to the preacher of the Gospel, the sentiments of this writer may be of use to some who are getting wiser than their fathers:—

"The man who aspires to eminence, must consider his work only begun when he leaves college. He has laid a foundation for a structure, which it will require his whole life to complete. But if he rest upon his college course, in a few years he will forget almost all that is valuable which he has learned. To avoid this, he must constantly add to his stock of information. But the man who cannot claim these

advantages, is often more studious in the acquisition of knowledge, from a consciousness of his deficiency. And this applies especially to the itinerant members of the Methodist Church. They are in the daily practice of preaching to a different congregation, which requires the exercise of their talents, and urges them to the attainment of knowledge. Facts will show how much many of these men, in vigorous eloquence and power, surpass those who have passed through college. Every man must make himself; the college cannot do this for him. Some who had very few advantages in early life, may be most emphatically said to be great men. Indeed, every man who becomes eminent, must be, in a substantial sense, a self-made man.

"Bishop M'Kendree was not a classical scholar; and yet there has not appeared in the Methodist connexion a finer model as a preacher. He was eloquent, in the true sense of the term. Few men ever filled the pulpit with greater dignity and usefulness; and the beautiful simplicity of his sermons was, perhaps, unequalled in our country.

"Classical learning is of great value, and should be acquired, if practicable, by every individual who aims at a professional life. But this learning does not qualify an individual for the high duties of the pulpit or the bar. There must be a deeper knowledge, which can only be attained by much reading and mature reflection. An individual who is brought in contact with men, and whose aim it is to influence them, must become acquainted with the sympathies of human nature. And he must himself possess those sympathies in a high degree, or his efforts will be in vain. How often have we seen men in the pulpit, with great zeal, and in a vociferous manner, speak for hours without producing any other effect than weariness on their hearers! Such speakers, however zealous, are strangers to those gushing emotions of the heart which, with an electric effect, are imparted to the auditory. Without these, no man can be eloquent. He may be instructive; he may string his sentences together, and embody all the figures of rhetoric, but he can never reach and overcome the citadel of the heart. And unless he can do this, he can never become a successful instrument of reform."—Pp. 46–49.

We should be glad to quote more largely from this little book did our space allow, but we hope our readers will all procure and enjoy it for themselves.

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## Art. X.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) Messrs. Lane & Scott have just issued a small and beautiful devotional volume, entitled "*Living Waters, drawn from the Fountains of Holy Scripture and Sacred Poetry, for Daily Use*," (18mo., pp. 200.) It contains a passage of Scripture and a stanza of verse for every morning and evening throughout the year,—the texts being alphabetically arranged under each month. The utility of such manuals has long been known; and this is a very neat and convenient one. It has the novel advantage of an Index of subjects at the end, thus making it serve for a collection of Scripture promises.

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(2.) Messrs. Huntington & Savage (New-York) are indefatigable and deservedly successful school-book publishers. So far as we have examined their publications, there has not been a *bad* one among them. This course, continued, will make their imprint of itself a recommendation for a book. They have just issued a new edition of Burritt's "*Geography of the Heavens*, revised and corrected by O. M. Mitchell, A. M., Director of the Cincinnati Observatory," with a new Atlas to illustrate the text, containing twenty-four

star-charts. To adapt the work to the present state of the science, Prof. Mitchell has in great part re-written it; and the charts have been prepared *expressly* for it. The same publishers have sent us Woodbury's "*Youth's Song-Book for Schools, Classes, and the Social Circle*," whereof, not being musical, we cannot speak with any knowledge.

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(3.) Messrs. Harper & Brothers are now publishing in numbers the "*Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, by his son, Rev. C. C. Southey, M. A," to be completed in six parts, of which we have received two, carrying the biography down to 1805. It is hardly possible that any of the subsequent numbers can be equal in interest to the *first*, which contains an auto-biography (in that delicious prose of which Southey was the rarest master) of the first fifteen years of his life. The change in passing from it to his son's writing, is like the transition from a smooth highway to a cross-road full of ruts and stones. But the son has wisely chosen to write very little; the book, as far as we have it, is made up mostly of Southey's letters,—and delightful gossiping, easy, erudite letters they are. Till we have the whole, we have nothing to say in the way of criticism; thanks are all we have to utter for so rich a feast as the book has afforded us. We quote one passage for the benefit of our readers—and our own. Remember that Southey wrote more reviews perhaps than any man of his time, and then see what he says in a letter of March 30th, 1804:

"I look upon the invention of reviews to be the worst injury which literature has received since its revival. People formerly took up a book to learn from it, and with a feeling of respectful thankfulness to the man who had spent years in acquiring that knowledge, which he communicates to them in a few hours; now they only look for faults. Everybody is a critic; that is, every reader imagines himself superior to the author, and reads his book that he may censure it, not that he may improve by it."—P. 177.

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(4.) "*History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from the Organization of the Missionary Society to the Present Time*, by Rev. W. P. Strickland, A.M." (Cincinnati, Swormstedt & Power, 1850: 12mo., pp. 338.) A record, in permanent form, of the Missionary operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has begun to be a necessity; the Reports of former years being now quite rare. This volume digests the substance of these Reports, and a great deal of other matter, under appropriate heads, into a connected narrative of the whole work. It is divided into twelve chapters. The *first* gives an account of the organization of the society. We should have been glad to see here an account of the "Missionary Society within the bounds of the Philadelphia Conference," which was formed before the present Parent Society. Chapters II–IV. treat of the *home* work, namely, the missions to destitute points within the bounds of the several conferences, and the missions among the Indian tribes. Chapters V–X. are occupied with the *foreign* missions in Africa, Oregon, South America, Texas, and China. The Mission to the Germans of our own country is exhibited separately in the ninth chapter. The twelfth chapter is an urgent appeal in behalf of missions; and an

Appendix contains several valuable speeches and other missionary documents. We wish we could finish our summary by mentioning a copious *Index*, but that feature, so essential to the usefulness of a book of reference like this, is unfortunately wanting. We hope the author will supply the lack for his next edition,—and we trust that *many* editions may be called for. The book should be read by every Methodist minister, and placed in every Methodist family.

(5.) Among recent biographies we have been more edified by none than by "*Memoirs of Mrs. Angeline B. Sears, with Extracts from her Correspondence*, by Mrs. M. Hamline." (Cincinnati, Swormstedt & Power: New-York, Lane & Scott: 18mo., pp. 294.) There was nothing very remarkable in Mrs. Sears' experience until the last year of her life,—but that year was full of blessing to her; and the modest record of it given in this little book will, we trust, be made a blessing to the Church.

(6.) "*Sketches of Minnesota, the New-England of the West*, by E. S. Seymour," (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 12mo., pp. 281.) The expansion of our *country* is almost fearful. Here is a new book about a far-off land in the North-West, of which but a few years ago less was known than of the antipodes; and the book tells us not only of surveys and pre-emptions, but of towns and villages, of churches and schools, springing up as by magic. The writer is evidently unpractised in author-craft, but he sees well, and describes well what he sees. The book is divided into two parts, of which the first gives the history of the territory now known as Minnesota, and the second contains the author's itinerary through it. We commend it to all who think of emigration to the great North-West.

(7.) "*Ireland as I saw it: the Character, Condition, and Prospects of the People*, by W. S. Balch," (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 1850: 12mo., pp. 432,) is a sketch prepared, we should think, in haste, of a rapid journey through certain parts of Ireland. The book is too large for the matter. But the author has a quick eye, and he has given some very graphic descriptions, as well as shrewd remarks, upon the state of Ireland and its causes.

(8.) "*An Historical Geography of the Bible*, by Rev. Lyman Coleman," (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co., 1850: 12mo., pp. 513,) is a work prepared with truly German skill and diligence, and at the same time adapted to practical use in families, as well as in school and College classes. The results of modern research in sacred Geography and Topography are set forth *in connexion with the history* of each locality; thereby securing a double association to interest the student, and to fix what he reads in his memory. Appended to the book are valuable historical tables, with Indexes to the passages of Scripture quoted,

a general Index, and, what is of special value, an Index of places, with references to their localities on the maps. The maps themselves are not old ones reproduced, as is too often the case in books of this class, but have been carefully prepared anew, on the basis of Kiepert's Bibel Atlas. The book is one of the few that we can commend without any reservation.

(9.) Mr. G. P. R. James, who has written so many scores of novels, has of late betaken himself, with his wonted industry, to *history*. But whether his latest book, "*Dark Scenes of History*," (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 419,) be history or fiction, it puzzles us to say. On the whole we are inclined to think it *is* history, with just as little of the novel-painting as one so long used to making pictures could well lay on. The "Scenes" are sketches of those dark events in human history which are associated with the names of Herod, Arthur of Brittany, Perkin Warbeck, and Wallenstein; of the barbarous cruelties by which the proud order of the Templars was finally extinguished, and of the not less barbarous persecutions endured by the Albigenses. Altogether the book, truthful though it be, is *too* dark for our taste. It affords proof, however, that the horrors of history in reality transcend those of fiction.

(10.) "*The Early Conflicts of Christianity*, by Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, D. D." (New-York, D. Appleton & Co., 12mo., pp. 288.) The plan of this book is admirably conceived. The outward obstacles which Christianity had to encounter in the outset, in the way of persecution and oppression, have been often detailed. This book, on the other hand, undertakes to sketch the spiritual and intellectual enemies which Christ's truth had to encounter, and exhibits them under the five heads of Judaism, Grecian Philosophy, the Licentious Spirit of the Age, Barbarism, and the Pagan Mythology. Dr. Kip, in his Preface, characterizes the work as a "gleaning from the writings of those who have gone before,"—and he was wise in so doing; for he owes a great deal, both of substance and language, to the authors whom he cites, if we may judge from a glance at one or two of his references. But, as a well-conceived and well-prepared compilation, the book has merit.

(11.) Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have commenced issuing "*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon," with Milman's Notes. It will be completed in six volumes, duodecimo, uniform with their neat edition of Hume; and will be the most portable and convenient edition of Gibbon ever issued. A new and copious Index will be added.

(12.) The sixth and last volume of "*Hume's History of England*" (Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, 12mo., pp. 554) has appeared. It ends with a complete Index to the whole work. We renew our recommendation of this edition as one of surpassing neatness, cheapness, and convenience.

(13.) "*A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures*, by ALEXANDER M'CLELLAND, Prof. of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at New-Brunswick," (New-York, Carters, 12mo., pp. 236.) Some years ago we read with great pleasure Dr. M'Clelland's brief "Manual of Sacred Interpretation;" and we are glad to see it again in this new and improved form. The portion on the Canon is new, and contains, within the space of a few pages, the substance of the proof of the canonicity of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments. The whole book is marked by strong sense and direct logical thinking. It is well adapted for the use of Christians in general, as well as of junior theological students,—indeed it is the *only* book on the subject suited to general reading.

(14.) "*The East; Sketches of Travel in Egypt and the Holy Land*, by REV. J. A. SPENCER, M. A." (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 1850: 8vo., pp. 503.) Mr. Spencer spent six months, it appears, in Egypt and the Holy Land, and this ample volume is the record of what he saw. It contains also a good deal of information, topographical, antiquarian, and other, gathered from somewhat extended reading; though it does not pretend to learning, or to any discussion founded on researches into original sources of knowledge. The narration is plain and unadorned; but not destitute of clearness, and occasionally approaching to graphic descriptive power. Yet, on the whole, Mr. Spencer's style is too heavy for this species of writing. A book of travels intended for general readers, as this is, needs other qualities than honesty and industry, indispensable as these qualities are. Mr. Spencer sides with Dr. Olin and Mr. Williams against Dr. Robinson's conclusions with regard to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, though he adds no new elements for the settlement of the question. Mr. Putnam has done his part towards the getting out of the book in that style of elegance and ample illustration which he has introduced—almost as a new era—into American publishing.

(15.) WE have received the first volume of "*Mahomet and his Successors*, by WASHINGTON IRVING," (New-York, G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 373.) Mr. Irving, with characteristic modesty, says in his preface that the book "bears the type of a work intended for a family library, in constructing which the whole aim of the writer has been to digest into an easy, perspicuous, and flowing narrative the admitted facts concerning Mahomet, with such legends and traditions as have been wrought into the whole system of Oriental literature; and at the same time to give such a summary of his faith as might be sufficient for the more general reader." The book fulfils this promise. It is written in Irving's usual style of transparent clearness; it develops the history of Mahomet's mind and character with simplicity and probability; and the narrative of his gradual self-deception and of the growth of evil passions in his heart is well sustained. But the author's estimate of Mahomet's character is, in our view, altogether too favourable; and in this, as in most of his writings, there is no sufficiently decided manifestation of a *Christian* element.

(16.) *The "Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art*, edited by Prof. S. F. BAIRD, of Dickinson College," (New-York, R. Garrigue,) has now reached its sixth monthly issue. The subjects embraced in the letter-press of the fifth and sixth parts are Magnetism, Electricity, Meteorology, Chemistry, and Mineralogy; and of these, as of the topics heretofore treated, condensed and accurate *treatises*—not mere fragments—are presented. We find all our statements in regard to the ability of Prof. Baird, the translator and editor, fully confirmed; and the general voice of the press attests the ample success of his labours thus far. He is assisted in the department of the Natural Sciences by Messrs. Agassiz, Haldeman, and other eminent scientific men. One point in the publisher's statement should call the special attention of those of our readers who possess the Encyclopædia Americana:—

"The plates of this Encyclopædia were originally designed for illustrations to the Conversations-Lexicon of Brockhaus, which is the original of the Encyclopædia Americana. The plates of the Iconographic Encyclopædia will therefore be found by all owners of the Encyclopædia Americana an invaluable supplement to this latter work, while the elaborate text, which is published with the valuable assistance of the most distinguished American scholars, makes the Iconographic Encyclopædia a complete work in itself, being not merely explanatory of the designs of the plates, but embracing full and original treatises of the sciences illustrated."

The price of the Iconographic Encyclopædia is only $1 per part, including eighty pages of letter-press and twenty engravings; and, by a special arrangement with the Post-Office Department, single parts of the Encyclopædia can be forwarded now through the Post-Office; postage only twelve and a half cents.

(17.) WE have seldom read a more *earnest* sermon than one entitled "*The Kingdom of God: a Discourse preached before the Synod* of New-Jersey, Oct. 17th, 1849, by C. K. IMBRIE, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Rahway, N. J." (New-York, Franklin Knight, 18mo., pp. 147.) It is an urgent appeal for the study of the *Second Advent*, as absolutely necessary to a just theory and practice in the work of Missions. It is written in the declamatory style so common among the advent writers as to be almost characteristic of the class; but is, nevertheless, pointed and well argued.

(18.) WE have received the first volume of "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of* THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., by his son-in-law, W. HANNA, LL. D.," (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 514.) The whole work is to be completed in three volumes, of which the first carries the biography down to the year 1814. In point of *religious* interest, this volume will probably not be surpassed by those that are to follow, as it contains the account of that remarkable transition in Dr. Chalmers' religious life—his *conversion*, we may with all propriety call it—in which he passed from a clergyman observing decent proprieties and neglecting vital religion, into a fervent, fearless, earnest preacher of the peculiar and essential doctrines of evangelical Christianity. Our readers must not suppose that because so much has been said and written of Chalmers, they will find in this biography no new revelations of his genial honesty and simplicity of character, of his straightforward directness in the path

of duty, and of his humble consecration of intellectual power of the highest class on the altar of his Lord and Master. We shall await the appearance of the remaining volumes with eagerness.

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(19.) We have several times mentioned the neat edition of school classics edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, now in course of republication by Messrs. Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia. Another volume of the series has just appeared, namely, "*M. T. Ciceronis Orationes Selectæ*, XII," (18mo., pp. 300.) We need add nothing to our commendation, before expressed, both of the plan of the series and of its execution.

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(20.) A judicious friend, who is at the head of a large school, told us a few weeks since that we had spoken too strongly in favour of a certain elementary French grammar "as the best extant," inasmuch as Pinney's books were "better." The publishers (Messrs. Huntington & Savage) have since sent us Pinney's, namely, the "*First Book in French*," (18mo., pp. 182;) the "*Practical French Grammar*," (12mo., pp. 400;) and the "*Progressive French Reader*," (12mo., pp. 277.) We find these books to be excellent applications of the oral method, and to contain also a more systematic and progressive exposition of the grammar than Ollendorff or Manesca.

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(21.) Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have published a new modification of "*Ollendorff's Method*" as applied to French, prepared by M. Value, long known as a successful teacher of French. The lessons are divided into shorter portions, and numerous additions made, among them Mr. Value's own system of French pronunciation, his grammatical synopsis, and a new Index. We have examined the book with some care, and think it can hardly fail to be a successful manual in the hands of a good teacher.

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(22.) A new elementary book on Natural Philosophy should have strong claims to justify its appearance after the excellent works of Prof. Olmsted and Prof. Johnston, so recently laid before the public. We have therefore looked with some care into "*Elements of Natural Philosophy, designed as a Text-Book for Academies, High-Schools, and Colleges*, by Alonzo Gray, A.M." (New-York, Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 405,) and feel ourselves entitled to bid it welcome. It shows everywhere the mark of thorough working out, and that with a definite view to practical use in the school-room. For this purpose it has passed through an unusual, but very useful process—the printed sheets having been used in class-instruction before the edition was put to press. A good peculiarity of the work is a summary proposition, or propositions, of the substance of each section, placed at the head of the section. It also contains a large stock of examples for practice. The book deserves a wide circulation.

(23.) The pleasantest, if not the most useful, books of modern times are the volumes of collected essays of the ablest writers in the several Reviews. A new one has been added to the list in "*Historical Studies*, by G. W. Greene," (New-York, Putnam, 12mo., pp. 467.) All the papers in this volume (except one) have appeared at intervals in the North American Review, forming the able and attractive series of articles on Italian subjects which has reflected so much credit upon that journal.

(24.) Messrs. Harper & Brothers have done many wonders in the way of cheap book-publishing; but they have now capped the climax in commencing the publication of "*Hume's History of England*," in a series of fine duodecimo volumes, of which the first has appeared. It is in every respect, paper, printing, binding, and all, a well-executed book, and it is sold at the price of *forty cents!* The whole work will be completed in six volumes at the same price. They purpose to print Gibbon and Macaulay in the same form, and at the same prices. That no money will be made by the publishers is very certain; but the *public* will gain fine editions of these great histories at prices merely nominal.

(25.) We have received and carefully examined a copy of Sartain's picture of the "*Death-Bed of Wesley.*" From some notices in the newspapers we had expected to find the print a total failure, but our examination has most agreeably disappointed us. The general impression of the picture is very striking, and though some of the less important figures are not worked out so carefully as in the large London engraving, the *principal* feature, the dying patriarch, is, as it appears to us, decidedly better than in the English print. Both are magnificent engravings, and there is ample room for the encouragement of both in the wide community of American Methodism. The remarkable cheapness of Sartain's puts it within the reach of even very limited means.

(26.) Too late for careful examination we have received an "*Essay on Christian Union*, by Charles Adams, with an Introduction by Rev. Thomas De Witt, D. D." (New-York, Samuel Hueston, 18mo., pp. 169.) At present we can only chronicle its appearance. The first article in the present number of this journal will afford some notion of the author's interest in the subject, and of his mode of handling it.

Of the following pamphlets, essays, sermons, &c., we regret that we are unable to give anything more than the titles:—

Auricular Confession in the Protestant Episcopal Church; considered in a Series of Letters addressed to a Friend in North Carolina, by a Protestant Episcopalian.

A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, by the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D., Bishop of North Carolina.

An Address delivered at the Fifth Anniversary of the Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa., July 18th, 1849, by Hon. GEORGE W. WOODWARD.

Adam and Christ Contrasted: a Discourse, showing that Christ hath given Man a better Probation than that which he lost through Adam, by Rev. DANIEL WISE, A. M., Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Fall River, Mass.

The Able Minister of the New-Testament: an Anniversary Discourse, delivered before the Literary Societies of the Methodist General Biblical Institute, at Concord, New Hampshire, Nov. 7th, 1849, by Rev. D. W. CLARK, A. M., Pastor of the Vestry-Street Methodist Episcopal Church, New-York City.

Discourse on History, as a Branch of the National Literature; delivered before the Belles Lettres Society of Dickinson College, by JOB R. TYSON, an Honorary Member.

Juvenile Depravity and Crime in our City. A Sermon, by THOMAS L. HARRIS, Minister of the Independent Christian Congregation, Broadway, N. Y., preached in the Stuyvesant Institute, Sunday Morning, Jan. 13th, 1850: with an Appendix embodying the recent Report of the Chief of Police concerning Destitution and Crime among Children in the City.

Social Classes: an Oration delivered before the General Union Philosophical Society of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Penn., July 11th, 1849, by Rev. GEORGE A. COFFEY, A. M., a Graduate Member. Washington, D. C.

The Nile, Pharaonic, Persian, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, Saracenic, Memlook, and Ottoman, its ancient Monuments, its Modern Scenery, and the varied Characteristics of its People, on the River, Alluvium, and Deserts, exhibited in a grand Panoramic Picture explained in Oral Lectures, embracing the latest Researches, Archæological, Biblical, and Historical; and illustrated by a Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, Mummies, with splendid Tableaux of Hieroglyphical Writings, Paintings, and Sculptures, by GEORGE R. GLIDDON.

The Fathers of New-England: an Oration delivered before the New-England Society of New-York, December 21, 1849, and published at their Request, by HORACE BUSHNELL.

The Study of Medicine; an Introductory Lecture, delivered in the Hall of the Philadelphia College of Medicine, October 15th, 1849, by THOMAS D. MITCHELL, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

The Chants of the Protestant Episcopal Church, pointed for Singing, by T. CARPENTER.

Prize Essay.—Nash, on Unconditional Perseverance.

*** Notices of a number of books are necessarily laid over for want of room.

## Art. XI.—MISCELLANIES.

[Under this title we purpose to publish, from time to time, short articles, either original, or selected from foreign journals, on topics of Biblical Literature and Theology. We shall also admit brief *letters*, from any who may be disposed to question statements of fact, doctrine, or interpretation found in the pages of this Journal.

### I.

### *Apparent Discrepancies in the Evangelists' Account of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection.*

The Gospel narratives, (Matt. xxviii, 1–15; Mark xvi, 2–11; Luke xxiv, 1–12; John xx, 1–18,) when carefully adjusted in their several incidents to each other, distinctly indicate that Mary Magdalene was not among the Galilean women who were favoured with the first sight of their risen Master, she having just then left them to call Peter and John; and that Christ afterward revealed himself to her separately. (See Robinson's Greek Harmony of the Gospels, §§. 160–164.) But one expression of Mark, (xvi, 9,) "Jesus ..... appeared *first* (πρῶτον) to Mary Magdalene," seems to contradict this arrangement directly. Several methods of reconciling this discordance have been devised, but they are all untenable, as may be seen from a luminous article by Dr. Robinson, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for Feb., 1845, p. 177. Nor is the explanation there adopted and illustrated from Hengstenberg entirely satisfactory. It consists in considering the πρῶτον as put by Mark *relatively*, to denote the first of the three appearances related by him, the μετὰ ταῦτα of verse 12 introducing a second appearance, and the ὕστερον of verse 14 as serving to mark the last. Any reader, taking the words in their natural construction, would infallibly understand Mark as meaning to say absolutely, that Christ's first public appearance was made to Mary, and two of his subsequent ones to other persons. The expressions of Paul (1 Corinthians xv, 5–8) and John, (xxi, 14,) adduced to sustain the above interpretation, are not to the point; for they are both strictly true, taken just as they read, without any such relative limitation. Moreover, the question still remains, why does Mark single out this appearance to Mary, rather than the previous one to several women? Let us see if a closer inspection of the *facts* will not clear up the difficulty, without resorting to any such expedients. Independently of this πρῶτον of Mark, the incidents, it seems to me, may naturally be arranged as in the following scheme.

| A. M. h. m. | *Occurrences.** | Matt. xxviii. | Mark xvi. | Luke xxiv. | John xx. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 00 | Earthquake and resurrection | 2–4 | 9 | | |
| " 15 | The women set out for the sepulchre | 1 | 2, 3 | 1 | 1 |
| " 30 | They arrive, Mary Magdalene returns | 5–7 | 4–7 | 2–8 | 1, 2 |
| " 45 | She reaches Peter and John's house | | | | 2 |
| " 45 | The other women flee from the sepulchre | 8 | 8 | 9 | |
| " 50 | Peter, John, and Mary Magdalene set out for it | | | 12 | 3 |
| " 55 | The other women meet Jesus | 9, 10 | | | |
| " " | The soldiers report their accident | 11–15 | | | |
| " 57 | John arrives at the sepulchre | | | " | 4, 5 |
| 5 00 | Peter arrives there | | | | 6–9 |
| " 05 | They both return home | | | " | 10 |
| " " | Mary Magdalene arrives at the sepulchre | | | | 11–13 |
| " " | The other women report their interview with Christ to the other apostles | | | 9–11 | |
| " 10 | Mary Magdalene meets with Christ | | 9 | | 14–17 |
| " 80 | She reports to the disciples | | 10, 11 | 10 | 18 |

* See note on next page.

## ART. XI.—MISCELLANEA.

By this it appears that Christ's appearance to the other women could not well have preceded that to Mary by much more than a *quarter of an hour;* and if the time for the other women's return be so lengthened as to make the appearance to Mary precede that to them, the interval in this direction cannot still be made to exceed fifteen minutes, as any one may see by making the corresponding changes in the above table. Now I suggest, whether Mark, in speaking in this general way of Christ's visits, would be likely to distinguish between two appearances so nearly coincident? The very parties who witnessed, or heard them reported, would not themselves have noticed so slight a priority without instituting some such calculation as the above, which they were in no state of mind at the time to make. It appears to me, therefore, that, in the verse under consideration, Mark designs to refer to both these appearances as *one*, and he mentions Mary's name particularly, because of her prominence in the whole matter, just as he places her first in the list in verse 1, (compare Matt. xxvii, 56, 61; xxviii, 1.) This identification is confirmed by the fact, that none of the Evangelists mention *both* of these appearances—Matthew and Luke narrating the events just as if Mary had been with the other women at the time of their meeting with Christ, while Mark and John speak of the appearance to her only; yet they all obviously embrace in their accounts the two-fold appearance. Luke also explicitly includes Mary among the women who brought the tidings to the Apostles, evidently not distinguishing her subsequent report from that of the others with whom she at first went out. This idea is, in fact, the key to the whole plan of the Gospel accounts of this matter; the design of the writers being not to furnish each a complete narrative of all the incidents in their exact order, but to show that these Galilean women were, *as a company*, the first witnesses of Christ's resurrection. In this way the whole difficulty, which has caused so much hypercriticism and σκανδαλισμός vanishes, and the vaunted contradiction turns out, as usual, to have existence merely in a misconception of the *rationale* of Scripture, which expresses facts without any jealous nicety as to minute circumstances.

*Flushing, L. I.* JAMES STRONG.

[NOTE.—According to the astronomical formula, the duration of distinct twilight at that time of the year, in the latitude of Jerusalem, is one hour forty minutes; which would make extreme daybreak occur about four o'clock, as it was near the time of the vernal equinox.]

## II.

### *Quotation of the Prophecy of Christ's Transfixion.*—Zech. xii, 10; John xix, 37.

ONE of the most perplexing classes of difficulties experienced by the careful reader of the New Testament, arises from the indefinite manner in which its writers cite the language of the Old Testament, their common formulæ, ὡς γέγραπται, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν, often leaving us in doubt whether they design to stamp the passages as positive *predictions*, or mere *accommodations* to some accidental circumstance. In the quotation referred to, this ambiguity is increased by the peculiar phraseology of the original, which is as follows:—וְהִבִּיטוּ אֵלַי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דָּקָרוּ וְסָפְדוּ עָלָיו. The translator of this portion of the Septuagint version has rendered the passage, evidently with no clear perception of its force, καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο· καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν, *and they will look to me on account of their mockery, and bewail him.* John translates and cites it thus, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει· Ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. The chief difficulty consists in disposing of the "*me*," אֵלַי, as the object of "pierced," (through the relative with אֵת, the sign of the *determinate accusative*,) in such a way as to harmonize with the "*him*," עָלָיו,

in the subsequent clause, for whom the people are to "mourn," since Jehovah is obviously the speaker. Several attempts may be seen in Kuinöl, (in *loc.*,) who can make nothing out of it but a mere general *illustration;* which does not satisfy the marked character of the incident, nor John's pointed introduction of it. Even Lücke can only say respecting it:—"Die Stelle des Zacharias steht in einem Zusammenhange, dem man den idealen Messianischen Charakter nicht absprechen kann, wiewohl die Messianischen Person darin sehr dunkel und unklar dargestellt ist." (Comment. *in loc.*)

May I propose the following version and explication?—"They will [in that period of revival] turn their eyes [in penitential prayer] toward Me whom they [will] have pierced [with contumely, by their ungrateful murder of my Son], and they will wail for Him." The term "pierce," דָּקַר, has a double meaning, referring directly to the figurative wounding of Jehovah's love, and ulteriorly to the puncture of Christ's side by Jewish agents; and in "Me" there is included the injury done to the Messiah, whom they would earnestly bewail. This is in accordance with the usual two-fold import of such pregnant portions of prophecy. The prophet is describing the conversion of numbers of the Jews in the Messiah's times, under the figure of a deliverance from invaders, (verse 6–9,) which is to be ushered in by a general humiliation for their sins, and prayer for pardon and restoration to the Divine favour, (verse 10–14,) resulting in their absolution and regeneration, (chap. xiii; 1,) and an unprecedented degree of religious knowledge, (verse 2–6.) The chief ingredient in their cup of repentance is to be their unjust treatment of Jehovah in the person of the Messiah, (verse quoted,) and on account of the identity existing between these two, as Principal and Representative, (or more properly, as partners in the Godhead, chap. xiii, 7,) the object *him* follows in place of *Me*, without any intimation of the change in person, in conformity with the usual Hebrew style of abrupt transition in the use of pronouns, which does not always specify the precise object to which they refer. (See Nordheimer's Heb. Gram. § 867.) John applies the language in its literal construction (happily expressing this blending of pronouns by the elliptical idiom, εἰς [μὲ scilicet αὐτὸν] ὃν) to the mortal wound inflicted by Jewish instrumentality upon Jesus's body, (which is, indeed, included in the prophet's meaning,) without reference to the further idea of the *remorse* to be experienced by the spiritual Israel (that is, Gospel penitents) for their virtual participation in the Redeemer's death.

*Flushing, L. I.* JAMES STRONG.

## III.

### *Dr. Coke and the Reviewer of Lee's Life.*

MR. EDITOR:—The Review of the Life of Rev. Jesse Lee, in the Methodist Quarterly for January, 1850 contains certain passages tending so strongly to injure the reputation of Dr. Coke, that I deem a few animadversions therefore necessary. On page 74 the writer says,—

"The course pursued by Dr. Coke, as soon as he entered upon his superintendency, gave an earnest of the character of his future administration. Soon after the close of the Christmas Conference, the two Bishops proceeded together to the Virginia Conference. The Doctor was full of zeal, and also full of his new office."

"*Full of his new office!*" What does this mean, but to slur Dr. Coke, as being imprudently elated with his new office?

On page 76, speaking of Dr. Coke, the writer says: "Yet he came back shorn of his power, and degraded to the condition of a mere Assistant Bishop." This

sentence has the misfortune to be destitute of truth. No such event ever occurred. We never had such an office in the Methodist Episcopal Church "*as an Assistant Bishop.*" Dr. Coke did indeed voluntarily relinquish a small part of his power; but this was no degradation, any more than it would have been for him to resign his office entirely, and for the Conference to accept the resignation.

On the same page, (76,) the writer goes on to say:—

"Some years later the last vestige of power was taken from him, (Dr. Coke,) though his name was retained among those of the Bishops, with a note appended, declaring him virtually deposed."

Dr. Coke never was virtually deposed. I was an eye-witness to the whole transaction. No fault was alleged against him. There were other reasons for the *Note* to which the writer refers. Dr. Coke had addressed a circular letter, signed with his own hand, to all the members of the General Conference, stating certain embarrassments he was under, on account of which he could not return to America, except on one condition. If the General Conference would accept that one condition, he offered to return and labour in the Church for life. The General Conference did not see fit to agree to that condition. This was one reason of the act of the General Conference on that subject. Another reason was, that the British Conference had requested that Dr. Coke might remain in Europe. The following is the note referred to, bound Minutes, vol. 1, page 154:—

"Dr. Coke, at the request of the British Conference, and by consent of our General Conference, resides in Europe. He is not to exercise the office of superintendent among us, in the United States, until he be recalled by the General Conference, or by all the Annual Conferences respectively."

This note shows on the face of it, that this act was done in compliance with the request of the British Conference, and by the consent of the General Conference; and to those who were present, it was well known also, that it was done in compliance with an *implied* request of Dr. Coke himself; and that, therefore, it was neither taking from the Doctor the last "*vestige of his power*," nor declaring him "*virtually deposed.*" If the General Conference intended in any sense to depose him, why did they reserve the right to recall him? If they intended to take from him the last "vestige of his power," why did they reserve the right of the Annual Conferences to recall him, in case that by death there should be no other Bishop in this Church. See a statement of the whole matter in Dr. Bangs' History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. ii, pp. 211–220. The writer says, in a quotation from another author, "it was thought best for Dr. Coke to be no longer considered a Superintendent of the Methodists in the United States." It might have been so thought by one individual, perhaps by several; but it was never so declared by the General Conference, and probably never thought so by a majority of that body.

It is a lamentable thing, after all the great services rendered by Dr. Coke to the Methodists in Europe and America, and in the foreign missions; after the almost universal conviction of those that knew him, that he was a man of God, and a man of distinguished zeal and talents in the cause of Christ; that anything should now be published to the world concerning him, calculated to lessen the respect the Church entertains for his character.

If it is wrong needlessly to speak against a living brother, is it not worse, needlessly to speak against a departed brother? And why, after that blessed man has been in heaven "thirty-five years," should a Methodist preacher try to raise a dust to soil his memory?

WESLEY.

## IV.

### *Interpretation of Mark* ix, 49, 50.

WINCHESTER, Ky., March 6, 1850.

MR. EDITOR:—Permit me to call your attention to the interpretation of Mark ix, 49, 50, given by the Rev. R. Watson, in his Exposition *in loc.* I think you have done Mr. Watson injustice, in your sweeping declaration at the close of the fine article in your January number on this difficult passage. Your interpretation, "modified from the German," is certainly clear and satisfactory; but Mr. Watson's, if not so clearly expressed, is, I think, substantially the same. W. C. D.

## V.

### *On the "Condition of the Dead."*

MR. EDITOR:—It is sometimes the case that even able theologians, aiming to avoid erroneous conclusions drawn by others, run into opposite errors. This I believe to have been the case with the author of the article on the "Condition of the Dead," contained in the Quarterly for January, 1850.

To avoid the idea that the soul dies with the body, "he assumes that the threatening, Gen. ii, 17, 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' had not reference to the entire man, but simply to the body." But certainly the address was made to the *intellectual man*, and not to the *body;* and hence we think the soul was meant chiefly. It is clear that both soul and body *suffered* in consequence of the violation of the precept, "of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat." But it does not follow that death works the same result upon the soul as upon the body. The body might become lifeless, while the soul might die a *spiritual* death, which is not a *sleep*, and perhaps only in one respect anything like the death of the body. The doctrine has been advanced, that death temporal—the death of the body—was no part of the penalty incurred by Adam. And this view seems both more plausible and more Scriptural than that propounded in the article referred to. Possibly some might ask, Did not temporal death follow the transgression of the law violated by Adam? It did. But that might be the case, and yet temporal death might form no part of the penalty of the law. Temporal death, together with the afflictions of life,—disease, pain, weariness, disappointment, &c.,—are the things referred to by Paul, Rom. viii, 20, &c., where he says, "The creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope," etc. These resulted from the sin of Adam, but not as parts of the penalty of the law. They form, on the contrary, a part of the great remedial scheme.

The separation of the soul from God, which, if man is not saved, will be eternal, is the death threatened—this is the penalty of the law: death temporal not being included here. The death of the body is not the death meant, but the death referred to in Ezekiel, where he says, "The soul that sinneth it shall die." Possibly our friend may ask, Why embrace the man entire, if the death spoken of spends its principal force on the soul? Our answer is, the body is embraced, just as the soul would be, if the body was principally concerned. Such is the intimate connexion between the spiritual and the material nature of man, that they suffer from each other's ills. Though we believe the soul chiefly is concerned, yet the whole man is embraced. The examples referred to by your correspondent to prove that the body only is meant, when the man is spoken of, do not support his position; even allowing the body in those cases to be principally intended. His reference to Gen. ii, 7, does not exclude the soul, because the man was not created

until all was done that is recorded in that verse. And the historian tells us how, and of what, etc., the body was composed. "God 'formed' it of the 'dust' of the ground;" and he tells us how the soul was added, not to the man, but to the body; "the Lord breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." The reference to Gen. iii, 17, &c., fails to accomplish this end, except the 19th verse. We acknowledge the body is sometimes spoken of as the man; but the reverse is more frequently the case. And the judgment recorded in this passage spends its chief force on the soul. The body labours, but it alone does not labour; and only the soul is capable of sorrow, etc. So the soul is included in this connexion, though not included in the words, "dust thou art."

But let us look again to the threatening: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." This was the case; Adam did die. The instant he put forth his hand in transgression, the union between his *soul* and God was broken off; and the next meeting of God and man was a memorable one. Adam, conscious that he had lost the favour of his Maker, aimed to hide himself; and when compelled to meet his God, he approached as a rebel, while he who had been his approving God, appears to him as his Judge. This plainly shows what death was threatened, and how Adam died the day he sinned.

Assuming that temporal death, in whole or in part, was included as the penalty of the violated law, various efforts have been made to reconcile the idea with the fact, that Adam did not die the day he sinned, and not until several hundred years afterward. Such efforts are all abortive. Some say, "That day meant no particular or definite period of time." Then the threatening was vague, and almost without meaning. Besides, such emphatic words cannot be twisted so easily. But others say, "The meaning is, 'dying, he should die.' He should begin to die; the seeds of mortality and death were sown in his system." But if this is the case, he did not die that day. There is as much difference between the seed sown and death, as there is between seed-time and harvest. He began to die; if he did, he was dying for several hundred years. The history of Eve confirms this view. We are not told when she met and experienced temporal death; but her fall and spiritual death—or the separation of her soul from God—are minutely recorded.

And now let us see if the federal relation of Adam to his posterity will not afford additional evidence of the correctness of our position. All fell in Adam. By his act of disobedience "judgment came upon all men to condemnation." Hence, if a Redeemer had not been provided, upon the supposition that temporal death is a part, or all, of the penalty of the law, the race would have come into existence and been left exposed to death temporal, if not spiritual and eternal death also; or otherwise the penalty would not have been inflicted. But we suppose a just God would execute a penalty he had himself appended to a law, when it was violated.

But if spiritual death, or the separation of the soul from God, is the penalty of the law; then we would, if no Redeemer had been provided, without doubt, not have been brought into being. Such was Mr. Fletcher's opinion.

In conclusion we repeat, spiritual death was the penalty of the law; that death Adam experienced the day—yes, the instant—he sinned. That moment the wrath of God, like a thunderbolt from heaven, fell upon him. And now, to turn man from this world, and lead him to seek God, and to lay up his treasure on high, "God has attached misery to vice, and emptiness to worldly good, and subjected man to bodily afflictions and to death." Thus interpreted, the text in question is taken out of the hands of those "*sleepers*" of whom your correspondent speaks. It lends their system no more support than would a dissertation on the changes of the moon.

E. J.

## Art. XII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### Theological.

#### EUROPEAN.

If Calvin's personal history does not become well known to the people of this generation, it will not be for want of biographies. Besides *Audin's*, on the Roman Catholic side, we have lately had *Stebbing's* translation (London, 2 vols. 8vo.) of Henry's *Leben J. Calvin's des grossen Reformators*, (Hamburg, 3 vols. 8vo., 1835–1844.) We find Stebbing's translation awkward and laborious—certainly it is very hard and dull reading. Moreover, Dr. Stebbing has omitted most of the notes and appendices which make up a large part of Henry's work. And now we have just received "*The Life of John Calvin, compiled from authentic Sources, and particularly from his Correspondence: by T. H. Dyer,*" (London, Murray, 1850,) forming a handsome 8vo. of 560 pages. And this, we think, will be the *popular* Life of Calvin. But it has a worldly tone throughout, and it will occupy about the relation to Calvin, that Southeys' Life does to Wesley. An article noticing all these works is in preparation for our pages.

The second volume of Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament* has reached us, but we have not yet been able to give it a thorough examination. It extends from Acts to 2d Thessalonians; a third volume will probably complete the work.

Dr. Vaughan (editor of the British Quarterly) has published his able discourse delivered before the Congregational Union of England and Wales last October. It is entitled "Letter and Spirit," (18mo. pp. 88,) and treats of the modern so-called Philosophical Spiritualism, in its relation to Christianity: maintaining sturdily and unanswerably the old foundations of our historical faith. We should be glad to see it reprinted for circulation, especially about Boston.

If any of our readers wish to see how the Church of England is kept "enthroned in the hearts of the people," by pluralist divines who get £1000 a year for riding ten miles of a Sunday, and preaching once a week, or once in two weeks, they will find both instruction and amusement in "*The Church-Goer*, or *Calls at Country Churches*," (12mo., London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1850.)

A new edition of the Works of John Owen is proposed by Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter, of Edinburgh, on very favourable terms. It will embrace all his works except the Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews—the whole to be completed in three years. For a yearly subscription of one guinea, payable in advance, subscribers will receive annually five handsome octavo volumes, containing about 550 pages each, printed in large type, and on excellent paper. The whole issue will thus consist of fifteen octavo volumes, at a cost of no more than three guineas.

We mentioned in a former number the French and German editions of Amand Saintes' "*Critical History of Rationalism in Germany, from its Origin to the present time;*" and we now have before us an English translation, executed by Dr. J. R. Beard, (London, 1849, 8vo., pp. 379.) It furnishes the fullest account of the origin, growth, and decay of German Rationalism to which the English reader can have access. It is to be regretted, however, that the translator has not made use of Ficker's addenda to the German edition.

*Theological Seminary at Geneva.*—From the seventy-ninth circular of this institution, it appears that the number of students is forty-one, of whom fourteen are in the preparatory department. The professors are: Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, President and Professor of Pastoral Theology and Church History; Dr. Gaussen, Professor of Dogmatic Theology; Rev. Professor La Harpe, of Hebrew and Biblical Criticism of the Old Testament; Rev. Professor Pilet, of Sacred Rhetoric and Criticism of the New Testament; Dr. Professor Scherer, of Exegesis. A difficulty has occurred from developments of Rationalism in Professor S.; but we are not able to give a distinct account of it.

The first volume of Hengstenberg's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* has been published. We have not received it, but see, from the notices, that it considers the *millennium* over.

In a former number we mentioned that a translation of Nitzsch's *System der Christlichen Lehre*, by Rev. R. Montgomery and J.

Honnen, M. D., was announced in London. Lest any of our readers should be tempted to purchase it, we feel bound to say that we have since received and examined it, and find it one of the worst attempts (if not the very worst) at translation from the German that we have ever seen. The translators complain of Nitzsch's obscurity; but his German is translucent, in comparison with their English or no-English.

A new Compendium of Church History is now in preparation by *J. L. Jacobi*, Professor Extraordinary in the University of Berlin. The first volume has been published, and is highly commended by Neander, with whom Jacobi is in the most intimate relations. Professor Jacobi writes to us that a translation will be published in London or New-York, (perhaps in both,) as soon as possible.

Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, author of "Expository Lectures on First Peter," has in press a series of Expositions of the "Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ," to be completed in three volumes octavo.

The able article on "Reason and Faith," in the Edinburgh Review for October, 1849, was written by the Rev. Henry Rogers, the author of that remarkable series of articles on Puseyism and kindred topics, which have appeared of late years in the Edinburgh Review. We notice that his contributions are to be collected and published in two 8vo. volumes, uniform with Stephens' and Macaulay's Essays.

We see announced in London, "Friendly and Feejee Islands: a Missionary Visit to various Stations in the South Seas, in 1847. By Rev. Walter Lawry, (Wesleyan Missionary,) with an appendix: edited by Rev. Elijah Hoole: 12mo., pp. 304."

Dr. Beard has just issued his translation of Schumann's Compendious Introduction to the Books of the Old and New Testament, in one small octavo volume.

We continue our statements of the contents of the principal foreign theological journals:

The *Biblical Review* for *January* contains the following articles:—I. The Doctrine of Inspiration, as maintained in the Scriptures themselves; II. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament; III. German Sacred Oratory—Dr. H. L. Heubner; IV. Morell's Philosophy of Religion; V. Hints for an Apologetic Treatment of Christian Truth; VI. The Characteristics of Biblical Theology; VII. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology; VIII. Posthumous Works of Dr. Chalmers; IX. Miscellanies and Correspondence; X. Critical Notices.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Kitto's) for January, contains, I. Illustrations of Scripture, from the ancient Bedouin Romance entitled *Antar*,—a very entertaining and instructive article:—II. A continuation of Tregelles' article on Tischendorf's Greek Testament:—III. An Attempt at a Restoration of the Chronology of Josephus:—IV. is an article vindicating the Doctrine of an Intermediate State of the Dead:—V. continues the translation of Keil's Introduction to the Book of Joshua:—VI. is a translation of Neander's Monograph (first published in 1842) of "Theobald Thamer, the Representative and Forerunner of Modern Rationalism at the time of the Reformation:"—VII. An Argument to prove that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew:—VIII. is on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, (of little worth):—IX. Of the Tenses of the Hebrew verb:—X. and XI. Miscellanies and Correspondence.—Dr. Kitto finds himself compelled to abandon the plan of giving the names of his writers. It is impossible, he says, in England, to give names, without losing much important literary aid that might otherwise be obtained.

We value Dr. Kitto's Journal highly, and think it remarkably well conducted. We have no objection at all to his transferring portions of our Literary Intelligence or Critical Notices to his pages, but think in such cases it would be *as well for him to give us credit.*

The *British Quarterly Review* (February) has but few theological articles:—Art. I. is on Theodore Parker and Modern Deism,—a pretty sharp and severe exposition of the tendencies of Parkerism. Art. VII. is on Harris's Man Primeval. Among the other articles is one on Ticknor's Spanish Literature, characterizing it as "fluent, sensible, elegant, scholarly,"—but denying it any high claims as a *critical* work. The article, on the whole, is unkind, under the garb of kindness.

Among the books in theology and kindred topics recently announced in Great Britain are:—

The Star of the Wise Men: being a Commentary on the second chapter of St. Matthew; by Richard Chenevix Trench, B. D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford; fcp. 8vo:—The

Preacher in Print; Twelve Sermons by the Rev. H. Melvill, B. D.; 18mo.:—Parochial Sketches, in Verse; by the Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, B. D., Author of "The Rectory of Valehead;" small 8vo.:—The Inner Life; its Nature, Relapse, and Recovery; by the Rev. Octavius Winslow; fcp. 8vo.:—Israel after the Flesh; the Judaism of the Bible distinguished from its Spiritual Religion; by the Rev. W. H. Johnstone, M. A.; 8vo.:—The City of God; a Vision of the Past, the Present, and the Future; being a Symbolical History of the Church of all Ages, &c.; post 8vo.:—Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in November, 1849; by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B. D., Margaret Professor of Divinity; 12mo.:—Lectures on Christian Theology, by the late Rev. George Payne, LL. D.; with Reminiscences by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D.; and a Sketch of his Life, by a Friend:—Scripture Baptism; being a Series of Familiar Letters to a Friend in reply to "Christian Baptism," recently published by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, M. A.; by Henry J. Gamble, of Hanover Chapel, Peckham; fcp. 8vo.:—The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral; by the Rev. James M'Cosh, A. M., 8vo.:—The Doctrine of a Future State; being the Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1849; by W. Gilson Humphry, B. D., Fellow and late Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London, 8vo.:—The Sufferings of the Rebels sentenced by Judge Jefferies; being a Memorandum of the Wonderful Providences of God to a poor unworthy Creature during the time of the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion, and to the Revolution in 1688; by John Coad, one of the Sufferers; fcp. 8vo.

Among the books in theology and kindred topics, recently announced on the continent, are the following:—

Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ orientalis. Primum in unum corpus collegit variantes lectiones ad fidem optimorum exemplorum adnotavit prolegomena addidit indice rerum præcipuarum instruxit E. J. Kimmel. Accedit appendix ex schedis editoris posthumus edita à H. J. Chr. Weissenborn. 2 Partes, 8vo. (Jenæ.)

Jesaias, nicht Pseudo-Jesaias. Auslegung seiner Weissagung Kap. 40–66. Von Rudolf Stier. Nebst Einleitung wider die Pseudo-Kritik. Vol. 1, 8vo. (Barmen.)

Exegetisches Handbuch zu. d. Büchern d. Könige. Von O. Thenius. Nebst Anhang das vorexilische Jerusalem u. dessen Tempel. 8vo. (Leipzig.)

Der Prophet Jesaja, uebersetzst u. erklärt. Von M. Drechsler. Vol. 2. Part 1, 8vo., pp. 230, (Stuttgart.)

Quæstionem de Marcione, Lucani evangelii, ut fertur, adulteratore, collatis Hahnii, Ritschelii aliorumque sententiis, novo examini submisit D. Hartung. Traj. ad Rhen. pp. 212, 8vo.

Ueber den syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg unter Jotham u. Ahas. Von C. P. Caspari. 8vo.

Erkennen und Glauben, mit besonderer Berucksichtigung des Clemens von Alexandrien und des Anselmus von Canterbury, von J. H. Lenzen, 8vo. Bonn.

Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament. Ueber die Citate des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament und über den Opfer-und Priesterbegriff im Alten und Neuen Testamente. Neue Ausarbeitung. [Zwei Beilagen zu dem Kommentare zum Briefe an die Hebräer.] Von Dr. A. Tholuck. 3. Aufl. Hamburg, pp. 112, 8vo.

Ueber die Aechtheit des bisherigen Textes der Ignatianischen Briefe. Von Dr. H. Denzinger, Prof. Würzburg. 1849. pp. 108, 8vo.

Das Wesen des Christenthums. Von Ludw. Feuerbach. 3. umgearb. u. verm. Aufl. Leipzig. O. Wigand. 1849. pp. 440, 8vo.

Die Kirchengeschichte des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem Standpuncte des evangel. Protestantismus betrachtet in einer Reihe von Vorlesungen. Von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach. 2 Thl. 2 verb. Aufl. Leipzig. pp. 467, 8vo.

## AMERICAN.

Messrs. Lane & Scott are preparing for speedy publication, *The New Testament expounded and illustrated, according to the usual marginal references, in the very words of Holy Scripture, together with the Notes and Translations, and a complete marginal Harmony of the Gospels. By Clement Moody, M. A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford; Perpetual Curate of Sebergham.* (London, 1849.) The collation of parallel passages is one of the best and surest means of developing the true sense of Scripture, and that not merely for scholars, but for all readers. "I will not scruple to assert," says Bishop Horseley, "that the most illiterate Christian, if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains in reading it to study the parallel passages, without any other commentary, will

not only attain that practical knowledge which is necessary to salvation, but will become learned in everything relating to his religion." But many are deterred from this mode of study by the difficulty and tediousness of the task of perpetual reference—indeed, in ordinary daily reading of the Scriptures, either in private or in the family, it is almost impracticable to carry it out thoroughly. The object of the edition of the New Testament now offered, is to make this method of reading perfectly convenient, by *printing the best parallel passages in full at the foot* of the page, thus affording a continuous commentary on the Scripture in the words of the Scripture itself. We consider the work one of the most useful and valuable that the Book Concern has ever undertaken.

The same publishers have recently issued a number of new works and new editions, to the announcement of which in our advertising sheet we call the attention of our readers. The publication of the "*Minister of Christ for the Times*," (by Rev. CHARLES ADAMS,) which was announced in our January number, has been delayed by the unexampled pressure upon our printing-presses caused by the demand for the New Hymn-book. It will be issued in a few days; and we bespeak for it, what it will richly deserve, the attention of our readers, both lay and clerical.

We learn that Rev. Charles Adams is preparing a new work on the "*Present State of Christianity throughout the World*," intended to give a fair view of the present condition of the kingdom of Christ among men. Such a work is a *desideratum*; and, if well prepared, as we have no doubt Mr. Adams' book will be, it will meet with a cordial reception from the Christian world.

We regret that some observations on "*Methodism in Earnest*," (an Account of the Revival labours and successes of Rev. James Caughey, edited by Rev. D. Wise and Rev. R. W. Allen,) which we had intended to lay before our readers in this number, are unavoidably crowded out. We deem it necessary, however, to say *now*, that while the book contains accounts of the work of the Holy Spirit, in the awakening and conversion of sinners, that have thrilled our very hearts, it contains also so many objectionable features, that we heartily regret its publication in its present form. We shall attempt to show, in our next, that it claims for Mr. Caughey a degree of supernatural *revelation*, at once unscriptural, un-Wesleyan, and dangerous.

Professor Stuart's "Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon" has been reprinted in London, with an introduction and notes by Dr. Davidson.

We understand that Prof. B. B. Edwards, of Andover, and Prof. Hackett, of Newton, are engaged upon a "Commentary on the Psalms," to be published in one 8vo. volume, some time during the present year. It will be founded, to a certain extent, on Hengstenberg. Professor Hackett is also engaged upon a "Commentary on the Acts."

The Southern Presbyterian Review contains, in its January number, an article designed to show the lawfulness of slavery—the unlawfulness of attempting to hinder its spread—the superior wealth of the Southern, and the greater poverty and crime of the Northern States of this Union. What a forlorn condition men must be in, when such sophisms as these propositions involve are *believed*. The article closes, however, with an earnest appeal (which we trust will be heeded) for a fuller religious instruction of the slaves.

A translation of Theremin's *Beredsamkeit eine Tugend*, by Professor Shedd, has recently been published. We shall notice it hereafter.

A translation of Tholuck's *Auslegung der Bergpredigt Christi* is shortly to appear from the Andover press. It is to be a reprint of Menzies' translation, published in Edinburgh.

The "*New-York Ecclesiological Society*" is a club where sentimental young gentlemen and Romanizing old gentlemen indulge themselves periodically in reading and listening to old wives' fables. As a specimen, we give an extract from the Report of a recent meeting over which Dr. M'Vickar presided, and at which Mr. J. H. Hopkins, Jun., read a paper on Symbolism in Church Architecture:—

"Mr. Hopkins showed the symbolism of the parts of a Catholic Church edifice, as founded on Scripture. The Church of believers is called a 'spiritual house,' therefore the edifice symbolizes the Church of the faithful. They are called 'living stones,' therefore the church is built of stone. We are 'fellow-citizens with the saints,' and 'the household of God,'—all being 'one family,' and therefore chancel and nave are both requisite for a complete church. The building pointeth east, for there 'the Sun of Righteousness arose,' and there he shall appear again when he

cometh to judgment. The tower is Christ, for he is 'a strong tower for us against the enemy.' The door is also Christ, for he said, 'I am the Door.' The font is close by the door, for 'by baptism we put on Christ, and enter '*by the Door*' into the sheepfold.' It is of stone, as is also the altar, because Christ is 'our Rock,' and he is the 'stone cut out from the mountain.' The pavement is humility, as David saith, 'my soul cleaveth unto the ground.' (*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea. Vulg.*) The great piers or pillars are apostles, for St. Paul saith of Peter, James, and John, that they 'seemed to be pillars.' The windows are Holy Scripture, as saith the Psalmist, 'the entrance of thy words giveth light.' The glass is stained and thus darkened, for here 'we see through a glass darkly.' The stars and angels in the roof are the heavenly host, for St. Paul speaks of 'the whole family in heaven and earth' as one household. The chancel, arch, and screen, signifies 'the grave and gate of Death,' by which all must pass from the Church militant to the Church triumphant. The halls are 'the rest that is in store for the servants of God.' The sanctuary, at the extreme east, is adorned with the highest brilliance, for the New Jerusalem has streets of gold, gates of pearls, and walls of twelve manner of precious stones."

# Classical and Miscellaneous.

## EUROPEAN.

LORD JEFFREY, for twenty-seven years Editor of the Edinburgh Review, and, by virtue of that position, and the talent with which he filled it, one of the chief directors of the English mind of the present age, died at his seat near Edinburgh, on Saturday, January 26th, in the 67th year of his age.

For one who wishes to know the present aspect of the banks of the Nile, the next best thing after going to Egypt, or seeing Gliddon's panorama, is to read "The Nile Boat; or, Glimpses of the Land of Egypt; illustrated by thirty-five steel Engravings and Maps; also, numerous Woodcuts. By W. H. Bartlett, Author of 'Forty Days in the Desert,' 'Walks about Jerusalem,'" &c. We believe that Messrs. Harper & Brothers intend to republish it here.

We regret to learn, from the Classical Museum for January, that that valuable Journal is to be discontinued. The support it has received is too slender to sustain it. The six volumes will form a valuable addition to any scholar's library.

Among the books in general literature recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—Specimens of Ornamental Art, by Lewis Gruner; selected from the best Models of the Classical Epochs. Eighty Plates, large folio, with descriptive letter-press, by Emil Braun:—The Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages, by Henry Shaw, F. S. A.; Part 1, 8vo:—Political Economy, by Nassau W. Senior, Esq., late Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford; being the sixth volume of the octavo reissue of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana:—The English Revolution of 1640-1688, by M. Guizot; 8vo.:—Latter-Day Pamphlets, by Thomas Carlyle; No. 1, The Present Time; No. 2, Model Prisons:—The Hand Atlas of Physical Geography; comprising twenty-five Maps, engraved on steel in the first manner and finely coloured; compiled from Berghaus, Karl Ritter, Elie Beaumont, Ami Boué, Schouw, &c.; 1 vol., 12mo.:—Dr. Vogel's Illustrated Physical Atlas, (for Schools,) containing nine Maps, large imperial, full coloured, with Descriptive Letter-press:—Hints for the Earnest Student; or, A Year-Book for the Young. Compiled by Mrs. W. Fison. Fcp., 8vo.:—Turkey and its Destiny, by Charles Macfarlane, Esq.; 2 vols. 8vo.:—Norway, in 1848 and 1849; by Thomas Forester; with illustrations, &c.; 8vo.:—Observations on the Social State and Economy of various Parts of Europe; being the Second Series of "Notes of a Traveller;" by S. Laing; 8vo.:—Impressions of a Central and Southern Europe, being Notes of Successive Journeys; by W. E. Baxter; 8vo.:—Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, Prime Minister to Pius VI.; translated from the Italian by Sir George Head; 2 vols., post 8vo.: The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe; by Joseph Kay, Esq., M. A., 2 volumes, post 8vo.:—The Comedy of Dante, a new translation, by Patrick Bannerman, Esq.:—A new edition of the Works of Alexander Pope; with Notes, an Original Life, and 100 Unpublished Letters; by the Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker; with portraits, 4 vols., 8vo.:—Personal Narrative of an Englishman Domesticated in Abyssinia, by Mansfield Parkyns, Esq., 8vo.:—The Life of Tasso, by the Rev. R. Milman; 2 vols., post 8vo.:—London Literary Society in the days of Samuel Johnson, from the papers of the late Henry Roscoe, by William Weir; 2 vols., post 8vo.

## AMERICAN.

It is well known that Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, has long been dissatisfied with the American system of collegiate instruction. His views were developed, to some extent, in a small volume published some years ago. An attempt is now making to put these views into practice, by in part reorganizing Brown University nearly upon the plan of the German universities. We should be glad to see the experiment tried.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have nearly ready for publication A Second Book in Greek, containing Syntax with Reading Lessons in Prose; Prosody and the Dialects, with Reading Lessons in Verse; forming a sufficient Greek Reader: with a Dictionary, by Professors M'Clintock & Crooks, 1 vol., 12mo.:—A New Gradus Ad Parnassum of the Latin Language; containing every Word used by the Poets of good Authority; by C. D. Yonge, B. A.:—Smith's New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography; edited by Charles Anthon, LL. D.; royal 8vo.:—An English-Greek Lexicon; containing all the Greek Words used by Writers of good Authority: citing the Authorities in Chronological Order; by C. D. Yonge. Edited, with large Additions, by Henry Drisler, M. A. Royal 8vo., sheep:—A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, by Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D. A new edition, revised, and in great part rewritten. Royal 8vo. sheep:—A Latin-English Lexicon; from the new German Work of Dr. Freund; augmented with important Additions, by Professor Andrews. Royal 8vo:—Buttman's Larger Greek Grammar. A Greek Grammar for the Use of High-schools and Universities, by Philip Buttman. From the 17th German edition, corrected and enlarged, by Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D. A new edition. 12mo.:—An Introduction to the Study of the English Language, by Prof. Fowler; 8vo.:—The Cradle of the Twin Giants, Science and History. By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M. A., F. R. S., F. S. A., Librarian of Zion College; 8vo.:—Lavengro: an Autobiography. By G. Borrow, Esq. 8vo. Cheap edition:—The Pillars of Hercules; or, a Narrative of Travels in Spain and Morocco, in 1848. By David Urquhart, Esq., M. P. 2 vols. 12mo.:—The Plays of Terence; with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by Charles Anthon, LL. D. 12mo., sheep:—Woman's Record; or, Biographical Sketches of all Distinguished Women from the Creation to the Present Era; with rare Gems of Thought selected from the most celebrated Female Writers. By Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale. With over 200 portraits: 8vo.:—The Shoulder-Knot; or, Sketches of the Three-fold Life of Man. A Story of the 17th Century. By B. F. Tefft. 12mo., muslin.

Though we have given twelve pages over our usual number, we are compelled to omit the Religious Intelligence, as well as a number of Critical Notices.

THE

# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1850.

## ART I.—MORELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

*The Philosophy of Religion.* By J. D. MORELL, A. M., Author of the History of Modern Philosophy, &c. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway; Philadelphia, George S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut-street. 1849. 12mo., pp. 359.

THE relation of philosophy to religion is one of those problems that it would seem each age must work out for itself. Whether the equation is really indeterminate, or whether we must wait for some more potent analysis than has hitherto been discovered, we cannot tell; but the fact stands palpably out, that every age has made the effort, and, by the demonstration of the age that followed it, has signally failed. That this failure occurred among the sages of Persia and India, and the yet loftier speculators of the Porch and the Academy, is a matter that cannot excite our surprise, for both philosophy and religion were yet in their infancy; and men at once dogmatized on an unknown science, and worshipped an unknown God. But we would naturally suppose, that after "life and immortality" had been brought to light in the gospel, a clearer conception of the relation of these great departments of thought would be attained. In this supposition, however, we are sadly mistaken. The Gnostic, the Neo-Platonist, the Scholastic, the Cartesian, and the successive schools of England, France, and Germany, have in turn shouted the joyful εὕρηκα, only to have it triumphantly proved by the school which succeeded, that a fatal fallacy existed in the analysis, and that the problem was yet unsolved.

The appearance of Mr. Morell's History of Speculative Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century, was greeted with no little satisfaction by the thinking world. Much of this satisfaction was produced by the novelty of the field that was opened up, and the clear, transparent style in which the crabbed technicalities of Ger-

man metaphysics were explained to the mere English scholar. And Mr. Morell evinced, in that work, much good sense, as well as a fair acquaintance with the course of modern philosophy. There was also an apparent reverence for Christianity—a quality so rare in those who make extensive excursions in this field, that it was doubly welcome in one who had explored it so widely.

But, at the same time, his manner of treating some of the fundamental doctrines of natural religion, gave rise to suspicion that he entertained views of Christianity at variance with the common opinions on the subject. These suspicions were confirmed by his "Lectures on the Philosophical Tendencies of the Age," in which he discussed the philosophic doctrines of Positivism, of Individualism, of Traditionalism, and of Common Sense. In these discussions he developed some opinions that paved the way for those he has since avowed.

Yet, notwithstanding these indications, high hopes were felt that this contribution to the Philosophy of Religion would throw very important light on this difficult subject. The writer had been brought up at the feet of Wardlaw; his early training had been gained in the clear school of the Scotch metaphysics; his recent investigations had familiarized him with the profoundest investigations of modern times; and it was hoped that he combined in his own case the elements necessary for a solution of the high problems contained in the philosophy of religion.

It was, we honestly confess, with such feelings as these that we eagerly seized the volume before us. We hoped that now, at least, we should find an interpreter between the old Christianity and the new metaphysics; one who thoroughly understood the language, and partook of the spirit, of both; and who, possessing somewhat of the confidence of each, could mediate between them, and show us the nexus by which they are connected in the great circle of truth.

Our hopes were somewhat damped by the preface, and sunk lower and lower as we proceeded in the perusal of the work, until we laid it down, at the conclusion, with sadness of heart, feeling that if these great problems are soluble at all, this effort, at least, had failed to solve them. We do not mean to bring any railing accusations against Mr. Morell, or to call him by any of the hard names he repudiates with so much spirit in his preface: nor do we mean to undervalue the wonderful contributions made by German intellect to the knowledge of the world. But our deliberate judgment is, that instead of this work being the philosophy of religion, it is philosophy *versus* religion; and that if we adopt the principles here avowed, we must choose between our metaphysics and our Chris-

tianity. We do not say, nor do we believe, that Mr. Morell is not a Christian; nor would we dream of putting him in the same category with the Strausses, the Parkers, and the Emersons of the present age; much less with the Voltaires, the Gibbons, and the Paines of a past; but we deliberately aver, that if we believed with Mr. Morell, we must renounce everything that to us is peculiar and essential to Christianity. Whilst we are willing to believe that he is a Christian, we believe his Philosophy of Religion to be anti-Christian and perilous in the extreme. This charge, we admit, is very serious; but, as he has not been at all chary in speaking of our positions, we shall use the same liberty with his, and endeavour, not only to make the charge, but to prove it.

With the preface we need not be detained, for it contains but little that is worthy of special remark. It however seems to us to be needlessly waspish, as introductory to themes so grand and awful as those which are discussed in this book. There is connected with this asperity a tone of ill-concealed contempt for modern Christianity, at least in its English type, that must rather irritate than conciliate; and a real or affected ignorance of some of its most cherished doctrines, (as when Mr. Morell speaks of "the eternal *procession* of the Son,") that sits unfavourably on one who comes forth to act as an umpire and interpreter between conflicting systems. Some of his remarks, however, we regard to be just. There is, throughout the Church, a very vague feeling of hostility and suspicion directed towards everything German, that is too indiscriminate in its censure. We have received much that is good, as well as much that is evil, from the patient thinkers of Germany; and it is unwise to deprive ourselves of the one, because of the other. But we must say that this book, instead of diminishing, will rather tend to increase this feeling of suspicion and hostility.

The first chapter discusses the faculties of the human mind. It places human personality in the will, and regards it as "the *essential nature or principle* of the human mind." The essence of the soul, accordingly, consists in pure, spontaneous activity, that lies behind all its determinations; and this is the central point of a man's consciousness, that which distinguishes him from every other man, called indifferently spontaneity, personality, self, or will.

This definition of the "concrete essence of mind" is somewhat surprising. The essence of a thing is usually understood to be, what remains when everything individual and peculiar has been abstracted. The essence of matter is that which remains when all the peculiar properties of any particular kind of matter have been removed, and we have left that only which is common to all

matter. But here we learn that the essence of mind is not that which is common to all minds, but that which is the peculiar characteristic of each individual—his will. This is certainly in direct contradiction to the ordinary notion of what constitutes an essence; but it is also in direct contradiction to the common convictions of men, and the necessary laws of thought. It is one of our intuitive judgments that every quality must inhere in a substance. Thus we affirm, that underlying the qualities of matter there is a substratum, which we call its substance or essence, which is beyond our perceptions, but the existence of which we are forced to believe. So also we believe, that underlying the attributes of mind there is a substratum which we call mind or spirit, which in like manner is beyond our cognizance, but which we also firmly believe to exist. This something is not the will. We are as conscious of our volitions as we are of our emotions, which proves that the will cannot be the essence of the soul, more than the affections. There must be something that wills, just as there is something that feels, and this something must be distinct from both volition and feeling. Activity is an attribute of the soul as much as passivity, and we irresistibly demand a subject in which this attribute resides. To tell us that this attribute is its own subject, is to tell us what we feel to be untrue.

The analysis by which our author reaches this conclusion is really curious. It is by a sort of exhaustive elimination. The essence of the soul cannot reside in the body, in the senses, or in the affections, therefore it resides in the will! He says, page 36: "The concrete essence of the mind" cannot reside in sensation, because that is "experienced *by* the mind;" nor in the bodily organization, because that is used by the mind. But, we ask, are not volitions put forth by the mind? Is there not something that wills? Must not his analysis carry him, where it has carried every other common sense thinker, to the conclusion that the essence of mind cannot reside in the will, for the same reason that forbids it to reside in the body and the sensational consciousness? The mind thinks, but it is not thought; it feels, but it is not feeling; it wills, but it is not volition: but something which puts forth these activities and experiences these affections.

We affirm, as the grand peculiarity of the Philosophy of Common Sense, which the gigantic labours of Sir W. Hamilton have placed on an immovable basis, that substance, or essential being, is not the proper object of philosophy, because it is beyond our present capacities of knowledge. Ontology, in this strict sense, can never be a part of human science; for the objects of our knowledge are not the *onta*, but the *phenomena;* not the concrete essences, but the per-

ceived attributes of things. We can know, not the interior essence of matter, but its properties; not the substance of mind, but its attributes. And to select the will, and call that the essence of mind, is as egregious a blunder as to select extension, and call that the essence of matter. It was at this point that the Baconian system opened up an escape from the puerile subtilties of the scholastic philosophy; and it is by losing sight of this point, that the German systems are reproducing all the follies of the schoolmen without their piety. In attempting, then, to graft this feature upon our English philosophy, Mr. Morell has attempted what would have been most disastrous had he succeeded, but which, we are happy to say, he has most signally failed in doing. This blunder is the root of much of his subsequent error, especially in his speculations on our knowledge of God, or as he, according to his vicious philosophy, terms him, the Absolute.

The great subjective forms of mental activity are then divided into two classes, the intellectual and emotional, which run parallel with each other, and are developed correlatively. The power of the will is regarded as running through the whole of them; though what actual influence the will exerts over them, or what precise relation it bears to them, he does not fully explain. The scheme of successive, dual development, which he defends, will be better understood by examining the following table, found on page 38 :—

"MIND,
commencing in
MERE FEELING, (undeveloped unity,)
evinces a
TWOFOLD ACTIVITY.

| I. INTELLECTUAL. | | II. EMOTIONAL. |
|---|---|---|
| 1st stage. The Sensational Consciousness | To which correspond | The Instincts. |
| 2d stage. The Perceptive Consciousness | | The Animal Passions. |
| 3d stage. The Logical Consciousness | | The Relational Emotions. |
| 4th stage. The Intuitional Consciousness | | Æsthetic, Moral, and Religious Emotions. |

Meeting in

FAITH—(highest, or developed unity.")

The first state is that dim, undefinable form of consciousness that exists in the earliest periods of infancy, from which all the succeeding forms of mental life evolve themselves. The next state is that of Sensational Consciousness, in which the mind is impressed by

external objects through its material organism, but is occupied only with the subjective impression, unconscious of any outward cause of these sensations. The Emotional State corresponding to this is Instinct, a blind obedience to certain impulses, such as sucking, swallowing, &c., without referring these impulses to anything exterior to the mind itself. The next stage is that of the Perceptive Consciousness, in which the mind passes from sensation to its outward cause, and obtains a direct and immediate knowledge of the external world. The subject stands face to face with the object, and perceives that object intuitively, without the intervention of any intermediate process. The soul sees not its sensations, but the external object that causes these sensations. Corresponding with this is the Emotional State of Animal Passion, hunger, thirst, &c., which appetites act directly in view of their respective objects, in consequence of their perception of these objects. Next is the Logical Consciousness, which reflects upon and generalizes the knowledge furnished by Sensation and Perception, considers it under the forms or categories that are the fixed laws of its action, and classifies it according to different principles of arrangement. Corresponding with this are the Relational Emotions, such as the domestic, patriotic, and other affections based on our various relations in life. The highest stage is that of the Intuitional Consciousness, or pure reason, which contemplates directly the beautiful, the good, and the true, in their absolute form, and holds the same relation to the logical consciousness or understanding, that perception does to sensation. The corresponding emotions awakened by these intuitions are the Æsthetical, which have beauty for their object; the Moral, which terminate on the good; and the Religious, which rest on the true.

Faith is the synthesis of these two series of developments, at the summit of our being, partaking both of the intellectual and the emotional element; a state of soul in which we see truth and love it, in the same gaze. It is, when perfected, the state of consciousness which links the present to the future life.

The second chapter discusses the distinction between the logical and the intuitional consciousness, or the understanding and the reason. The knowledge we receive by the understanding is *representative* and *indirect*, obtained by combining or separating the ideas already existing in the mind; that furnished by the reason is *presentative* and *immediate*, consisting of the elementary conceptions of the good, the beautiful, and the true. The knowledge of the understanding is *reflective*, obtained by the mind turning in to contemplate its own operations; that of the reason is *spontaneous*,

flowing into the mind as light comes to the eye, by no effort, and coming to it from without. The knowledge of the understanding is *formal*, consisting of the forms in which the various original conceptions of the mind are thrown; that of the reason *material*, being the matter of those conceptions obtained by direct intuition. The understanding is *analytic*, tending to separate the knowledge it grasps; the reason is *synthetic*, striving to attain the unity that underlies apparent diversities. The understanding is *individual*, and hence the certain standard of truth, in its own sphere, to the individual; the reason is *generic*, seeking to correct and elucidate its intuitions by comparing them with those of mankind in general. The understanding is *fixed* through all ages, incapable of progress, because its laws and forms are stationary; the reason is *progressive*, growing, as the race advances in the march of civilization, to a clearer and wider intuition of its objects.

Such, in brief, is our author's map of the mind, and his distinction between the reason and the understanding.

We do not propose to enter at large into the metaphysics of the various questions here suggested, both because the field is too wide, and because it might seem presumptuous to assail the author on a subject to which he has given very particular attention.

We are not disposed to object to the distinction between the understanding and the reason, or the difference between presentative and representative knowledge. Indeed, it would seem impossible for any one to read the masterly dissertations of Sir William Hamilton, appended to his superb edition of Reid, on these topics, and yet reject the distinctions. And it arises, perhaps, from the very nature of the case, that, in drawing out the points of difference, some of them should seem to run into each other. A careful inspection of the distinctions between the reason and understanding, raised by our author, will, we think, convince the reader, that in some of them we have only the same fact looked at from a different direction, and expressed by a different term. This is, however, but a slight fault, in an effort to set forth clearly a distinction which has necessarily about it so much subtilty and obscurity to ordinary thinkers.

But let us look at these points of distinction more closely. Conceding the first, what are we to make of the second? All our mental acts are spontaneous, and therefore reflection as much as the rest. But it is not true that all the knowledge of the understanding is obtained by the mind contemplating its own operations. All the sciences fall, by his own definition, within the sphere of the understanding; they surely are not obtained by the mind reflecting on

its own operations. Were this true, there would be no ground for the assertion of the objective existence of a single fact of science, that was not a perception or an intuition; and we should be shut up to the most hopeless idealism. His third distinction, we confess, is very difficult of clear comprehension. What does he mean by the knowledge of the understanding being only *formal?* He tells us that "Perception indicates simply the *momentary consciousness* of an external reality standing before us face to face," and the logical faculty "seizes upon the concrete material that is given immediately in perception, moulds it into an idea," &c., page 69. Now, what is this "concrete material?" Is it the "external reality?" If so, it has matter as well as form. Is it the consciousness of that reality? Then again it has matter as well as form, for it is an intuitive perception. How does it mould this into an idea? If he means the external reality, this is nonsense; if the consciousness of the reality, it is already moulded into an idea, for the very perception of it was such an idea. His error here is one that we shall find him very prone to commit, that of confounding the subjective and the objective. Because the understanding takes up the matter of its knowledge according to certain forms, therefore that knowledge ceases to be matter, and becomes only form. It might as well say, that because the stomach takes up its contents by the secretion of its coats, therefore they cease to be food, and become gastric juice. The understanding knows by means of its forms or categories, but its knowledge is as material as that of the intuitive consciousness: the *matter* is the same in each case, it is only taken up differently by the mind.

His next distinction also puzzles us. Synthesis is surely as much a logical operation of the mind as analysis. We separate, in order to combine; and the aim of all scientific analysis is to obtain a perfect synthesis. We analyze the phenomena of light, to combine them all in an hypothesis which shall express the actual verity; and this synthetic process, this constant tending toward unity, is purely an operation of the logical faculty.

The fifth distinction is one that involves much of his subsequent error. We are forced to deny it in the most absolute terms. Our logical processes are not more certain than our intuitional, nor do our intuitional need confirmation by comparison, &c., more than our logical. There are some results, of both faculties, that we rest upon as certain; there are others that are uncertain, and on which we need the light of other minds. We know no better example of the uncertainty of the results of the logical faculty than Mr. Morell has himself furnished us in this discussion.

His sixth distinction, in like manner, we deny. The logical faculty has improved as much as the intuitional; nor is it fixed, in any such absolute sense as he alleges, more than the intuitional faculty. The human race is advancing in knowledge; but this implies no improvement of the intuitional power, more than the rising of the sun implies an increase of the visual faculty in the eye.

His grand error is in denying that the logical consciousness can be a proper source of any knowledge, but must simply grind, in its rigid forms, the knowledge received from other sources. So far is this from being true, that the opposite is the fact. It is the grand organ of knowledge. It cannot furnish us with any new elements, but it can so analyze and combine those already furnished, as greatly to extend our knowledge. Take any of the sciences, such as mathematics, geology, astronomy, and how much of our knowledge in them is the direct result of the patient analysis and synthesis of the logical consciousness? If we compare the knowledge furnished by intuition with that furnished by scientific investigation, we shall discover how grossly Mr. Morell has misused the logical understanding, in thus shutting it up, like Samson among the Philistines, a shorn and blind giant, to grind in a mill.

The most serious error in the metaphysics of these chapters is an undue limitation, and, we had almost said, degradation of the logical consciousness. The author holds that it is to the intuitive consciousness, simply what the sensational is to the perceptive. But a very little reflection will convince us that this is a most restricted and erroneous representation of the case. The sensational consciousness is the mere channel of communication with the perceptive, furnishing it the means of access to the external world, and is rigidly limited to its own sphere. But it is otherwise with the logical consciousness. Not only does it not act as a proper excitant, or a *vehiculum* to the intuitional consciousness, in the same way that sensation is related to perception, but its range is much wider than that of any other power of the mind. We reason concerning our sensations, our perceptions, our intuitions, and all the classes of our emotions. Its range is therefore over the entire field of consciousness. This cannot be said of any other power of the mind concerning the province of the rest. Sensation, perception, and intuition are rigidly restricted to their own spheres, and cannot transcend them. It is plain, therefore, that this metaphysical architecture, in which the logical consciousness is inflexibly built into a sort of third story without any windows, with its scanty furniture of conceptions, and its sky-lights and dead-lights from the other departments of the soul, is an inaccurate representation of this most important power of the mind. The

serious errors to which this assumption has led our author will be more distinctly perceived under another division of the subject.

It is extremely unfair to charge Mr. Morell with idealism, as some have done, in presenting these views. He avows his realistic sentiments in the most emphatic terms, and to force a different construction upon his words is singularly uncandid. But whilst we would not charge him with idealism, we believe that his views are liable to strong objection at this point. He affirms that the categories of the logical understanding are wholly subjective. Among these, of course, he will admit to be, causation. If so, the very same question that arose on the sensational philosophy of Locke, in regard to the objective validity of perceptions, will arise in regard to the objective validity of this conception. We conceive causation, but what evidence have we that there is such a thing in actual objective existence? By this theory, none. The same use that Berkeley and Hume made of Locke's perceptions, and Fichte of Kant's primitive judgments, we shall be compelled to make of the category of causation. Hence the grand argument for the being of God is swept away. It is true Mr. Morell holds, with Sir W. Hamilton, that we perceive intuitively the primary qualities of matter, and thus lays the foundation for a certain conviction in their objective reality. But it is also true that there are other conceptions of the logical understanding as important as these, such as unity, plurality, and especially causation. If there be no such mode then of verifying these, we can see no mode of escaping the pyrrhonism of Hume, and the atheism of Fichte. We see no escape but in asserting the same immediateness of knowledge in regard to these objects of thought, which he has already admitted in regard to the qualities of matter. But to assert this, would be to emancipate the logical understanding from the imprisonment to which he has doomed it, and thus open the way to the admission that it is susceptible of the phenomena of revelation and inspiration. This would be to overthrow the whole foundation of his philosophy of religion. It is, then, precisely at this point that we think his psychology begins to break down.

The same difficulties lie against his theory of the logical consciousness on the emotional side. He alleges that "these emotions depend not upon the immediate perception of their object, but upon our *relations* in human life." But even were this granted, we ask, how can they rest upon the relation in any other way than by a perception of it? Are not the objects of these relational emotions perceived to be exterior to the soul, precisely as the objects of the lower affections? Does not consciousness dictate that the only difference between them is, that in the one case the objects are material sub-

stances, perceived to have a certain correlation to our physical nature, and, in the other, there is a perceived relation which invests a particular object with these affections; but that the objects of both are in the same sense exterior to his mind, and directly perceived by it? Does not a man as directly perceive everything that causes him to love his child, as he does everything that causes him when thirsty to desire a drink of water? Why then shut up the one class of emotions in the dark machinery-room of the logical consciousness, and bring the other to the open air and light of a direct perception? We object then to this feature of his psychology, and it will be perceived presently that this is the very point of departure to which we can trace nearly all the errors into which he has fallen on the subject of religion.

Without pursuing the metaphysical discussion further, we turn to the third chapter, which discusses the essence of religion. He first alleges, rightly, that the religious feeling is an original element in man's nature, drawn forth and modified by the various outward influences to which he is subjected. He then inquires whether it consists essentially in any form of knowing or acting: and decides that it does not. He locates it in the emotional part of our nature. He next endeavours to ascertain what is the specific nature of this emotion; and having reduced it to its last analysis, with Schleiermacher, he discovers in it nothing but the feeling of *absolute dependence.*

Here we differ from our author, and think that he differs from himself. If the religious feeling be simply that of absolute dependence, then wherever that feeling of dependence exists there is religion. But, by his own admission, the dog has a feeling of absolute dependence on his master, and the infant a similar feeling towards the parent; but to say that the dog or the infant has religion, is either to trifle with the subject, or with the common use of language. If then the infant and the dog are capable of the feeling of absolute dependence, and yet incapable of religion, it is plain that these feelings are not identical or co-extensive.

Indeed the author admits this, on page 96. Speaking of this feeling of the infant he says: "Such an instinctive confidence we may regard as the first bud of feeling, out of which the religious emotions gradually germinate. We should, indeed, hardly call it *religious*, but simply say that such a feeling in the babe is the analogue of religious trust in the man." But why cannot this feeling of absolute dependence be called religious? If the essence of religion lies in this feeling, and this feeling exists in the babe, it must be strictly religious. But if, as he rightly perceives, there is something want-

ing to constitute it religion, then it follows that the essence of religion does not consist in simple dependence. What then is wanting? We answer, the correlative feeling of moral obligation. As the consideration of the absolute object, as he prefers coldly to designate the Father of us all, produces the feeling of absolute dependence, so the consideration of the contingent subject produces that of moral obligation, and in the synthesis of these feelings do we find the essence of religion.

This will be further apparent by another analysis. The duty of worship is, by the author's own showing, an invariable sequence of the religious feeling. Indeed it is questionable whether the one has ever existed without producing the other. There is, therefore, a necessary and direct connexion between the two which can readily be traced. Now let the feeling of absolute dependence exist, as we may readily suppose it to exist, in the mind of an Atheist, or even of an Epicurean, and yet no feeling of moral obligation, from whence can we deduce the conception of worship? It is impossible to make the deduction, for there is no connexion between the feeling of absolute dependence and the duty of worship. We may depend on a blind law of force, and yet not be bound to worship it; or if a personal deity be conceded, we may depend upon him, as the lower orders of creatures do, who are not bound to worship him. But the moment we bring to view the feeling of moral obligation, the inference to the duty of worship is direct and immediate, for the one is but the outward expression of the other. Worship is but the external exhibition of the fact in our consciousness, that we are bound to love and serve God, and to give a grateful expression of our feeling of dependence. The sense of obligation, however, must precede and produce the outward act.

We may appeal in this matter with safety to the common consciousness of mankind. The very word religion, in its etymology, has as its ground-thought the fact of obligation. And even if the accuracy of this etymology be questioned, its very general reception proves all we desire, by establishing the common sentiment of mankind, that there is included in the essence of religion a *religandum*, a sense of obligation. And the common feeling of men regarding it is, that it is something which *binds* the moral nature of man by obligations fastened on the unseen, the spiritual, and the future. Whilst then we concede that dependence is one of its essential elements, we contend that another equally essential is the correlative feeling of moral obligation.

A very important result in the argument will follow from this conclusion. If religion essentially includes the feeling of moral

obligation, as well as dependence, it will follow that it is not a thing exclusively dependent on the intuitional consciousness. As the feeling of a moral obligation brings to view our relations, it lies within the sphere of the logical consciousness, even as limited by our author. It will follow from this, that the logical consciousness must be influenced by whatever agencies are employed to confer religion on the human race: or, in other words, it may be the subject of Revelation and Inspiration. This will destroy his theory of Inspiration, and allow the common views to remain unscathed. It is, therefore, not without reason that he first shuts up the understanding in a prison, and then pares away one-half of the definition of religion, otherwise his premises would be too broad for his conclusion.

Mr. Morell next discusses "the essence of Christianity." We quote a few sentences from the opening of this chapter, as illustrations of its style:—

"The religions of Greece and Rome had each their own peculiar elements of thought and feeling. The Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Christian, all, too, have cherished *their* several conceptions respecting the one living and true God.—In passing, therefore, from the subject of religion generally to the consideration of religion in some distinctive form, as a fact in human history, it will be necessary for us to investigate the subjective process by which a religion, historically speaking, becomes formed and established in the consciousness of different portions of mankind. In this way we shall be better enabled to comprehend what is the *specific* element existing in any one of the great historical forms of religious life, apart from the essence of religion itself; and, as Christianity is one of those forms, we may be led by this procedure to perceive what it is that distinguishes *it* specifically, as a phase of man's inward self-consciousness, from all the rest."—Pp. 106, 107.

This paragraph is an instance of what has struck us very painfully in the perusal of this book. It is the tone of frigid indifference which the author assumes towards Christianity. He seems to think it necessary, while dealing with these high themes, in acting the philosopher to become the stoic. It may be unphilosophical to have so little of the *nil admirari* spirit; but we confess that we have no sympathy with that bloodless and heartless assumption of impartiality, which can enable a man to sit down and anatomize Christianity as coldly as the surgeon takes his scalpel to dissect some nameless and outcast corpse. And we cannot see without a glow of indignation the patronizing air of concession towards Christianity that pervades so much of the speculation of modern dreamers in philosophy; as if it did very well in its time; was a very good sort of thing for the common herd; and really deserved to be encouraged as quite a useful affair where one could get nothing better. To the heart of the man who has known Christ in "the fellowship of his sufferings,"

Christianity is something vastly more than "*a* form of the religious life of humanity,"—it is *the* way, and *the* truth, and *the* life; and the levelling of it so near to other forms of belief which it sternly repudiates, and condemns as utterly false, is felt to be an outrage and injustice. We make these remarks, not as wholly applicable to the work before us, but as finding an illustration in its general tone and spirit, to an extent that has excited in us the most painful emotions. We doubt not that the things that have grated upon our feelings, have been unconsciously put forth by our author; but it is this very unconsciousness that strikes us so painfully, for it is the symptom not of love, but of indifference. It is not thus that Paul and John have written; and it is not thus that they have written who have followed in their footsteps, and known most of the nature of Christianity by their own blessed experience. Such as they have always written in a way that none could fail to see and feel that their reasonings were all wrought in fire.

There begins to appear in this chapter a sophism which runs through all the rest of the book, and leads to some of its worst conclusions. It is the confounding of religion as a state of the human soul, with religion as an outward system of influences and opinions, calculated to produce this internal condition. He starts with an avowal of the intention to discuss only the first, but he soon glides into the assumption that the second has no real existence. The importance of this mistake will appear when we come to the chapter on Revelation and Inspiration.

Thus he says, on page 113,—

"Christianity, like every other religion, consists essentially in a state of man's inner consciousness, which develops itself into a system of thought and activity only in a community of awakened minds.—Apostolical Christianity consisted essentially in the religious consciousness of the first great Christian community."

Now we affirm, that Christianity and Apostolical Christianity consist in more than these, and that they have a distinct existence independent of the minds that receive them. Clear and palpable as this distinction is, and recognized even by Mr. Morell himself, it is almost instantly disregarded, and his whole philosophy of religion is based on the implicit denial of this obvious fact.

He defines Christianity subjectively, as "that form of religion in which we are conscious of absolute dependence and perfect moral freedom being harmonized by love to God." It is somewhat remarkable that, in framing a definition of Christianity, he did not think of going to the only book that authoritatively describes its nature. And it is still more remarkable, that he has given us a definition

which really does not define it at all. We have, in fact, scarcely a single peculiar element of Christianity brought out in this definition. Was not Adam in Paradise conscious of absolute dependence and perfect moral freedom, harmonized by love to God? Are not the angels in heaven conscious of the same thing? How, then, can that be a proper definition of Christianity as a subjective state of the human soul, which, without altering a single term, expresses things so different? Must not the subjective state of an angel, and that of a soul redeemed by the blood of Christ, and living by faith on the Son of God, be essentially different? Yet this difference is completely merged in the definition. He overlooks the cardinal fact, that the substratum of the Christian consciousness is a sense of sin; and its essence that peculiar attitude which the soul assumes toward Jesus Christ, expressed by the one word *faith*.

He then defines Christianity objectively, as "that religion which rests upon the consciousness of the redemption of the world through Jesus Christ." We are puzzled with the terms of this definition. What does he mean by "the redemption of the world?" The phrase has a definite meaning in the Bible, and in the language of evangelical Christendom; but we look in vain for this, or, indeed, any distinct meaning of it, in the work before us. We are charily told that its "nature and extent cannot be decided in a *general* definition." Again: what is meant by a consciousness of this redemption? Does it mean what old-fashioned people call faith? If not, what exactly does it mean? We are forced to say, that there is a sort of cuttle-fish obscurity surrounds our author, whenever he approaches evangelical doctrines and terms, that is sometimes amusing, from the ludicrous dread evinced of uttering what might seem barbarous pietism to some sneering philosophy; but which is oftener painful in the last degree, from its evident indifference to the most vital and essential elements of Christianity.

But we object more seriously to this definition, that it is really not Christianity objectively, but Christianity subjectively, considered. It describes much more nearly the subjective condition of a Christian than the first definition, and then confounds this with the great fact which gives rise to this peculiar state of consciousness. The two definitions do not cohere; nor are they, in any proper sense, the correlatives of one another. And they both omit the cardinal facts of sin, atonement, and faith, as the real elements of the Christianity of the Bible. Had the author deigned to look at the description of Christianity given by one who, although evidently no favourite of his, yet surely understood something of its nature, he would have found it to be, "Christ formed within you, the hope of

glory." If this definition is fairly analyzed, it will be found to present an objective,—the cross of Christ; and a subjective,—the apprehension of that cross by the soul; which will give a far clearer conception of the essential nature of Christianity than anything that has been said by our author.

Our main objection, however, is, the quiet assumption made in it, that Christianity has really no objective existence but in the consciousness of the Christian world. This is manifestly the ground assumed in the definitions; an assumption whose vitiating influence on his whole theory we shall presently see to be very great, and very pernicious.

We see at this point the ingenious manner in which our author prepares the way for his theories of Revelation and Inspiration. He first, by his philosophy, limits all perceptions of truth to the intuitional consciousness, and muzzles the logical faculty with a carefulness that indicates no great fondness for it; a fact that is not perhaps without its rational explanation. He then limits the essence of religion to an Emotional state, dependent on the intuitional consciousness, omitting the equally important element which comes under the control of the logical consciousness. Then, in searching for the essence of Christianity, he limits it to the range of the intuitional faculty, leaving out those important elements that draw into operation other parts of the nature. He then quietly assumes that Christianity can have no objective existence but in the intuitional consciousness of Christians; or, in other words, that it cannot exist as a delineated system of emotions and doctrines in a book, because it is nothing but a form of the intuitional consciousness. All these assumptions we have shown to be untenable; and yet every one is necessary to prepare the way for his theory of Revelation and Inspiration. The whole chain is demanded, and yet every link is broken. It is with this vantage-ground that we proceed to the examination of his theory of Revelation.

Mr. Morell states at the outset, that "a revelation always indicates *a mode of intelligence.* This point should be carefully realized in the outset, since we are almost insensibly led, in many instances, to interchange the idea of a revelation with the object revealed, and introduce, ere we are aware, great confusion in the whole subject." This liability to confound the process of the mind in receiving a revelation, with the object revealed, is signally illustrated by this entire chapter, and even by the very paragraph before us. By what authority does Mr. Morell assert that a revelation *always* indicates a mode of intelligence? By what authority does he thus narrow down the universally received signification of this

word in theological language? The only show of argument he makes, is the statement that "the preaching of an angel would be no revelation to an idiot, and a Bible in Chinese would offer none to a European." Granted. But might not that preaching, or that Bible, be a revelation in itself, independent of the process of mind by which it is apprehended? The very terms imply that it might: for if this presentation be made to an intelligent mind, it perceives it as a revelation; from which it follows that it actually does exist as a revelation, independent of the mind perceiving it; unless the mind may perceive it to be what it actually is not. To assume, therefore, as he does, without a shadow of proof, that, because the process of receiving a revelation is a "mode of intelligence," therefore a revelation itself is so, is either a begging of the whole question, or a most singular inadvertence in a philosopher.

This appears further when he expands his view of revelation, on page 130:—

> "The idea of a revelation is universally considered to imply a case of intelligence in which something is presented *directly* to the mind of the subject; in which it is conveyed by the immediate agency of God himself; in which our own efforts would have been unavailing to attain the same conceptions; in which the truth communicated could not have been drawn by inference from any data previously known; and, finally, in which the whole result is one lying beyond the reach of the logical understanding."

This extraordinary statement we are forced to meet by a flat denial. Mr. Morell surely knows that this is the very ground where he is at issue with the Christian world; and yet he coolly assumes it, without even a pretence at a proof.

We deny that it is always "something presented *directly* to the mind of the subject." The revelation God has given us in latter days is presented *indirectly*, by written or spoken signs, and not directly to the mind, as in the case of those who first received it, and transmitted it to us. If he only means that the mind directly perceives this revelation when once made, we will not object; but the perception of a revelation, and a revelation itself, are very different things.

Neither is a revelation always something "conveyed by the immediate agency of God himself." The whole Christian world holds that God has employed subordinate agencies in revealing himself to men. This was true even as to the first recipients of a revelation. Dreams, visions, symbolical acts and persons, words uttered by angels, and other modes, were employed by God to reveal himself to his servants. It was not only "at sundry times," but "*in divers manners*," that God spake in time past unto the fathers by the

prophets. These, surely, were instrumentalities different from the immediate and direct agency of God himself. Nor is it always truth that could not have been inferred from data previously known. Much of what God has revealed might have been inferred from previously known data, but yet not inferred with that certainty and authority requisite for our necessities. Take the Decalogue. This was revealed directly by God on Sinai. But could men never have known, by inference from previous data, that they should not kill, commit adultery, &c.? If they could not, what becomes of that law written on the heart, by which they are hereafter to be judged? If it is replied that this law is an original revelation, we might grant it. But still this definition of a revelation is destroyed, for we have something revealed which could have been inferred from data previously known; whether known by revelation or otherwise affects not the question. Either, then, the Decalogue was not a revelation, or a revelation is something more than our author defines it to be.

Nor is it something in which "the whole result is one lying beyond the reach of the logical consciousness." This is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of our author, which is continually reappearing: and as it is the only point which he condescends to argue, we will give it a careful attention.

The mode of procedure adopted by Mr. Morell in this investigation is not a little surprising. We are reminded of the Frenchman, the Englishman, and the German, who were each called upon for a description of the camel. The Frenchman went to a neighbouring menagerie, and, by the help of accessible sources of information, furnished in a few days a very clever sketch of the animal. The Englishman travelled to the home of the camel in the desert, and after a considerable time, produced a complete natural history derived from his own observation. The German, however, retired to his study, and there enthusiastically set himself to work to evolve the primitive idea of the animal from the intuitional consciousness; and, by the latest advices, he was at the work still, though vastly encouraged by some "glorious nibbles."

But, in all seriousness, is it not strange that, in examining the nature of revelation, we do not find a single appeal to revelation itself? Who so competent to describe its subjective facts, as those to whom it has confessedly been made? Why, then, has not Mr. Morell come up fairly to the question, whether these men believed that other things were revealed to them than the conceptions of the intuitional consciousness; and whether they deemed the record of these things a real revelation; or the yet more important question, whether their testimony on this point is worth anything at all in the

philosophical investigation? The fact of Mr. Morell's silence on these points excites painful surmises.

After running an analogy between his definition of revelation, and the action of the intuitional consciousness, and showing their identity, he then endeavours "to demonstrate that the whole of the *logical* processes of the human mind are such, that the idea of a revelation is altogether incompatible with them,—that they are in no sense open to its influence, and that they can neither be improved nor assisted by it."

This is strong ground. What, then, is the *demonstration?* Simply that the logical processes take place according to the laws of thought: but these laws are immovable; therefore they cannot be made the subject of a revelation. "Correct reasoning could never be subverted by revelation itself; bad reasoning could never be improved by it." This is most marvellous. Grant that the laws of the logical understanding are immovable, are they infallible? Could not correct reasoning be certified by revelation? Could it not inform us whether we had used these laws of thought legitimately? Could not bad reasoning be corrected by it? Is it possible that the God who made these powers could not furnish them with logical processes and results, which they could rely upon as infallible and correct? This must of course be denied by Mr. Morell; a denial which, to most minds, will be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory.

But he gets a glimpse of the difficulties of his position as he proceeds, for he adds, page 135,—

"There is, however, one more process coming within the province of the logical faculty, which might appear at first sight to be far more nearly compatible with the idea of a revelation, and through the medium of which, indeed, many suppose that the actual revelations of God to man have been made. The process to which I refer is that of verbal exposition. Could not a revelation from God, it might be naturally urged, consist in an exposition of truth, made to us by the lips or from the pen of an inspired messenger, that exposition coming distinctly under the idea of a *logical explication of doctrines*, which it is for mankind to receive as sent to us on Divine authority? Now this is a case of considerable complexity, and one which we must essay as clearly as possible to unravel."

This is undoubtedly rather an ugly case for his theory, but he floats over it as glibly as a cork. The amount of what he says is simply this, that if such a messenger kept within the bounds of our present experience, there would be no revelation to us; if he transcended these bounds, we could only understand his message by the elevation of our religious consciousness. In his own words, such an exposition of truth "would give us no *immediate* manifestation of

truth from God, it would offer no conceptions lying beyond the range of our present data," therefore it would be no revelation. In other words, it would conflict with our theory of revelation, therefore it is no revelation. This is really all we can logically infer from the reasoning.

He asserts that revelation is *always* the presentation of some truth *immediately* to the intuitional consciousness, and must therefore be confined to those truths which come within the range of this power of the soul. Was this the case with the history contained in the first chapters of Genesis? Was it the case with the moral and ceremonial law, the form and arrangements of the Tabernacle, and the structure of the Hebrew commonwealth, revealed to Moses? Was it so with the visions, dreams, voices, and symbols revealed to the prophets? When it was revealed to Simeon by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death until he had seen the Lord's Christ, was this a truth of the intuitional consciousness? When Paul went up to Jerusalem "by revelation," was that a truth of the intuitional consciousness? When he received an account of the last supper from our Lord, was that narration a truth of the intuitional consciousness? Were the resurrection, the second coming of Christ, the scenes of the judgment, the rise of Antichrist, and similar futurities, conceptions of the intuitional consciousness? Were all the minute predictions of prophecy truths of the intuitional consciousness? Is it not obvious at a glance that many things were matters of revelation to inspired men that must fall within the scope of the logical consciousness, even as narrowed down by the psychological theory of our author?

But he also asserts, page 143,—

"That the Bible cannot, in strict accuracy of language, be termed a revelation.—The actual revelation was not made primarily in the book, but in the mind of the writers: and the power which that book possesses of conveying a revelation to us, consists in its aiding in the awakenment and elevation of our religious consciousness."

This bold assertion is not a little startling. We ask, if there is no revelation there, how can it ever become a revelation to us? We grant that a blind man cannot read a book until his eyes are opened; but neither can he then, if the book is not there. We must be spiritually enlightened before we can fully perceive the revelation conveyed in the Bible; but it is hard to see how we can perceive it then, if there is no revelation there to be seen.

But what is the judgment of the writers themselves? Do they call the words they were inspired to speak and write a revelation? "Secret things belong unto the Lord, but the *things revealed*, to us

and our children." Are these things "modes of intelligence?" "The *Revelation* of Jesus Christ," sent and signified by his *angel* to his servant John, who bare record of what he saw, and blessed those who read and hear the words of this prophecy,—was this a "mode of intelligence?" Was the "revelation of the mystery" in which Paul's gospel consisted, "made manifest, and by the *Scriptures* of the prophets made known to all nations," a "mode of intelligence?" When Paul asserted, "the things that I *write* unto you are the commandments of the Lord," did he mean to teach that only the mode of intelligence of those who read them was the command of the Lord? What is the meaning of such phrases as, "the Word of God;" "the oracles of God;" "the Scriptures of inspiration;" "the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth;" "the form of sound words;" "the gospel of God;" and similar expressions? do they only mean a mode of intelligence? Are not all these things in direct contradiction of this starveling theory of revelation?

But suppose we grant the theory for a moment. We ask, what is the precise authority of revelation? Has it any, independent of the mind that receives it? If it has no existence but in the mind perceiving it, how can it challenge any authority over a mind that does not perceive it? How can it demand universal submission on the penalty of eternal perdition? And what guarantee of certainty have we as to any revelation at all? If our intuitional conceptions contradict Mr. Morell's, and his contradict Neander's, and his again contradict Dr. Strauss's, who shall decide between them? How shall we know who or what is right? We have no infallible standard, no absolute rule, to which we may refer these conflicting revelations, and know whether they speak according to the law and the testimony. We are left at sea without chart or compass, and the trackless waters covered with a German mist. "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you?"

But, waiving these difficulties, let us examine whether his theory follows from the premises he has assumed. He alleges that because spiritual perceptions cannot be attained by a mind whose power of intuition is not elevated to their reception, therefore, a revelation can be made only to the intuitive consciousness, and not to the logical. But as the intuitive consciousness perceives by direct perception, this revelation cannot be in the form of a book, but in an immediate presentation of truth to the mind; and a revealed theology is impossible.

The sophism in this argument is not difficult of detection. Grant that spiritual intuitions are impossible to a blind soul; does it follow that a revelation must consist in *nothing else* but these spiritual

intuitions? Is not this assuming the very point in discussion? A revealed theology cannot of itself awaken these intuitions: but does it follow that it can do nothing, much more that it is impossible? Grant that it may be of little use to an unenlightened soul: does it follow that it will be of none to one enlightened? A system of optics is useless to a blind man, and powerless to produce his sight; but let vision be granted him, and is it then useless?

Mr. Morell admits the importance of a theology, and confesses that it is impossible for a man to avoid constructing one for himself, after attaining spiritual conceptions. But what is there in this work that confines it to man? Because God must give the intuitions, does he thereby lose the power of delineating them? Is He who alone understands these emotions fully, alone incapable of describing them? If man can do this work for himself, why may not God do it for him? What is there in it that limits it to the fallible, purblind creature? We cannot, then, for the life of us, see how the conclusion of Mr. Morell will follow from his premises.

But Mr. Morell has saved us some trouble, by virtually giving up his own theory, or at least by allowing it to break down at the very point where he attempts to apply it. He tells us, page 140,—

"The aim of revelation has not been formally to expound a system of doctrine to the understanding, but to educate the mind of man gradually to an inward appreciation of the truth concerning his own relation to God. Judaism was a propædentic to Christianity; but there was no formal definition of any one spiritual truth in the whole of that economy. (!) The purpose of it was to school the mind to spiritual contemplation; to awaken the religious consciousness by types and symbols, and other perceptive means, to the realization of certain great spiritual ideas," &c., &c. "The Apostles went forth to awaken man's power of spiritual intuition; to impress upon the world the great conceptions of sin, of righteousness, of judgment to come, of salvation, of purity, and of heavenly love. This they did by their lives, their teaching, their spiritual *intensity* in action and suffering, their whole testimony to the word, the person, the death, and the resurrection of the Saviour."

Concede for a moment that the sole object of these great agencies was to awaken spiritual intuitions, how, by Mr. Morell's own account of it, was this done? They could not bring the naked idea before the blinded world, and thus cause spiritual perception. How, then, did they proceed? By "*teaching!*" by the use of "types and symbols;" and "giving *testimony* to the word, &c., of the Saviour!" And, pray, what was this but addressing themselves to the logical understanding? If they embodied these great conceptions in teaching, must not this, as far as it was embodied, be "an exposition of Christian doctrine?" How otherwise could they have proceeded? A spiritual conception can only be presented by one man to another through some verbal sign or exposition of the facts that give rise to it.

But this, by the author's own definition of the logical consciousness, is a purely logical process. "Their lives, and their intensity in action and suffering," had no significance in themselves, except as related to their teachings. Madmen and impostors had exhibited the same things; and it was only by verbal exposition that the world could understand the difference between the two cases; in other words, the whole process by which they acted was an appeal to the logical understanding. Here, then, the theory fails at the very point of its application; for it leads us irresistibly to the conclusion, that the revelation made by the inspired teachers of religion was made in the forms of the logical understanding.

The fatal error of Mr. Morell's theory lies in confounding the work of the Spirit of God with the action of human agents in the spiritual enlightenment of man. It is man's work to present the great conceptions of religion in those logical forms in which they have been placed in the revealed word; it is the Spirit's work to awaken the power of spiritual intuition, by which these embodied conceptions can be grasped by the higher consciousness of the soul. By confounding the work of God with that of man, and both with the agency of the revealed truth, he has involved himself in a maze of the most fatal error.

Our limits compel us to pause here, and postpone the conclusion of our remarks until the next number.

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## Art. II.—REMARKS ON I. CORINTHIANS xiii, 9–13.

"*For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.*"

Although there exists very general uniformity of interpretation on the contents of the impressive and important chapter from which the above words are selected, yet it may not be deemed presumptuous to offer a few remarks, with a view to present a different, and, we trust, a more consistent exegesis. The faith of the Christian need not be shaken by the prevailing differences of opinion among commentators. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." "The pillar and ground of the truth" is a rock that never can be moved.

The general views of commentators on the above passage may be given in brief extracts from a few, with whose works most of our readers are familiar.

Mr. Wesley, whose comment is extended by Mr. Benson, has these remarks on verses 9, 10, 11:—

"The wisest of men have here but short, narrow, imperfect conceptions, even of the things round about them, and much more of the deep things of God. And even the prophecies which men deliver from God, are far from taking in the whole of future events, or of that wisdom and knowledge of God which is treasured up in the Scripture revelation. 10. *But when that which is perfect is come*,—at death, and in the last day,—*that which is in part shall vanish away*. Both that poor, low, imperfect, glimmering light, which is all the knowledge we can now attain to; and these slow and unsatisfactory methods of attaining, as well as imparting it to others. 11. In our present state we are mere infants in point of knowledge, compared to what we shall be hereafter."

Mr. Wesley's sermon, entitled, "The Imperfection of Human Knowledge," has for its text, "We know in part."

For Dr. Clarke's views we refer the reader to his Commentary *in loco;* selecting only the following on verse 10:—

"*But when that which is perfect*,—the state of eternal blessedness; *then that which is in part*,—that which is *imperfect*, shall be done away; the imperfect as well as the probationary state shall cease forever."

Mr. Watson has these observations in his sermon on "The Importance of Charity:"—

"Partial knowledge shall hereafter be done away, like twilight before day; like the elements of knowledge received in childhood; and obscure views, like objects seen through Roman glass, which was dim and cloudy, will be superseded by distinct perception and perfect certainty.—*Eng. ed.*, vol. iv, p. 392.

Scott's practical observations on verses 8–13 are to the same purport. On verse 9, he says:—

"He hints that these gifts are adapted only to a state of imperfection. Our best knowledge and our greatest abilities are at present, like our condition, narrow and temporary."

On verse 10 he adds:—

"He takes occasion hence to show how much better it will be with the Church hereafter than it can be here."

Macknight, Henry, and others have given a similar interpretation. Mr. Barnes, of Philadelphia, departs very little from the beaten path, and, on verse 10, observes:—

"The sense here is that in heaven,—a state of absolute perfection,—that which is 'in part,' or which is imperfect, shall be lost in superior brightness. All imperfection will vanish. And all that we here possess that is obscure, shall be lost in the superior and perfect glory of that eternal world. All our present unsatisfactory modes of obtaining knowledge shall be unknown. All shall be clear, bright, and eternal."—See *Barnes in loco.*

From the above quotations, which might have been much extended, it will be seen, even without the trouble of further reference to

the respective authors, that their opinions nearly correspond; the difference being more in expression than in thought. The following may be considered a fair summary of what has been advanced:—That the apostle, from the 9th verse to the end of the chapter, treats of the imperfection of human knowledge in our probationary state, as compared with our attainments in a future and heavenly state of existence. Our knowledge here is represented as that of infancy; but hereafter it shall be that of mature understanding. Now, (that is, in this life,) we are said to see through a glass darkly,—dimly, imperfectly; but then, (that is, in heaven,) face to face,—openly, clearly, fully.

Against this interpretation there lie several objections.

1. It seems to destroy the unity of the Apostle's argument, and implies a sudden transition from one theme to another, without necessity or advantage.

2. It makes the Apostle introduce what we cannot but regard as an inappropriate illustration of his evident design and general argument.

3. It is not consistent with itself; and, if pursued, proves more than the Scriptures warrant respecting the heavenly state.

On the first objection, we ask the reader to compare the subjects treated of in the 12th and 14th chapters respectively, and it will be perceived that they are a continued argument taken together; and from the general bearing of the 13th chapter, it would seem requisite to carry out the suggestion or purpose expressed in the last verse of the twelfth chapter. Our reason for the second objection may be discerned in the following remarks:—The main design of St. Paul in the Epistle is to correct the evils existing among the Corinthians. More especially in chapters 12, 13, and 14, he would not have them ignorant of the nature, object, employment, and subordination of various gifts and offices. He is throughout addressing the Church on its present state, and is not contemplating the condition of saints in the heavenly world. Respecting the third objection we shall only now observe, that if knowledge is to be perfected in the heavenly state, why not the gift of prophecy and the gift of tongues? These are all spoken of together, and in the same relation to a special topic.

The erroneous modern interpretations of the passage before us may have arisen from dependence upon the authorized English version, which we shall endeavour to show is not accordant with the sense of the original. The words τέλειον, perfect, and μέρους, part, are not properly opposite terms in the sense of perfection and imperfection; and the words ὅταν and τότε, in the tenth verse, and

also ἄρτι and τότε, in the twelfth, do not relate to each other in the sense of this world and the world to come. They severally refer to the circumstances of the Church, and to the condition in which its members would be found, by pursuing the course recommended by the writer of the Epistle.

The phrase ἐκ μέρους, here rendered "in part," is certainly important, and requires minute consideration. It occurs four times in the thirteenth chapter, and once in the twelfth, verse 27. Thus reads verse 9: Ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν. So verse 10: τότε τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται. And again, verse 12: ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους. The import of the phrase, both here and in the twelfth chapter, must be sought by a careful examination of St. Paul's argument and design. In the twelfth chapter ἐκ μέρους is rendered, "in particular,"—a somewhat indefinite phrase, as there employed, but to be understood adverbially: "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular;" that is, members *individually* considered. The hands, the feet, the eyes, are parts of the body,—separately, they are members; collectively, they constitute the body of Christ. God hath so organized the different parts into one body, that there is and must be a mutual dependence and sympathy,—"that there should be *no schism* in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another." This analogy is introduced to show the use of different gifts and offices in the Church, and the necessity of their subserving the profit or edification of all. The sympathetic unity of the body should be such, that whether one member suffer, all the members should suffer with it; or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Though the various offices were "members in particular," separately and severally appointed and endowed, they were not to be considered members independently of, and acting inimically to, each other. "For the body is not one member, but many." The "diversities of gifts," "differences of administrations," and the "diversities of operations," were given to every man who had received them to "profit withal," or with reference to the advantage of the whole body. The sense of ἐκ μέρους, in 1 Cor. xii, 27, is therefore plain. The preposition ἐκ may here have an adverbial force, and joined with μέρους, from μείρω, to divide, signifies, individually or partitively.

In the last four verses of the twelfth chapter, the Apostle recapitulates the diversities of gifts and offices, respecting which he had spoken in the former part of the chapter, concluding thus:—"But covet earnestly the best gifts, and yet I show unto you a more excellent way." There is a vast difference between the possession of

gifts or offices, and their proper or beneficial employment. They can be profitably used only when the possessor is entirely under the controlling, hallowing influence of love divine. Thus the Apostle argues, (chap. xiii, 1–3,) Though I have all the gifts combined, with which you are severally endowed,—without love I am nothing, it profiteth me nothing; that is, to himself, or the Church, they would be useless. The inspired writer then describes the nature, influence, and permanency of love, (verses 6, 7,) and then declares, (verse 8,) "love never faileth,"—is always efficient, and will never cease to be otherwise; it will be of perpetual use to its possessor and to the Church. But whether there be prophecies, tongues, or knowledge, they will be rendered useless without love; their utility had, in fact, been destroyed, as the whole Epistle shows, *by the existence of a party spirit.* The generous flame of Christian charity had been quenched, and the precious gifts and qualifications for usefulness misemployed. This humiliating fact, then, the Apostle again states, and in this thirteenth chapter connects it with other painful facts, as cause and effect. Prophecies, tongues, knowledge, would be rendered unprofitable as they had been. Wherefore? *ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν.* This verse assigns the reason for the existing defects of the Corinthian Church. Our version reads,—"For we know in part, and we prophesy in part." This cannot mean that the gifts were rendered useless because they had been bestowed only in a partial or limited degree, or imperfectly. Such was not the fact; for the Apostle says, in the first chapter of this Epistle, "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in all things ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge; even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you: so that ye *come behind* in no gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." The Corinthians had the gifts spoken of in a high degree of perfection, and are recommended to covet them earnestly. The great error of the Church was this,—they had employed their gifts and offices for personal or party purposes; by so doing, the unity of the body had been destroyed, and divisions created. See the charge of defection and schism, in the tenth and eleventh verses of the first chapter. It is repeated in the third chapter and third verse, and again alluded to in the eleventh chapter and eighteenth verse. In the passage more particularly under consideration, (chap. xiii, 9,) we regard this charge of schism as again repeated, and assigned as the cause of that spiritual imbecility which existed to a lamentable extent, and as the cause also of the inefficiency of extraordinary gifts. Our words, "in part," therefore,

do not convey the Apostle's true sense. We have seen that, in chap. xii, 27, the words ἐκ μέρους are translated, "in particular," and signify individually or partitively, and this in connexion with an argument against the abuse of gifts for schismatic purposes, or so that division would be the inevitable result. Here, then, (ch. xiii, 9,) ἐκ μέρους conveys the same idea, and the verse is a declaration, that, having employed their extraordinary gifts for personal or party purposes, they had failed to promote "the perfecting of the saints, the edifying of the body of Christ."

The radical meaning of the word μέρους, from μείρω, to divide, and its use in other places, strongly corroborate this view. There may be places where μέρους seems to signify "partially," or "in some degree," as in 2 Cor. i, 14, and v, 2; but we think in every place the primary meaning will be found to be, division or portion, as distinct from the whole or aggregate of anything. The following passages may be consulted:—Luke xv, 12; John xix, 23; Rev. xvi, 19; Hebrews ix, 5; John xiii, 8; Matthew xxiv, 51; 1 Peter iv, 16. The word occurs in Acts xxiii, 6–9, and is translated "part," but not in the sense of imperfection. Every reader will observe it is used in the sense of our word party: "But when Paul perceived that the one part, ἓν μέρος, (one party,) were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, &c., he cried out, &c., And the scribes that were of the Pharisees' part (τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων, of the party of the Pharisees) arose." Professor Robinson, under μέρος, observes, in reference to Acts xxiii, 6–9, "Here it may be rendered party." It is, therefore, consistent with the general signification of the word, and in keeping with its general use, that in the passage under discussion it may be rendered "party," as opposed to unity and charity.

It will be admitted that the meaning of the preposition ἐκ is not expressed by our word "in." "Its primary signification is, out of—from—of, spoken of such objects as before were *in* another, but are now separated from it, either in respect of place, time, source, or origin," &c. It is the direct antithesis of εἰς, which has "the primary idea of motion into any place or thing." The true sense of ἐκ in any place must be determined by the context and scope of the writer. It is often intended to express "the motive, ground, occasion, whence anything proceeds," as in Philippians i, 16, 17: "The one preach Christ of contention," (ἐξ ἐριθείας,) "but the other of love," (ἐξ ἀγάπης.) So in 2 Cor. ii, 4: "For out of much affliction," (ἐκ γὰρ πολλῆς θλίψεως;) and verse 17 of the same chapter: "But as of sincerity, as of God," ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ εἰλικρινείας, ἀλλ ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ;) that is, the motives that actuate us in speaking are sincere and godly. This certainly appears to be the sense here: "For we

know in part," (ἐκ μέρους, out of party,) "and we prophesy in part," (ἐκ μέρους, out of party,) that is, from personal or party motives or designs. Therefore their knowledge and other gifts had been rendered useless and vain. The verb καταργέω signifies to render useless,—to make void. The effect and the cause are joined together by the causative particle γάρ, "which expresses the reason of what has been before affirmed or implied; and means *for*, in the sense of because." Thus it further appears that verse the ninth is a continuation of the subject of the eighth verse, and can only be so by admitting that the Apostle is assigning the reason of the failure of the Corinthian gifts,—"because we know of party, and prophesy of party;" that is, such have been the motives of action. The tenth verse then follows, in striking beauty and appositeness: "Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τότε τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται,"—"but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away;" or, more literally, and in accordance with the scope of the Apostle, "When on the contrary is established the perfect state, then that of party shall be avoided."

There can be no difficulty in ascertaining what it is St. Paul here means by a perfect state. It is that state of maturity in Christian principle and conduct, set forth from verse fourth to the eighth, in which also are most touchingly described the spiritual achievements of love to man, proceeding from love to God. In the eleventh verse, the Apostle may be considered as introducing his former conduct and experience as illustrative of his theme. There was a time when he had been carried away by personal feeling and party zeal. But then he was a child,—of limited capacity and attainment in the things of God. But when he became a man,—when the love of Christ and the love of souls filled his heart,—then he put away childish things—the things of party—the spirit of sect—those sure evidences of infantine knowledge and attainments. For "now," that is, under these circumstances, "we see through a glass darkly,"—neither know ourselves perfectly, nor discern the excellences of others; but "then," that is, when the perfect state is come, "we see face to face,"—perceive and acknowledge the same general features in every fellow-Christian. "Now we know," ἐκ μέρους, of party, and hence, seeing imperfectly, we use our gifts to promote personal or partial objects; but "then," when under the influence of love, we know as we are known, and kindly think and speak the same. "These things," St. Paul has, "in a figure, transferred to" himself "and to Apollos," for the sake of the Corinthians; as he says, "That ye might learn in us not to think of *men* above that which is written, that no one of

you be puffed up for one against another," (chap. iv, 6.) And "now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity:" because that faith and hope of which he speaks, may coexist with party zeal and strife; but charity annihilates all selfish and party considerations, and, glowing with Divine intensity in the heart and life, tends to promote the unity and edification of the body of Christ. This, then, is the "*more excellent way.*"

The foregoing version and paraphrase seem to accord best with the general tenor of the Epistle. This may be ascertained by a brief review of its contents, and a recapitulation of what has been advanced.

In the Corinthian Church divisions had gone to a fearful extent, and contentions had destroyed unity of mind and judgment, (chap. i, 10, 11.) By glorying in men, and using base materials in building on the true foundation laid by apostolic teaching, they had prevented growth in grace, and endangered their salvation, (chap. iii, passim.) By tolerating sinful abuses and corrupt doctrines for party purposes, further inroads had been made on the peace and purity of the Church. Some of the Corinthians wished for directions on these matters, and the Apostle gives explicit information in chapters v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, and xi, that they might be brought to one mind and judgment. In chapter xi, verses 17 and 18, he again specially mentions the existence of divisions; and in chapter xii, he designs to remove the ignorance respecting the origin and use of diversities of gifts and offices. These were not to be employed to create divisions and engender strifes, but to promote unity; which they would do, if the Corinthians pursued the "more excellent way" of following after that charity,—the necessity and influence of which are described in chapter xiii, from the first verse to the seventh, inclusive. In verses 8 and 9 he again adverts to the evils of schism, and concludes the chapter by clearly showing that the spirit of piety would destroy the spirit of party. Thus the Epistle, not only to this place, but to the end, may be considered as a treatise on the causes, consequences, and cure of the schismatic spirit which prevailed in the Corinthian Church. In the last chapter St. Paul gives this solemn injunction: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong. Let all your things be done with *charity.*" Yea, and as though he could not employ that divine word, "*charity,*" too frequently, or urge its principle too strongly, he thus concludes,—Ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ Ἀμήν: "My love be with you all in Christ Jesus," or, as some would read the passage, (the pronoun being omitted in some manuscripts,) "May love prevail among

you;" or, supplying the word God, "The love of God be with you."*

These considerations have led us to the adoption of our interpretation of chapter thirteen. We would only add here the old translation of verses 9, 10, and 12, as given in Dr. Clarke's Commentary, in loco, being, as he says, "the first translation of it into the English language which is known to exist," "which seems to exhibit both a text and language, if not prior to the time of Wiclif, yet certainly not posterior to his day." (The whole chapter, in black letter, is given in the place referred to.) Verses 9, 10: "Forsothe of party we hav knowen: and of partye prophecien. Forsothe whenne that schal cum to that is perfit: that thing that is of partye schal be avoydid." Ver. 12: "Forsothe we seen now bi a miror in dercnesse: thanne forsothe face to face. Nowe I know of partye: thanne forsothe I schal know as I am knowen."

Sufficient has been advanced to convey our opinion of St. Paul's sentiments in the chapter now before us. But as this opinion may be considered novel, and an invasion of an established interpretation, we shall present other reasons for its adoption, trusting to the candid attention of the reader, and soliciting his patience.

Two states are spoken of by the Apostle,—a state of perfection, and a state of imperfection. The articulation, understanding, and reasoning of children are imperfect compared with the powers of men,—those who have come to years of maturity. It was not possible to perceive any object as clearly by the obscure reflecting mirrors of the agents, as by direct vision. We hold that the Apostle, by these vivid comparisons, does not mean to portray our present imbecile powers and attainments, or obscure views in general, but to describe the imperfect state of the Corinthian Church. The imperfection to be avoided, and which the Apostle deprecates, consisted in, or was the fruit of, party strifes and contentions; and the employment or abuse of divine gifts for the elevation of persons or parties. Such a course was childish, weak, unchristian. The exhor-

* On verse 22d of this last chapter, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha," Mr. Barnes has the following appropriate and discriminating remarks:—"This is a most solemn and affecting close of the whole Epistle. It was designed to direct them to the great and essential matter of religion,—the love of the Lord Jesus, and was intended, doubtless, to turn away their minds from the subjects which had agitated them, the *disputes* and *dissensions* which had rent the Church into factions, to the great inquiry whether they loved the Saviour. It is implied that there was danger, in their *disputes* and *strifes* about minor matters, of neglecting the love of the Lord Jesus, or of substituting attachment to party in the place of that love to the Saviour, which alone could be connected with eternal life."

tation is therefore to "put away childish things," as he himself had done, who could say, chap. ix, 22:—"I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

In the former part of the Epistle, St. Paul had spoken of the imperfect state of the Church:—"And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto *babes* in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal, for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? (Chap. iii, 1–3.) Here, as in the thirteenth chapter, the condition of the Church is compared with the limited capacities of infants, and in both places the same cause is assigned, namely, the divisive principles and party activity of the Corinthians. It follows, therefore, that the state of perfection opposed to that spirit, should be sought and enjoyed *in this life.*

Our commentators consider "that which is perfect," as descriptive of the heavenly world, and marginal Bibles refer us to Heb. vii, 28; Rev. xxi, 1; and 1 John iii, 2. These passages are parallel with the received interpretation, but not with the Apostle's text and sentiments. The state of perfection recommended would prove an effectual remedy for the spiritual weakness of the Church. "Envyings, strifes, and divisions" should cease, the adherence to party be avoided, and all spiritual gifts be advantageously used. That state of perfection consists in the dominion of love,—the supremacy of Christian affection. The Apostle thus sets forth its subduing and hallowing power: "Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." Then adds the Apostle, as if to sum up all, "Love never faileth." Imperishable in its nature, it will perpetually promote the edification of the Church. Miraculous gifts and powers are inefficient without it, whereas love is not only the distinguishing characteristic of the faithful to the end of time, but it never faileth to produce its legitimate fruit of peace and unity. This happy state of perfection effectually eradicates every root of bitterness, conquers the obduracies of our nature, softens the adamant of prejudice. When unfailing and perfect love rules the heart and life, the possessor seeth not "through a glass darkly," because he lives above the spirit of party. "Nothing tends more to ennoble the understanding, and to enrich it with the most precious truths, than the influence of universal love.

It dissipates the darkling mists of prejudice, and breaks down the contracted limits of party feeling; thereby enabling the mind to take a wider range of thought, and to contemplate truth in its grander and more general bearings. A man thus sits upon a lofty eminence, from which he surveys the whole country round; and being unfettered by the local boundaries of town and village, he judges more correctly of their several claims to distinction, and their comparative bearings upon the general good.* This then is the state of perfection recommended by St. Paul as the more excellent way, and without which all else is vanity—nothing. Seeing "face to face,"—"knowing as we are known,"—are amplifications of the Apostle's views of a perfect state, and descriptive of that tender sympathy, mutual confidence and unbounded satisfaction which flow from the communion of saints, and will be consummated in everlasting glory.

In confirmation of our views, it may also be stated that the deficiencies of childhood, and the completeness of manhood, are often adduced by St. Paul to set forth analogically the high or low attainments of Christians. In 1 Cor. xiv, 20, he says, "Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be ye men." So also in Heb. v, 12–14, we have these words:—"For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk is unskilful (hath no experience) in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." Compare 1 Cor. iii, 1–3. But the most important passage corroborative of our interpretation of St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xiii, is that contained in the Epistle to the Ephesians, fourth chapter, from the first to the sixteenth verse, inclusive. The whole passage must be read, and it will be seen that the Apostle has the same object in view in both places. The evils of a party spirit may not have been as extensive in the Ephesian Church as in the Corinthian. But even in Ephesus it was necessary to show that all gifts proceeded from the self-same spirit, and that all offices were appointed for the edification of the compacted body; not for the aggrandizement of persons or parties. As in the Corinthian Epistle, so in the Ephesian, unity and love are urged, as necessary for spiritual growth. Gifts and offices were bestowed "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying

* See Macbrair's Sermon, Wesleyan Magazine, Eng., Oct., 1839, p. 811.

of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ," (verses 12–15.) It will be observed here, that not only are the writer's argument and doctrine in the two places similar, but the forms of speech are precisely parallel. To be swerved from the truth by party prejudices, was characteristic of infantine attainments in Christian knowledge. Hence the Corinthians were called "babes," (*νήπιοι,*) and those of similar character in Ephesus, "children," (*νήπιοι.*) To be established in love, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, is a state of perfection; that perfection in each chapter is described as coming to manhood. In the thirteenth of 1 Cor., the perfection (*τέλειον*) of the tenth verse answers to the becoming a man (*γέγονα ἀνήρ*) of the twelfth verse. In Ephesians iv, 13, both phrases are united, and the believer who is wholly under the influence of Christian principles, is designated a perfect man, (*ἄνδρα τέλειον.*) The sense of the Apostle in the Ephesian Epistle cannot be controverted; but it is allowed that the comparison of parallel passages "is a most important help for interpreting such parts of Scripture as may appear to us obscure and uncertain." Hence we contend that the parallel mode of arguing, and the identical words and phrases employed, determine the *usus loquendi* in the thirteenth of 1 Corinthians.*

Mr. Barnes has well remarked, on St. Paul's illustration of the nature of charity, from its manifestations in Christians toward each other, that "the reason why he made use of this illustration, rather than its nature as evinced towards God, was probably because it was especially necessary for them to understand in what way it should be manifested towards each other. There were contentions and strife among them; there were of course suspicions, and jealousies, and heart-burnings; there would be unkind judging—the imputation of improper motives and selfishness; there were envy, and pride, and boasting, all of which were inconsistent with love; and Paul, therefore, evidently designed to correct those evils, and to produce a different state of things, by showing them what would be produced by the influence of love." We would further suggest, that St. Paul

* Luther's version makes Ephesians iv, 13, parallel with 1 Cor. xiii, 10. We are, however, not aware that any other modern version follows the example.

designed to convey a lofty idea of the genuine fruits of love, as contrasted with the low and contemptible results of a party spirit. In sixteen particulars we have an illustration of that great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and each particular finds its antithesis in the actual fruits of a party spirit. These evil fruits are, moreover, indicated in several parts of the Epistle, and in such terms as to lead us to conclude that the antithesis was contemplated by the Apostle when he enumerated the spiritual achievements of Christian principle. Let us adduce a few examples:—

"Charity suffereth long, and is kind."—"Now, therefore, there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law with one another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?" (chap. vi, 7.) "Charity envieth not."—"Whereas there is among you envying," (iii, 3.) "Charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up," (iv, 6, 18, 19; v, 2; and viii, 1.) "Doth not behave itself unseemly—seeketh not her own."—"Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." "Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved," (x, 24, 33.) Charity "rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."—"And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you." "Your glorying is not good," (v, 2, 6.) Thus the inspired writer shows how infinitely superior is the spirit of love in its heavenly operations, to the spirit of party and prejudice. And therefore he declares, "when that which is perfect is come, then that which is of party shall be done away."

The momentous importance of this chapter is universally acknowledged. Dr. Clarke observes, "it is the most important in the whole New Testament." That importance arises from the views it presents respecting the benign influences and operations of love, and the unequivocal manner in which its necessity is stated. All things without love are as nothing; and every person who has not love, whatever else he may have, is nothing in the sight of God, and for the good of man. The common exposition of the latter part detracts from, if not destroys, the magnificence of the Apostle's argument. The superior enjoyments and attainments of the citizens of heaven are more definitely stated in many parts of the Pauline Epistles, as well as in other portions of Sacred Scripture. But what can exceed the grandeur and sublimity of the sacred penman, when he is considered as continuing his discourse throughout the chapter? The subduing power attributed to love, invests it with

sweet and divine attractions. To possess it in maturity, is a state of perfection which sanctifies all human attainments—renders efficient all special gifts, and obliterates all selfish rivalry and vain-glorying in men. Love produces a gracious and hallowing sympathy, by which Christians, of every name and nation, see "face to face,"—enter into each other's feelings, and bear one another's burdens. They appreciate each other's excellences, and make allowances for mutual infirmities.

> "Love, like death, hath all destroy'd,
> Render'd all distinctions void;
> Names, and sects, and parties fall,
> Thou, O Christ! art all in all."

Then, with what force does the Apostle's decision appeal to the conscience of every man, especially to the Pharisaic—or sectarian, or envious,—or to those who are proud—boastful of their descent, giving "heed to fables and endless genealogies," rather than "godly edifying which is in faith!" The love of God and man must expel every opposing principle, or we are nothing. In the inculcation and enjoyment of love are comprehended the distinguishing characteristics of the Christian salvation: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," &c.; "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Finally, we may remark, that the views of the Apostle's "doctrine and fellowship" explained in this article, are of universal, perpetual, and practical utility. The Church, in every age and nation, has been endangered by a party spirit. The gates of hell have prevailed more extensively by this agency than by any other. At various periods since the Reformation, the spirit of party has been predominant. Controversy has been conducted with acrimony, and the meek spirit of religion sacrificed at the shrine of intolerant superstition or sectarian zeal. A higher degree of spirituality has, in many churches, produced a better state of things externally, and the spirit of love and unity is delightfully manifested. To stifle this heavenly flame would seem to be the design of that man of sin —the son of perdition—who, in his characteristic and recent manifestations, "opposeth and exalteth himself" against all that is spiritual, which happens not to be within his own enclosure. Papal Puseyism may yet make fearful ravages, through the agency of wolves in sheep's clothing; but let the faithful be on their guard against every violation of the law of love. "Charity suffereth long, and is kind;" and however fierce and furious the abetters of a false

unity may be, or earnest in the denunciation of those who differ from them, let it be the special effort of the pious of every church to cultivate brotherly love, that we may be comforted by the exercise of mutual faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Among thousands of individual Christians this gracious gift of love is cherished, and by it their profession is adorned. It becometh the churches, in these days of peril, to imbibe and manifest the same lovely tempers, fruits of grace, that God in all things may be glorified. Love will unite all hearts and hands for the spread of our common salvation, and then the spirit of piety will annihilate the spirit of party. "When that which is perfect is come, then that which is of party shall be done away." "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments. As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life forever more."

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## Art. III.—WILLIAM WIRT.

*Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States.* By John P. Kennedy. In two vols. 8vo., pp. 417, 450. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849.

Mr. Kennedy has very appropriately inscribed these Memoirs "To the Young Men of the United States, who seek for guidance to an honourable fame:" for no one of our departed public men retained, through a long life of professional and political labour, so much youthful feeling as did William Wirt; and there have been few more worthy to be held up as an example of well-employed manhood. He was one whom "age could not wither," and who yet honoured his years by the dignity of his employments and the purity of his character,—a young man old, and therefore fit to be commended to young men, as one with whom they can sympathize while they respect him.

William Wirt, we gather from these pages, was born on the 8th of November, 1772, at Bladensburg, Maryland. His father, Jacob Wirt, who had emigrated from Switzerland, and gathered some little property in Bladensburg, died two years after, leaving his small estate to be divided among his wife and six children,—

a very inadequate provision for their support. From this time up to his eleventh year, Mr. Kennedy's only knowledge of Wirt's life is derived from an autobiography, written by him while attorney-general, to amuse his children: it contains many interesting anecdotes of his school-days, and sketches of cotemporary scenes and companions. After this he was patronized, and probably his school expenses paid, by a liberal acquaintance of the family, who afterwards moved to Georgia, and married one of Wirt's sisters. When Wirt was about fifteen, he left the academy where he had been placed, for the post of tutor in the family of Mr. Benjamin Edwards. Here he remained twenty months: and this period he always regarded as one of the most fortunate of his youth. Mr. Edwards was a man of rare good sense, and the young scholar had under his roof the advantages of good advice and a well-stocked library. Some of Wirt's best letters in after years are addressed to this early friend.

In November, 1792, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of the law, in the court-house or shire village of Culpepper county, Virginia. He continued his practice here some one or two years, gradually extending his business into the neighbouring county of Albemarle. Here he became acquainted with the family of Dr. George Gilmer, who lived at Pen Park, his family seat, near Charlotteville, and the result was that he married that gentleman's eldest daughter, Mildred, in 1795. The connexion was a most fortunate one for Wirt, the family being highly cultivated and respectable, he residing with them, and enjoying an intercourse with such neighbours as Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe.

From this period his biographer dates the prosperity of his career. His practice increased, and he made several friendships which lasted him through life; one in particular with a contemporary at the bar, Dabney Carr, afterwards Judge Carr, who appears to have been his most familiar correspondent in after years. But misfortune soon overshadowed this sunshine of his youth. Two years after his marriage he lost his excellent father-in-law, and three years after that, his wife. Compelled to change his residence in consequence of these afflictions, he soon after removed to Richmond, and was elected clerk to the House of Delegates, which post he occupied three sessions. These three years were marked by nothing more interesting than an exciting trial and a Fourth of July oration,—the usual reminiscences of a lawyer. In the last of the three sessions, the legislature divided the chancery jurisdiction of the State into three districts, and Wirt, then twenty-nine years of age, was appointed chancellor of the district comprising the Eastern Shore and the tide-water counties below Richmond. Upon this he took a second wife, Eliza-

beth, the second daughter of Col. Robert Gamble, of Richmond, and removed to Williamsburg, where the duties of his office compelled him to reside, in 1802.

But the salary of the chancellorship proving too little, he resigned in the following year, and commenced practising law in Norfolk. In September of this year his eldest daughter was born, an event which affected him deeply and seriously. Writing to his wife afterwards, we find him thus beautifully and unconsciously expressing the natural emotion of a Christian husband and father:—

"'How much do I owe you! Not only the creation of my hopes of happiness on earth, but the restoration of my hopes of happiness in a better world. * * * I must confess that the natural gayety of my character, rendered still more reckless by the dissipation into which I had been allured, had sealed my eyes, and hidden from me the rich inheritance of the righteous. It was you whose example and tender exhortations rescued me from the horrors of confirmed guilt, and taught me once more to raise my suppliant mind to God. The more I reflect on it, the more highly do I prize this obligation. I am convinced, thoroughly and permanently convinced, that the very highest earthly success, the crowning of every wish of the heart, would still leave even the earthly happiness of man incomplete. The soul has more enlarged demands, which nothing but a communion with Heaven can satisfy. The soul requires a broader and more solid basis, a stronger anchor, a safer port in which to moor her happiness, than can be found on the surface of this world.

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"'Remembering how often Heaven snatches away our idols, to show us the futility of sublunary enjoyments, and to point our thoughts and affections to a better world, I pray that its kindness would so attemper my love for my wife and her child, as not to destroy the reflection, that for them, as well as every other blessing, I depend on the unmerited beneficence of my God; and never to permit my love for them to destroy my gratitude, my humble dependence on the Father of the Universe, whose power is equalled by his parental kindness and mercy.'"—Vol. i, pp. 105, 106.

In this year, just previous to the birth of his daughter, Wirt wrote the letters of "The British Spy," which were once so popular. They first appeared in the "Argus" newspaper, in Richmond. The correspondence and criticisms relating to them in these volumes are interesting, but do not fall within the scope of our article.

The remainder of Mr. Kennedy's work is made up chiefly of extracts from Wirt's private and public letters, from which we can only reserve space for a few such quotations as bring into strong relief the peculiar traits of his character. In 1804 we find him thus writing to his friend Carr:—

"'I am persuaded that there is a range of subjects above the reach of human reason; subjects on which reason cannot decide, because 'it cannot command a view of the whole ground.' Could the tick, which invades and buries itself in my foot, conceive or describe the anatomy of my frame? Could the man who has passed every moment of his life at the foot of the Andes, paint the

prospect which is to be seen from its summit? No more, in my opinion, can reason discuss the being of a God, or the reality of that miracle, the Christian faith. If you ask me why I believe in the one or the other, I can refer you to no evidence which you can examine, because I must refer you *to my own feelings.* I cannot, for instance, look abroad on the landscape of spring, wander among blooming orchards and gardens, and respire the fragrance which they exhale, without feeling the existence of a God: my heart involuntarily dilates itself, and, before I am aware of it, gratitude and adoration burst from my lips. If you ask me why these objects have never produced this effect before, I answer that I cannot tell you. Perhaps my nature has grown more susceptible; perhaps I have learned to rely less on the arbitrations of human reason; perhaps I have gotten over the vanity of displaying the elevation and perspicuity of intellect on which the youthful deist is apt to plume himself. Whatever may be the cause, I thank it for leading me from the dreary and sterile waste of infidelity. I am happy in my present impressions, and had rather sit alone, in Arabia Felix, than wander over the barren sands of the desert, in company with Bolingbroke and Voltaire.'"—Vol. i, pp. 119, 120.

Wirt was now rapidly advancing to eminence in his profession. But in the midst of increasing business, he was always thinking of other objects. He was about this time concerned in a series of essays, called The Rainbow, in the Richmond paper, and began to meditate the biography of Patrick Henry. The following is from a letter, in 1805, to his early patron and friend, Mr. Edwards:—

"'No, sir. It is the Green River land which makes me sigh; the idea of being released from the toils of my profession by independence, in six or eight years, and of pursuing it afterwards at my ease, and only on great occasions, and for great fees; of having it in my power to indulge myself in the cultivation of general science; of luxuriating in literary amusements, and seeking literary eminence. These are the objects which I have been accustomed to look to, as the most desirable companions in the meridian of life.'"—Vol. i, p. 135.

In 1806 his prosperity in business was such as enabled him to remove with his family to Richmond, where he had always desired to reside. The year after is made memorable in his life by the trial of Aaron Burr, in which he was retained as one of the government counsel. To this we are indebted for the speech in which occurs the description of Blannerhasset's Island, so familiar to our school-boy ears, and, one who has wandered over that beautiful spot may be permitted to add, so true, notwithstanding its rhetorical colouring.

The same year occurred the attack of the Leopard on the Chesapeake, which roused the nation with expectation of war with Great Britain. Wirt caught the military fever, and entered into the preparations for raising a legion with a spirit which reminds one of Walter Scott and his troop of horse, in the time of the threatened Bonaparte invasion. But the embargo came, and the legion was never raised. In 1808, Mr. Jefferson advised Wirt to go into public life as a member of the House of Representatives, where, he says in his letter

to him, he "will at once be placed at the head of the republican body;" but Wirt declined, on the ground that duty to his family required him to adhere to his profession. When Jefferson retired from the Presidency, however, and Mr. Madison became the nominee of the democratic caucus, Wirt interfered so far in public matters as to write warmly in defence of the nomination; and the same year he was elected to a seat in the House of Delegates at Richmond.

In the midst of so much occupation, he does not, however, neglect his correspondence, &c., nor waver in his steadfastness of character. To Edwards he writes, more sadly than usual:—

"'I thank God that I have lived long enough, and seen sorrow enough, to be convinced that religion is the proper element of the soul, where alone it is at home and at rest. That to any other state it is an alien, vagrant, restless, perturbed, and miserable,—dazzled for an hour by a dream of temporal glory, but awaking to disappointment and permanent anguish. It is the bed of death which chases away all these illusive vapours of the brain which have cheated us through life, and which shows us to ourselves, naked as we are. Then, if not sooner, every man finds the truth of your sentiment, the importance of a well-grounded Christian hope of future happiness. We need not, indeed, so awful a monitor as a death-bed, to convince us of the instability of *earthly* hopes of any kind. We have but to look upon nations abroad, and men at home, to see that everything under the sun is uncertain and fluctuating; that prosperity is a cheat, and virtue often but a name. Look upon the map of Europe. See what it was fifty or sixty years ago—what it has since been, and what it is likely to become. Formerly partitioned into separate independent and energetic monarchies, with vigorous chiefs at their head, maintaining with infinite policy the balance of power among them, and believing that balance eternal: France, in the agonies of the birth of liberty, her *Campus Martius* resounding with *fêtes*, in celebration of that event: the contagion spreading into other nations: monarchs trembling for their crowns, and combining to resist the diffusion of the example: the champions of liberty, and Bonaparte among the rest, victorious everywhere, and everywhere carrying with them the wishes and prayers of America. Yet now see, all at once, the revolution *gone*, like a flash of lightning; France suddenly buried beneath the darkness of despotism, and the voracious tyrant swallowing up kingdom after kingdom. The combining monarchs thought that they were in danger of nothing but the propagation of the doctrines of liberty; but ruin has come upon them from another quarter. The doctrines of liberty are at an end, and so are the monarchies of Europe—all fused and melted down into one great and consolidated despotism. How often have I drunk that Cæsar's health, with a kind of religious devotion! How did all America stand on tiptoe, during his brilliant campaigns in Italy at the head of the army of the republic! With what rapture did we follow his career; and how did our bosoms bound at the prospect of an emancipated world! Yet see in what it has all ended! The total extinction of European liberty, and the too probable prospect of an *enslaved* world. Alas! what are human calculations of happiness; and who can ever more rely upon them!

"'If we look to the state of things in our own country, still we shall be forced to cry, 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.' Look at the public prints with which our country is deluged, and see the merciless massacre of public and private character, of social and domestic peace and happiness. Look at the debates in Congress. Where is the coolness, the decorum, the cordial comparison of ideas for the public good, which you would look for in an assembly

of patriots and freemen, such as was seen in the old Congress of 1776? Nothing of it is now to be seen. All is rancour, abuse, hostility and hatred, confusion and ruin.'"—Vol i, pp. 257, 258.

His service this one session in the House of Delegates, 1808–9. was the only time in his life when he was elected to any political capacity by a popular vote: It is curious to see how he clings to his old notion of life, and how opposite were his wishes to his experience. In a letter to Edwards he says:—

"'I have looked into this subject of my future life with a vision as steady and distinct as I can command, and now give you the result. In the course of ten years, without some great and signal misfortune, I have reason to hope that I shall be worth near upon or quite one hundred thousand dollars in cash, besides having an elegant and well-furnished establishment in this town. I propose to vest twenty-five thousand dollars in the purchase, improvement, and stocking of a farm somewhere on James River, in as healthy a country as I can find, having also the advantage of fertility. There I will have my books, and with my family spend three seasons of the year—spring, summer, and fall. Those months I shall devote to the improvement of my children, the amusement of my wife, and perhaps the endeavour to raise by my pen a monument to my name. The winter we will spend in Richmond, if Richmond shall present superior attractions to the country. The remainder of my cash I will invest in some stable and productive fund, to raise portions for my children. In these few words you have the scheme of my future life. You see there is no noisy ambition in it; there is none, I believe, in my composition. It is true, I love distinction, but I can only enjoy it in tranquillity and innocence. My soul sickens at the idea of political intrigue and faction: I would not choose to be the innocent victim of it, much less the criminal agent. Observe, I do not propose to be useless to society. My ambition will lie in opening, raising, refining, and improving the understandings of my countrymen by means of light and cheap publications. I do not think that I am Atlas enough to sustain a ponderous work: while a speculation of fifty or a hundred pages on any subject, theological, philosophical, political, moral, or literary, would afford me very great delight, and be executed, at least, with spirit.'"—Vol. i, p. 265.

How sincere he was in these aspirations, may be inferred from the spirit in which he always writes to his early companion and friend, Carr. Here, and in his letters to his wife, we see him in undress, and in the youthful glow which always animated his spirit. Our extracts must be few; and out of so much delightful correspondence it is puzzling to select a little. The following is from a letter to Carr, in 1810:—

"'I feel as if the waves were closing over my head, and cutting me off from all that delights me. To be buried in law for eight or ten years, without the power of opening a book of taste for a single day! 'O horrible! horrible! most horrible!' O for that wealth that would enable me to wander at large through the fields of general literature, as whim or feeling might direct, for days, and weeks, and months together, and thus to raise, enlighten, and refine my mind and heart, until I became a fit inhabitant for those brighter fields of light that lie above us!

"'Do you think that a fellow, after *wrangling and crangling* (as Daniel Call says) for twenty or thirty years on this earth, is fit to go to heaven? Don't

you think he would be perpetually disturbing the inhabitants by putting cases of law, and that he would be miserable for the want of a dispute? If so, well may it be said, 'Wo unto you, ye lawyers!'—The which 'wo' I think it might be wise in us to interpret quadrupedantically, and cease from our wicked labours. But what can we do? 'Ay!—there's the rub that makes calamity of so long life; that makes us rather bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.'"—Vol. i, p. 288.

This year Wirt interested himself, with others, in the publication of another series of literary essays, under the title of The Old Bachelor, in the Richmond Inquirer; the series reached thirty-three numbers, and were afterwards published in a volume, of which three editions were printed. Mr. Kennedy recommends a republication of them, "as a most instructive and agreeable production of American literature." But it may be doubted whether they would now find readers.

Wirt's life was now, for several years, unvaried save by the ordinary incidents in the career of a successful lawyer and gentleman of reputation. In one he wrote a comedy, which, perhaps through his good fortune, was never acted. In 1813, Richmond was expecting a British invasion, and Wirt raised a company of flying artillery, which afterwards gives occasion to some pleasantry in letters to his wife and his friend Carr. From a letter to Francis Gilmer, a younger brother of his first wife, who was about beginning the study of the law, we extract the following:—

"'The law is to many, at first, and at last too, a dry and revolting study. It is hard and laborious; it is a dark and intricate labyrinth, through which they grope in constant uncertainty and perplexity,—the most painful of all states of mind. But you cannot imagine that this was the case with Lord Mansfield, or with Blackstone, who saw the whole fabric in full daylight in all its proportions and lustre; who were, indeed, the architects that helped to build it up. Although, at present, you walk, *as it were*, through the valley of the shadow of death, yet keep on, and you will emerge into the bright and perfect day; and leaving behind you the gropers, and bats, and moles, you will see the whole system at one glance, and walk, like the master of the mansion, at your ease, into any apartment you choose. O diem præclarum! Then you will handle your tools not only dexterously, but gracefully, like a master workman, and add, yourself, either a portico, a dome, or an attic story to the building, and engrave your name on the marble, Proh spectaculum!'"—Vol. i, p. 376.

But, indeed, if we were to quote a tithe of the excellent advice given to this gentleman and others on the study of law, in the course of these letters, it would occupy our entire space. The following, to the same friend, is admirable:—

"'Let me use the privilege of my age and experience to give you a few hints, which, now that you are beginning the practice, you may find not useless.

"'1. Adopt a system of life, as to business and exercise; and never deviate from it, except so far as you may be occasionally forced by imperious and uncontrollable circumstances.

"'2. Live in your office; i. e., be always seen in it except at the hours of eating or exercise.

"'3. Answer all letters as soon as they are received; you know not how many heart-aches it may save you. Then fold neatly, endorse neatly, and file away neatly, alphabetically, and by the year, all the letters so received. Let your letters on business be short, and keep copies of them.

"'4. Put every law paper in its place, as soon as received; and let no scrap of paper be seen lying for a moment on your writing-chair or tables. This will strike the eye of every man of business who enters.

"'5. Keep regular accounts of every cent of income and expenditure, and file your receipts neatly, alphabetically, and by the month, or at least by the year.

"'6. Be patient with your foolish clients, and hear all their tedious circumlocutions and repetitions with calm and kind attention; cross-examine and sift them, till you know all the strength and weakness of their cause, and take notes of it at once whenever you can do so.

"'7. File your bills in Chancery at the moment of ordering the suit, and while your client is yet with you to correct your statement of his case; also prepare every declaration the moment the suit is ordered, and have it ready to file.

"'8. Cultivate a simple style of speaking, so as to be able to inject the strongest thought into the weakest capacity. You will never be a good jury lawyer without this faculty.

"'9. Never attempt to be grand and magnificent before common tribunals: and the most you will address are common. The neglect of this principle of common sense has ruined —— with all men of sense.

"'10. Keep your Latin and Greek and science to yourself, and to that very small circle which they may suit. The mean and envious world will never forgive you your knowledge, if you make it too public. It will require the most unceasing urbanity and habitual gentleness of manners, almost to humility, to make your superior attainments tolerable to your associates.

"'11. Enter with warmth and kindness into the interesting concerns of others, whether you care much for them or not;—not with the condescension of a superior, but with the tenderness and simplicity of an equal. It is this benevolent trait which makes —— and —— such universal favourites—and, more than anything else, has smoothed my own path of life, and strewed it with flowers.

"'12. Be never flurried in speaking, but learn to assume the exterior of composure and self-collectedness, whatever riot and confusion may be within; speak slowly, firmly, distinctly, and mark your periods by proper pauses, and a steady, significant look:—'Trick!' True,—but a good trick, and a sensible trick.'"—Vol. i, pp. 394, 395.

The year 1815 found him busy with the life of Patrick Henry. In this year he also argued his first cause in the Supreme Court at Washington, and, as he expresses it, "broke a lance with Pinkney."

In the course of the publication of the Life of Henry, he writes often to his friends, soliciting opinions on particular passages, and criticising them himself. One where he has used the figure of a mountain stream, seems to have given him a good deal of trouble; he finally determines to let it stand:—

"'It is, indeed, by no means a fair trial to read a passage of this sort, detached from the warming preparation which ushers it in—but if it does not strike him as extravagant, ranting, and rhapsodical, when read in this way, I shall have the more confidence in its success. The passage, I know, may be ridiculed, and successfully ridiculed, too, so far as to raise a laugh, but so may anything, however beautiful. Whether it deserves to be ridiculed, is the question I wish to have decided. G. H——'s rule is to strike out everything of which he is made to doubt; and probably it is owing to this, that his writings are so smooth and perspicuously *insipid*. I had much rather have faults than to have no beauties: and who that ever had beauties was without fault? The most beautiful author in the world is, perhaps, the fullest of faults. I mean Shakspeare—who, by-the-by, has a passage that has been several times recalled to my recollection by the objections to my stream. It is in Macbeth:—

> 'And Pity, like a naked new-born babe,
> Horsed on the sightless coursers of the air,
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
> *Till tears shall drown the wind.*'

"'I hope my stream is not as bombastic as this.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 22, 23.

What is here observed respecting the striking out everything of which one is made to doubt, is very just, and deserves to be impressed particularly on those young writers who are most likely to attain a good style, viz., those who are most sensitive and fastidious in clothing their ideas with the garments of rhetoric. But there is another rule which Wirt would have probably followed in the above extract, had he supposed it would have ever appeared in print, which is, where it is possible, always to verify quotations by reference. Had he done so, we might have read Macbeth's language thus:—

> "And Pity, like a naked new-born babe
> Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, horsed
> Upon the sightless couriers of the air," &c.

This is not bombast, in its place in the soliloquy; the excitement of the speaker and his lofty nature require it.

The Life of Henry finally appeared in 1817, and the same year Wirt received from President Monroe the appointment of Attorney General of the United States. He thus writes of himself to his wife:—

"'The newspapers seem to be trying what ballast I have on board. I am quite ashamed of the magnificent eulogies which they are sounding here on my talents, accomplishments, and all that; and in Philadelphia the rapturous encomiums which they are bestowing on my book. But they have not yet unsettled the trim of my wherry; nor will they, if I know myself. I keep as steady as possible, in the expectation of a counterblast; for the praise is too high to last, and, I know, much more than is deserved.'"—Vol. ii, p. 34.

From this date until the election of Gen. Jackson to the presidency, in 1829, Wirt retained the office of attorney-general, and was

occupied with its laborious duties, and occasionally concerned in the management of important causes in the Supreme and other courts.

A glance at the table of contents would give some idea of Wirt's employments during the most active portion of his life. But to estimate rightly the individuality, firmness, buoyancy, and generosity of his character, we must refer the reader to his numerous private letters to his friends and members of his family, which make up the bulk of Mr. Kennedy's second volume. Whether it be altogether decorous to give to the public the private correspondence of a man whom it knew little of except in a professional or official capacity, may be questioned. It is, however, in the fashion of the day; and if it be a fault, we may, in this instance, say, in the words of Kent to Gloster, that we "cannot wish the fault undone, the issue of it being so proper." It certainly renders the volume one of the most entertaining personal biographies that has lately appeared.

As a specimen of the natural gayety of Wirt's disposition, the following is his manner of commencing one of many similar grave epistles to his friend, Judge Carr:—

"'I thank you, upon my conscience,' as Pope says, for your three letters. They are the most somersetical, high-flyingest, and most charming that I have seen, felt, heard, and understood (which, I think, Sterne says is a quotation from Lilly [whom I believe I never saw—meaning Lilly.]—(Here is an entanglement of parentheses which I believe it would puzzle General Charles Lee to wind up—and so I shall give it up in despair) for a long time—(meaning that I have never seen, &c., for a long time.")—Vol. ii, p. 75.

The following flight (in a double sense) of fancy is from another to the same:—

"I hope you are not roasted as we are. The earth here is as hot as an oven, and the whole atmosphere feels, and almost looks, as if it were on the point of blazing. I wish balloons would come into play. How delightful it would be for every family to have one, always ready to mount up into the cool regions of the air, and, at the same time, so anchored to the *terra firma* of their respective proprietors, as to be in no danger of flying off with them. I should not be at all surprised if, in the course of the present century, it should become as fashionable for the rich and luxurious to spend their midsummer days a mile or two above the earth, as it is at present for the people of Charleston to spend their summer evenings in their gardens. What a spectacle, to see a squadron of balloons, in their ascent from our cities, on one of these daily excursions! There is something cooling and refreshing in the imagination of it."—Vol. ii, pp. 110, 111.

To show the generous emulation which inspired him in his practice at the bar, we select the following from other letters respecting one who was looked upon as his rival:—

"Pinkney commenced his speech to-day and spoke throughout it. He goes on again to-morrow; then Luther Martin; then I.——Pinkney has given us his strength to-day. He is really a fine creature in his profession: has a fer-

tile and noble mind.——I was never in so bad a humour to make a springing exertion; but I shall make it."

"I expect to go to Baltimore again early next month, and to have another grapple with Glendower Pinkney. 'The blood more stirs,' you know, 'to rouse the lion than to start the hare.' A debate with Pinkney is exercise and health. I should like to see you on his weather-bow. I verily believe you could laugh him out of court; but, as for me, I am obliged to see him out in hard blows. With all his fame, I have encountered men who hit harder. I find much pleasure in meeting him. His reputation is so high that there is no disparagement in being foiled by him, and great glory in even dividing the palm. To foil him in fair fight, and in the face of the United States,—*on his own theatre, too*,—would be a crown so imperishable, that I feel a kind of youthful pleasure in preparing for the combat. This is just the true state of feeling with which I am about to enter on the practice with him."—Vol. ii, pp. 80, 81.

In a letter to his young kinsman, Gilmer, of a later date, we find the following tribute to the memory of this "Glendower:"—

"Poor Pinkney! He died opportunely for his fame. It could not have risen higher.

* * * * * * * * *

"He was a great man. On a set occasion, the greatest, I think, at our bar. I never heard Emmett nor Wells, and, therefore, I do not say the American bar. He was an excellent lawyer; had very great force of mind, great compass, nice discrimination, strong and accurate judgment: and, for copiousness and beauty of diction, was unrivalled. He is a real loss to the bar. No man dared to grapple with him without the most perfect preparation, and the full possession of all his strength. Thus he kept the bar on the alert, and every horse with his traces tight. It will be useful to remember him, and, in every case, to imagine him the adversary with whom we have to cope. But, I assure you, I do not enjoy more rest because that comet has set. There was a pleasurable excitement in wrestling with him on full preparation. In my two last encounters with him I was well satisfied, and should never have been otherwise when entirely ready. To draw his supremacy into question, anywhere, was honour enough for ambition as moderate as mine.

"Poor Pinkney!—After all, how long will he be remembered? He has left no monument of his genius behind him, and posterity will, therefore, know nothing of such a man but by the report of others. What should we have known of Hortensius, but for Cicero?"—Vol. ii, p. 138.

Some of Wirt's most playful letters are those to his eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. Randall. The following in one of them must not be overlooked:—

"And this puts me in mind of another story (don't it put you in mind of *two*?) that I heard while I was gone. It is an instance of broken figure, or rather figures, or ratherer a compound fracture of figures, or ratherest a *chaos* of them, exhibited in a speech made by one of my brother lawyers at Baltimore, not long since:—'This man, gentlemen of the jury, walks into court like a motionless statue, with the cloak of hypocrisy in his mouth, and is attempting to screw three large oak trees out of my client's pocket.'"—P. 145.

In 1824 Wirt lost his eldest son, Robert, who died in Havre, whither he had gone for his health, at the age of nineteen. Both

parents were deeply affected by this affliction. In a letter from Baltimore, Wirt writes as follows to his wife:—

"I am here safe and well. * * * The image of your pensive face is on my heart and continually before my eyes. May the Father of mercies support you, and pour into your bosom the rich consolations of his grace, and preserve and strengthen you for your family! What can we do, if you suffer yourself to sink under the sorrow that afflicts you? Let us bear up and endeavour to fulfil our duty to our surviving children. Let us not overcast the morning of their lives with unavailing gloom, by exhibiting to them, continually, the picture of despair. Trouble comes soon enough, whatever we do to avert it, and the sombre side of life will early enough show itself to them, without any haste on our part to draw aside the curtain. Let them be innocently gay and happy as long as they can; and let us rather promote than dissipate the pleasing illusions of hope and fancy. Let us endeavour to show religion to them in a cheering light; the hopes and promises it sets before us; the patience and resignation which it inspires under affliction; the peace and serenity which it spreads around us; the joyful assurances with which it gilds even the night of death.

"These are realities by which, while we inculcate them on others, we may profit ourselves. They are not fallacies to cheat children, but realities which ought to give strength to our own bosoms. Is not religion a reality? Are not its promises true? Are not its consolations substantial? Why, then, should we not appeal to our Lord in prayer, with confidence in his promises? What though he scourge us, he will not cast us off, if we come to him with humility, and entreat him, with earnestness and contrition, to pity and pardon and accept of us. Our Lord himself, when on earth, was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and knows how to pity our distresses and support us by the influences of his Holy Spirit.

* * * * * * * * *

"May God bless you, and breathe into your bosom peace and cheerful resignation!"—Pp. 190, 191.

He had a great admiration for Watts' Hymns, and often quotes from or alludes to them. In a letter to his wife, in one place, he says:—

"I bought, the other day, a copy of Watts' Psalms and Hymns. Do you know that I never think of this man, without such emotions as no other human being ever inspires me with? There is a loftiness in his devotion, and an indifference, approaching to contempt, for the praise or censure of the beings of this nether world, which is heroic and sublime. It is so awfully great that even old, surly, growling Johnson, with all his high-church pride and arrogance, felt its influence, and scarcely dared to whisper a criticism in his life of Dr. Watts—which is a curiosity in this particular. What a soul of celestial fire, and, at the same time, of dissolving tenderness was that! How truly did he devote all the faculties of that soul to the contemplation of the glory of God and of the Saviour! He was, indeed, 'ever journeying home to God,' and seems to have stopped half way between earth and Heaven to compose this excellent book. He was a rapt soul, and I never feel my own worthlessness half so forcibly as when I read his compositions and compare my spirit with his."—P. 202.

Again, alluding to his son, he says, in a letter to his old friend Edwards:—

"I am now old and gray, the illusion is long since over, and I have been taught, by mournful experience, to know the world as it is,—a poor and miserable stage-play, in which there is nothing of any value but those pure attachments which bind us to one another, and those which bind us to our God and Saviour. If this life were all,—the former, sweet and endearing as they are, would be but poor things: they are 'flowers of the forest,' withered and gone very often before we have had time to know their value. I lost a dear boy, in his 19th year. Two years this fall, he died far away from me, in France, where he had gone for his health. He was the pride and hope of my heart and family, and an object of admiration and love to all who knew him. My dear friend,—I cannot think of him, and never shall I be able to think of him, without tears."—P. 221.

The year after his retirement, Wirt was employed in a case of considerable importance, against Webster, in Boston;—on which occasion he, for the first time, visited New-England. He thus conveys the impression of his visit to Judge Carr:—

"Now, after all this, you will not be much surprised to learn, that I think the people of Boston amongst the most agreeable in the United States. I suppose their kindness to me may have some effect on my judgment;—but, divesting myself of this as much as possible, I say they are as warm-hearted, as kind, as frank, as truly hospitable as the Virginians themselves. In truth, they are Virginians in all the essentials of character. They speak and pronounce as we do, and their sentiments are very much in the same strain. Their literary improvement, as a mass, is much superior to ours. I expected to find them cold, shy, and suspicious. I found them, on the contrary, open, playful, and generous. They have no foreign mixture among them,—but are the native population, the original English and their descendants. In this, too, they resemble the people of Virginia, and, I think, are identical with them. They are, in republican principle and integrity, among the soundest, if not the very soundest of the people of the United States.—Would to heaven the people of Virginia and Massachusetts knew each other better! What a host of absurd and repulsive prejudices would that knowledge put to flight! How would it tend to consolidate the Union, threatened, as it is, with so many agents of dissolution!—My heart is set on bringing about this knowledge. How shall I effect it? If I write I shall be known, and be supposed to have been bought by a little kindness and flattery. * * * I believe the prejudices are all on our side. The people of the North resent what they suppose to be the injustice of Southern opinion. Let them have reason to believe that we regard them with respect and kindness, and they will not be slow to give us theirs. I found it so in my own person.—And so, I believe, it will be found by every man of sense from the South who visits them. What a fool have I been to join in these vulgar prejudices against the Yankees! We judged them by their pedlers. It would be as just if they were to judge us by our blacklegs."—Pp. 273, 274.

In 1831 Wirt defended Judge Peck before the Senate, after his impeachment by the House of Representatives. In the course of the trial he received news of the death of his youngest daughter, Agnes, then in her sixteenth year. This, which was quite unexpected, was the severest blow that had befallen him in his life. The Senate adjourned the trial a week; and, when it resumed, Wirt left the defence chiefly in the hands of his coadjutor, Mr. Meredith, and

did not make his speech until nearly a month after;—when, to use his words, he spoke "under the pressure of ill health and in deep affliction of spirit." Some extracts from letters written in the midst of the trial, show how keenly he suffered. She was evidently his favourite child; his mind seems to have dwelt upon her loss. He wrote a memoir of her, and afterwards, in writing to Carr, we find him still alluding to her in words that seem almost to be moistened with tears:—

"I owe you several letters, my dear friend; but you are kind, and can allow for my situation. I have had such a winter as I never had before. Heavy causes to argue, with a broken heart and exhausted strength,—when, at every step, I felt far better disposed to lie down in the grave. It was not in such a frame that I could address you. Even now I am unfit to write. For to me the heavens are hung with mourning, and the earth covered with darkness. The charm of life is gone. I look at my beloved wife and my still remaining circle of affectionate children, and my heart reproaches me with ingratitude to heaven. I have been too blessed for my deserts. *The selection of the victim is too striking to be misunderstood.* There is a better world, of which I have thought too little. To that world she is gone, and thither my affections have followed her. This was heaven's design. I see and feel it as distinctly as if an angel had revealed it. I often imagine that I can see her beckoning me to the happy world to which she has gone. She was my companion, my office companion, my librarian, my clerk. My papers now bear her endorsement. She pursued her studies in my office, by my side, sat with me, walked with me,—was my inexpressibly sweet and inseparable companion—never left me but to go and sit with her mother."—Pp. 343, 344.

At this period of his life, and when he was suffering such heavy domestic affliction, Wirt was put in nomination by the Anti-Masonic Convention as a candidate for the Presidency. It is not our purpose to go into the history of this election. It is sufficient that Wirt's correspondence throughout the canvass shows the same integrity of character which we have seen him to possess in tracing him through a long and honourable life. He neither sought the office eagerly, nor affected to shun it from personal motives; nor was he apparently the least affected by defeat. In the midst of the canvass we find him writing to his wife, which is the last extract we have space to make:—

"How do you do, my dear wife? Is the rheumatism gone? How does the garden come on, and the canary, and the linnet, and the sky-lark, and the mocking-bird? And how do 'the bees suck,' and 'the fairies dance,' now, my dear girls? And how do the early rising and the studies go on, boys?—and the flutes, and all that sort of thing? I feel quite excited, and miss you all most exceedingly much. My solitary room and my solitary *siesta* are not to my taste. I want to take my nap in company, as my children always prefer to get their lessons. Apropos, wife, I have not taken one pinch of snuff since I left home, though continually tempted with other people's boxes. I am sometimes truly disposed to reward my conscience for holding out so well. To speak the truth, there is still a considerable titillation around the region of the

nostril; but my desire for snuff is so feeble that it scarce deserves a mention. I shall keep aloof, and in about a fortnight more, I suppose, I shall be thinking, as I did in Washington when I quitted it once before,—what will become of all the snuff-sellers? They will be ruined:—as if all the world had left off snuff because I had. I remember very seriously feeling this compassionate sentiment for Duport & Johnson, the tobacconists. Their prospects appeared to me to become suddenly quite magnificently bright, when I resumed snuff."—P. 375.

We need not follow Wirt minutely through the two succeeding years that intervened before his decease. He died in 1834, surrounded by his family and friends, and giving them assurance a few hours before his death that he departed in Christian hope.

He died,—but he has left a memory which will long survive, an ornament to the annals of our jurisprudence and our national councils, and an example for the imitation of our young men, in whose name we will conclude our hasty sketch with a word of thanks to his accomplished biographer, for the clear and elegant manner in which he has arranged the correspondence, and traced the career of one among our public characters of whom we wished to learn all, that we might the more esteem him.

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## Art. IV.—THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA, MATTHEW xxviii, 19, 20.

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

*Going, therefore, disciple all the nations,* BAPTIZING THEM TO THE NAME OF THE FATHER, *and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to keep all things whatever I have enjoined upon you.*

THE phrase *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τινός* presents a peculiar combination of terms, which renders this intrinsically important text still more worthy of careful consideration: yet it seems to be generally adopted by modern administrators of the ordinance in a merely conventional acceptation, with little examination or apprehension of its real import. Its explication chiefly depends upon the solution of three questions, namely, the signification of *βαπτίζω*, the sense of *ὄνομα*, and the relation implied in *εἰς*.

1. The inherent import of *βαπτίζω*. There are but two ways in which the meaning of any word can be legitimately determined; (1.) by tracing its *etymology*, and, (2.) by appealing to its actual *use*. The word in question is usually said to be derived

from *βάπτω*. But this is not exactly true; for as the *τ* is only a casual appendage (for the sake of strength) to the *root* of that primitive, the derivative thus formed would be *βαπίζω*: nor is it ever the custom of the Greek to derive one verb from another with this termination. Verbs in *-ίζω* (or, rather, in *-ζω*, for the *ι* is only a *connecting vowel*) are formed from *adjectives* or *nouns;* those cases in which the derivation is apparently from a verb, will be found to be formed through the intervention of some (oftentimes obsolete) adjective or noun, *e. g.*, *αἰτίζω*, not from *αἰτέω*, (the root of which is *αἰτέ*F-*ω*,) but from *αἴτ-ης*, *-ον*, or, perhaps still better, from an older ΑΙΤΟΣ, *-η*, *-ον*, whence also *αἰτία*.* The true derivation of *βαπτίζω* is from *βαπτός*, the verbal adjective of *βάπτω*: this formation alone furnishes the root *βαπτ*. The force of the termination *-ίζω* seems to be best apprehended by Kühner, (Intermediate Greek Grammar, § 232, I. (*a*,) Andover edition,) as denoting "the *exercise of agency* or activity," or, more definitely, (rem. 1, sub *l. c.*,) "the making something into that which the root denotes." This branch of lexicography (as, indeed, the whole department of etymons) has been very much neglected. Each of these sufformative additions to the root in derivation exerts a particular modification upon the radical idea, and has as constant and definite a significance as the root

* The form *ὠθίζω* cannot in any case be derived directly from *ὠθέω*, as this latter is itself a derivative for an older *ὤθω*, as is shown by the fut. *ὤσω* and the cognate tenses. Hence arises the suspicion of an obsolete (or *suppositive*) allied noun, perhaps *ὦθος*, (root FoFr, identical with our *shove*, and perhaps *push*,) as the true theme of at least the two prolonged forms; *ὤθω* being a mere verb-expression of the radical idea, *ὠθέω* denoting that the subject (casually) occupies this relation to the object, and *ὠθίζω* indicating an active assumption of that relation, as self-prompted and of positive design. In this way the last-named form may come to have a somewhat *frequentative* force, (*i. q.*, to *jostle* about, *bandy* words in altercation,) *in consequence* of the more decidedly transitive notion carried by its termination; and for the same reason, it is this peculiar (almost technical) usage that distinguishes it from *ὠθέω*.

In rare instances (*e. g.*, *ἕρπω*, to creep, *ἑρπύζω*, to crawl, through an imaginary *ἕρπυς*, sc. a reptile, [compare the name Ἕρπυς]) this secondary frequentative signification dwindles to a species of *diminutive* application, and in others (*e. g.*, *εἴκω*, to seem, *εἰκάζω*, to guess, through *εἰκός*, likeness, [*στενάζω*, fut. *-ξω*, is only *στενάχω* strengthened; indeed, this whole signification is dubious]) it is said to rise to a sort of *intensive* acceptation, while in more cases (*e. g.*, *ῥίπτω*, jacio, *ῥιπτάζω*, jacto, through *ῥιπτός*) it continues without special modification. Very many verbs in *-ζω* do not strikingly differ from simpler forms from the same root, (*e. g.*, *βλύω*, *βλύζω*, the first softened, and the latter roughened, from *βλύ*F*ω*; *ὅρκος*, *ὁρκόω*=*ὁρκίζω*; *πολεμόω*, *πολεμέω*=*πολεμίζω* [fut. *-ίξω* and *-ίσω*;] *λάζω* [? fut. *λάξω*] = *λακτίζω*, through a presumed *λακτός*, after the analogy of *λάξ* [sc. *λακίς*, as if from a noun *λάξ*, *λάκ-ος*;]) but in all these gradations, the inherent *factive* force of the ending must not be lost sight of. Such obscure and doubtful examples, of course, are not fair tests of the import of a termination, when others, more clearly marked, exist.

itself.* The termination *-ίζω*, so far from being either a *diminutive, frequentative*, or the like, as it is sometimes vaguely termed, simply indicates the *putting any object into the condition or relation* denoted by the primitive, or (when intransitive) the *putting one's self* into such condition or relation. Even in the so-called *imitative* use, as in the *patrials* ἑλληνίζω, μηδίζω, &c., it is true to its native force; *q. d.*, to *make one's self* (in language and custom) a Ἕλλην, (in political sentiment) a *Mede*, &c. In short, the termination *-ίζω* precisely corresponds with the English *-ize* or *-ise*, which is obviously derived from it; *e. g.*, *emphasize*, to make emphatic; philosoph*ize*, employ philosophy; character*ize*, mark by a peculiar character; particular*ize*, specify by particulars; civil*ize*, reduce to civil regulation; monopol*ize*, acquire a monopoly over, &c.

The following list, containing all the verbs with this termination used in the New Testament, shows how invariable is this import:—

ἁγνίζω, *render* ἁγνός, *purify.*
ἀγωνίζομαι, *institute* for one's self an ἀγών, *contend.*
[ἀθροίζω, *make* ἀθρόος, *collect.*]
αἱρετίζω, *render* αἱρετός, *prefer.*
αἰχμαλωτίζω, *render* αἰχμάλωτος, *captivate.*
ἁλίζω, *affect* with ἅλς, *salt.*
[ἀλίζω, *make* ἀλής, *gather.*]
ἀναγνωρίζω, see γνωρίζω.
ἀναθεματίζω, *render* an ἀνάθεμα, *curse.*
ἀνακαθίζω, see καθίζω.
ἀναλογίζομαι, see λογίζομαι.
ἀνδρίζω, *render* an ἀνήρ, *fortify.*
ἀνεμίζω, *affect* with ἄνεμος, *blow about.*
ἀποδιορίζω, see ὁρίζω.
ἀποκεφαλίζω, *render* quasi ἀποκέφαλος, *behead.*
ἀπορφανίζω, see ὀρφανίζω.
ἀποστοματίζω, *render* quasi ἀποστόματος, *oblige to speak off hand.*
ἀποφορτίζομαι, see φορτίζω.
ἀποχωρίζω, see χωρίζω.
[ἀρτίζω, *render* ἄρτιος, *complete.*]
ἀσφαλίζω, *render* ἀσφαλής, *secure.*
ἀτενίζω, *keep one's self* ἀτενής, *gaze.*
αὐλίζομαι, *avail one's self* of the αὐλή, *camp out* at night.
ἀφανίζω, *render* ἀφανής, *hide.*
ἀφορίζω, see ὁρίζω.
ἀφρίζω, *make* ἀφρός, *foam.*

βαπτίζω, *render* βαπτός, *baptize.*
βασανίζω, *affect* with βάσανος, *torture.*
βυθίζω, *cause* βύθος, *sink.*

γαμίζω, *make a* γάμος, *marry.*
γεμίζω, *cause* γέμος, *fill.*
γνωρίζω, *render* quasi γνωρός, *publish.*

δαιμονίζομαι, *affect one's self* with a δαίμων, *be a demoniac.*
δανείζω, *cause a* δάνειον, *loan.*
δειγματίζω, *render a* δείγμα, *expose.*
διαγνωρίζω, see γνωρίζω.
διακαθαρίζω, see καθαρίζω.
διαλογίζομαι, see λογίζομαι.
διαμερίζω, see μερίζω.
διαφημίζω, see φημίζω.
διϊσχυρίζομαι, see ἰσχυρίζομαι.
δινλίζω, see ὑλίζω.
δογματίζω, *make a* δόγμα, *decree.*

ἐγγίζω, *make* ἐγγύς, *bring* (one's self) *near.*
ἐγκαινίζω, see καινίζω.
ἐγκεντρίζω, see κεντρίζω.
ἐδαφίζω, *render* ἔδαφος, *raze.*
ἐθίζω, *produce an* ἔθος, *accustom.*
ἐκγαμίζω, see γαμίζω.
ἐκκομίζω, see κομίζω.
ἐκμυκτηρίζω, see μυκτηρίζω.
ἐμφανίζω, *render* ἐμφανής, *show.*
ἐννβρίζω, see ὑβρίζω.
ἐξαρτίζω, see ἀρτίζω.
ἐξυπνίζω, *render* ἔξυπνος, *waken.*
ἐπαγωνίζομαι, see ἀγωνίζομαι.
ἐπαθροίζω, see ἀθροίζω.
ἐπαφρίζω, see ἀφρίζω.
ἐπιστομίζω, *render* quasi ἐπιστόμιος, *curb.*
ἐρεθίζω, *cause* ἔρις, (quasi gen. ἐρεθος,) *enrage.*

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* The same is true in English, *e. g.*, *depend*, depend-ant, depend-ant-ly; *ridicule*, ridicul-ous, ridicul-ous-ness. A child can appreciate the value of these added syllables.

*ἐρίζω, produce* ἔρις, *wrangle.*
*εὐαγγελίζω, cause an* εὐαγγέλιον, *inform.*
*εὐνουχίζω, make an* εὐνοῦχος, *emasculate.*

*θεατρίζω, make a* θέατρον, *expose.*
*θερίζω, make the* θέρος, *harvest.*
*θησαυρίζω, make a* θησαυρός *of, treasure up.*
*ἱματίζω, furnish with* ἱμάτια, *clothe.*
*Ἰουδαΐζω, make one's self an* Ἰουδαῖος, *Judaïze.*
[*ἰσχυρίζομαι, make one's self* ἰσχυρός, *contend.*]

*καθαρίζω, render* καθαρός, *cleanse.*
*καθοπλίζω,* see *ὁπλίζω.*
[*καινίζω, make* καινός, *introduce novelty.*]
*καταγωνίζομαι,* see *ἀγωνίζομαι*
*κατακρημνίζω,* see *κρημνίζω.*
*καταναθεματίζω,* see *ἀναθεματίζω.*
*καταποντίζω,* see *ποντίζω.*
*καταρτίζω,* see *ἀρτίζω.*
*κατασοφίζομαι,* see *σοφίζω.*
*κατοπτρίζω, reflect* in a *κάτοπτρον, show in a mirror.*
*καυματίζω, cause a* καῦμα, *scorch.*
[*κεντρίζω, apply a* κέντρον, *prick.*]
*κιθαρίζω, use a* κίθαρα, *play the harp.*
*κολαφίζω, cause a* κόλαφος, *cuff.*
*κομίζω, perform* the functions of a KOMOΣ, (theme of *κομέω,*) *carry.**
*κουφίζω, render* κοῦφος, *lighten.*
[*κρημνίζω, affect* with a *κρημνός, precipitate.*]
*κρυσταλλίζω, make itself* like *κρύσταλλος, sparkle.*

*λογίζομαι, use one's* λόγος, *reckon.*

*μερίζω, put into* μέρη, *divide.*
*μετασχηματίζω,* see *σχηματίζω.*
*μετεωρίζω, render* μετέωρος, *elevate.*
*μετοικίζω,* see *οἰκίζω.*
*μυκτηρίζω, turn* up the *μυκτήρ, sneer.*

*νομίζω, constitute a* νόμος, *acknowledge.*
*νοσφίζω, place* νόσοι, *separate.*

[*οἰκίζω, make an* οἶκος, *people.*]
*ὀνειδίζω, heap* ὄνειδος, *reproach.*
*ὁπλίζω, equip* with ὅπλα, *arm.*
*ὀργίζω, excite* ὀργή, *provoke.*
*ὁρκίζω, cause a* ὅρκος, *put on oath.*
[*ὁρμίζω, bring* to a ὅρμος, *moor.*]
[*ὀρφανίζω, render* ὀρφανός, *bereave.*]
[*ὀχθίζω, cause one's self* ἄχθος, (quasi ὄχθος,) *grieve.*]

*παροργίζω,* see *ὀργίζω.*
*πελεκίζω, affect* with a *πέλεκυς, hew.*
*πλουτίζω, cause* πλοῦτος, *enrich.*
[*ποντίζω, affect* with the *πόντος, plunge.*]
*ποτίζω, cause* πότος, *give to drink.*
*προευαγγελίζομαι,* see *εὐαγγελίζω.*
*προορίζω,* see *ὁρίζω.*
*προσεγγίζω,* see *ἐγγίζω.*
*προσορμίζω,* see *ὁρμίζω.*
*προσοχθίζω,* see *ὀχθίζω.*
*προσχειρίζομαι,* see *χειρίζω.*

*ῥαβδίζω, affect* with a *ῥάβδος, beat.*
*ῥαντίζω, render* ῥαντός, *sprinkle.*

*σκανδαλίζω, affect* by a *σκάνδαλον, trip up.*
*σκοτίζω, induce* σκότος, *darken.*
*σμυρνίζω, mix* σμύρνα, *drug with myrrh.*
*σοφίζω, render* σοφός, *make wise.*
*συγκομίζω,* see *κομίζω.*
*συλλογίζομαι,* see *λογίζομαι.*
*συμμερίζω,* see *μερίζω.*
*συμμορφίζω, render* σύμμορφος, *conform.*
*συμψηφίζω,* see *ψηφίζω.*
*συναγωνίζομαι,* see *ἀγωνίζομαι.*
*συναθροίζω,* see *ἀθροίζω.*
*συναλίζω,* see *ἁλίζω.*
*συναυλίζομαι,* see *αὐλίζομαι*
*συσχηματίζω,* see *σχηματίζω.*
*σχηματίζω, put* into a *σχῆμα, shape.*
*σώζω,* (quasi *σωΐζω,*) *render* σῶς, *save.*
*σωφρονίζω, render* σώφρων, *make discreet.*

*τραυματίζω, cause a* τραῦμα, *wound.*
*τραχηλίζω, seize* the *τράχηλος, throttle.*
*τυμπανίζω, use a* τύμπανον, *beat the drum.*

*ὑβρίζω, cause* ὕβρις, *insult.*
[*ὑλίζω, cause* ὕλις = ἰλύς, *strain.*]
[*φημίζω, cause a* φήμη, *report.*]
*φλογίζω, cause a* φλόξ, *inflame.*
*φορτίζω, impose a* φόρτος, *burden.*
*φυλακίζω, put* in a *φυλακή, imprison.*
*φωτίζω, cause* φῶς, *light.*

[*χειρίζω, take* in one's *χειρές, handle.*]
*χρῄζω,* (*i. e.,* *χρηΐζω,*) *exercise a* χρῆ, *crave.*
*χρηματίζω, perform* χρήματα, *do business.*
*χρονίζω, take* much *χρόνος, delay.*
*χωρίζω, put* χῶρα between, *separate.*

*ψηφίζω, use* the *ψῆφος, count.*
*ψωμίζω, supply* by *ψωμοί, feed.*

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* The derivation of *κομίζω* is confessedly obscure. The only trace of a connexion with *κομέω* is through the Homeric signification of *tending;* but *κομέω* itself is obviously not the original theme, for its derivative termination, as well as affinity with *κόμη,* (Latin, *coma, como,* English, *comb,*) forbids this supposition. It is therefore best

The following are not legitimate instances of this termination, inasmuch as they are either verbs whose *primitives* contain some of its constituents, (*e. g.*, nouns in *-ίς, -ίδος*, where the *δ* is merely strengthened into *ζ*, with the verbal ending *-ω*,) or such as *accidentally* exhibit this termination in the present, (*e. g.*, *-ίζω*, fut. *-ίξω*, where the verb root really ends in *κ*, strengthened into *ζ*, instead of in *δ*, like the genuine examples.) Yet even in these the analogy of terminational import is very striking:—

*βολίζω, apply* the *βολίς, sound* the depth.

*διασκορπίζω*, see *σκορπίζω*.

*ἕζομαι, place one's self* in an *ἕδος, sit.*
*ἐλπίζω, exercise ἐλπίς, hope.*
*ἐμπαίζω*, see *παίζω*.
*ἐπικαθίζω*, see *ἕζομαι*.
*ἐπιστηρίζω*, see *στηρίζω*.

*καθέζομαι*, see *ἕζομαι*.
*καθίζω*, see *ἕζομαι*.
*κατασφραγίζω*, see *σφραγίζω*.
*κτίζω, render* a *κτῆμα, settle.*

*μαστίζω, use* a *μάστιξ, flog.*

*παίζω, make one's self* a *παῖς, sport.*
*παρακαθίζω*, see *ἕζομαι*,
*πρίζω*, a strengthened form of *πρίFω, saw.*
*προελπίζω*, see *ἐλπίζω*.

*ῥαπίζω, apply* a *ῥαπίς, beat.*
*ῥιπίζω, affect* with a *ῥιπίς, fan.*

*σαλπίζω, use* a *σάλπιγξ, blow the trumpet.*
*σκίζω*, a strengthened form of the root of *κέω*, (*χάος*, akin with Lat. *scindo*, and probably with *σκεδάννυμι*,) *split.*
*σκορπίζω*, perhaps a prolonged form of the root of *σκεδάννυμι, scatter.*
*στηρίζω, render* quasi *στηρός, fix.*
*συγκαθίζω*, see *ἕζομαι*.
*σφραγίζω, attach* a *σφραγίς, seal.*

*τρίζω*, an onomatopoëtic root, (Lat. *strido*,) *creak.*

*φροντίζω, exercise φροντίς, bethink.*

*χαρίζομαι, cause* to redound *to one's self χάρις, gratify.*

From this it appears that *βαπτίζω*, lexically considered, means neither more nor less than to *render βαπτός, put in that condition* or relation, in one word, (to coin two terms,) it is *βαπτο-ποιεῖν*, to *bapti-fy*, or (as happily expressed by the established rendering) to *baptize*. The import of the termination *-τός*, in this immediate primitive, is acknowledged on all hands to be equivalent to that of our *participial adjectives* in *-ed*, and denotes simply that the object to which it is applied has undergone the action of the verb.* This is the actual import in the case of *βαπτός*, as may be seen from any good Greek lexicon.

to refer all these kindred words to some obsolete theme, expressive of menial service, *e. g.*, a *groom*, from which were formed both *κομέω* and its more protracted and transitive ally *κομίζω*.

* So Kühner, (Gr. Gram., ut supra, § 234, 1, (i.),) "Those in *-τός* denote either a *completed action* as the perfect passive participle, *e. g.*, *λεκ-τός*, from *λέγω, dictus*, [*spoken*, like *λελεγμένος*,] or the idea of possibility, which is their usual signification, *e. g.*, *ὁρατός, visible.*" Kühner does not here with sufficient distinctness point out this latter "more usual signification" as being a secondary one from the former; but such is actually the case,—through the natural process of thought, that "what *has been* done, *can* be done again," and thus the *indicative* use of these verbal adjectives gave rise to their *potential* force.

It remains, then, to determine the native meaning of the primitive *βάπτω*. It unfortunately happens that the root of this verb is not connected by etymological affinities with any other words, (except strict derivatives,) either in the Greek or kindred languages of the Indo-Germanic family;* we are therefore left to the mere usage of the word itself, to ascertain its radical import. There is not room in this brief article to exhibit in detail the passages of Greek authors containing this verb, nor is it necessary; this part of the subject has been canvassed again and again, without at all settling the controversy.† It seems to us, however, that one party has been too confident in insisting, and the other too ready to concede, that the primary import of *βάπτω* is to *dip, i. e.*, plunge or immerse into some liquid. Amid the conflict of opinion and argument on this question, a single circumstance, which has been almost or entirely overlooked by the litigants, is decisive to my mind that such is not the legitimate force of this verb; that circumstance is the fact, that *βάπτω* is not a *verb of motion* at all. In proof of this position, I appeal to its grammatical construction in the passages where it is used. If it essentially and of itself denoted motion, (as the English word *dip* unquestionably does,) it would always require after it some preposition adapted to express motion,—in other words, it would always be said, *βάπτειν εἴς τι*. But in point of fact we find it followed by *ἐν*, a simple *local* or *instrumental* preposition, in a large class of the instances in which it occurs. Now, to translate such passages by "*dip at* or *with* water," would be nonsense; and the inconsistency is only avoided by the ambiguous rendering, "dip *in*." But *in* here is equivalent to *into*, and this is never the force of *ἐν*. To say that *ἐν* stands in these cases for *εἰς*, is begging the whole question, and is, moreover, contradicted by the radically variant import of these two prepositions.‡ It is true, that, on the other hand, passages occur in which *βάπτω* is followed by *εἰς*; but in these cases the construction must be made out by ellipsis, *e. g.*, Lev. xi, 32, ap. LXX., "*Every vessel shall be plunged into water, πᾶν σκεῦος εἰς ὕδωρ βαφήσεται*," is equivalent to, "*shall be wet* (by plunging it) *into water*." Such a resolution of the cases of construction with *ἐν*, cannot be resorted to; for although we might (but with great awk-

* Unless perhaps with the Latin *bibo*, and possibly the English *bath*.

† For an able and candid examination of the philological use of *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω*, the reader is referred to an article, by Prof. Stuart, in the Biblical Repository, April, 1833.

‡ See a masterly refutation of such uncritical confounding of the sense of different prepositions in the New Testament, by Prof. Tittman, of Leipsic, translated in the Biblical Repository for January, 1833.

wardness) explain the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxiii, 24, "*He shall dip his foot in oil, βάψει ἐν ἐλαίῳ,*" by "*dip his foot* (into oil, and so soak it) *in oil;*" yet we cannot, with any propriety, thus resolve cases of construction with a simple *dative*, where no preposition intervenes, *e. g.*, Rev. xix, 13, "*a blood-dyed robe, ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι;*" still less in Luke xvi, 24, "*that he may moisten the tip of his finger* (with a drop) *of water, βάψῃ ὕδατος.*" But to determine positively whether εἰς or ἐν is entitled to be considered as the legitimate sequent of connexion with its object after *βάπτω*, its *early* use must be appealed to, rather than the Hebraistic style of the late Alexandrian Greek. The earliest instance in which the verb occurs, is in Homer, Od. ix, 391–3:—

> Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἠὲ σκέπαρνον
> Εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μέγαλα ἰάχοντα,
> Φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν.

"As when the brazier [*i. e.*, forger of the cuprous composition metal used by the ancients for common tools] *quenches in* cold water the fiercely hissing large hatchet or broadaxe, tempering it; for this [process] is [*i. e.*, gives the metal] in turn fully the hardness of iron." Now, although the blacksmith of those days probably would plunge the axe into water, as in modern times, yet this is only an accidental circumstance; the idea denoted by the ἐν is the *application* of water as a cooler, and the sentence cannot be translated "plunge *into* water," without a violation of all just philology, especially of the Homeric idiom.* The syntactical force of *βάπτω* with ἐν may be illustrated by our own phrase, "to be *drowned in* the water." Now it is obvious that *drown* here is not synonymous with *plunge*, nor does it *of itself* denote motion at all; it merely indicates the extinction of life *at, within,* and *by means of* a body of water. It is true no one is ever drowned without coming to the water, and having at least his head immerged beneath it, but many

* Crusius (Homeric Lexicon, s. v.) says, "Apparently ἐν often stands for εἰς with verbs of motion, [in Homer,] since it includes at the same time the idea of the subsequent rest; thus ἐν γούνασι πίπτειν, to fall (and remain) upon the knees.—*Il.*, 5, 370." But, be it observed, the ἐν, even in these cases, is not at all indicative of motion, but would lead us to suppose that the verb denoted rest, were there not other positive evidences of its motional force. Such exceptions, therefore, cannot prove that *βάπτω* here is a verb of motion, unless we first found Homer using it with εἰς, or some similar decisive mark of motion, in other passages. But he only uses it in this passage and in the "Battle of the Frogs," where, in speaking of one of the champions slain, he says, "*the lake was tinged with blood, ἐβάπτετο αἵματι.*" The use of the simple *instrumental* dative here, is decisive of the Homeric usage of *βάπτω* as a verb of rest.

do both these without being drowned; these are, therefore, only accidental *concomitants* of the essential idea, that of *being under* water long enough to perish. Precisely so with *βάπτω*; it merely denotes a *thorough wetting:* but as this is most easily as well as effectually done by plunging under water, this latter idea came to be associated with the other; but to substitute it for the original import, is to subvert all accuracy of derivation and phraseology. This view of its primary meaning affords a more natural transition to the secondary signification of *dyeing*, as the result of *lying in*, being *soaked with* the colouring fluid, rather than of being simply plunged into it; and it is absolutely required by the signification to *smear* with paint, *cause to reek* with blood.* Were we to propose a single term as a fair representative in English of the radical force of *βάπτω*, we should fix upon the verb to *drench*, (notwithstanding its different etymological affinities,) as more nearly expressing it than any other English word. We come to the conclusion, therefore, that *βαπτίζω*, etymologically considered, means simply to *make drenched*, put in the condition of being thoroughly wetted, without implying, *per se*, any motion or mode of doing this whatever.†

The word *βαπτίζω* occurs seventy-nine times in the New Testament; in ten instances it is followed by *εἰς*, in twelve by *ἐν*, in three by the simple dative, and in the rest it stands absolutely. Of the ten instances in which it is followed by *εἰς*, nine are of a similar construction with the text which forms the basis of the present discussion, and will be shown, under our third division, (as indeed is obvious at a glance,) to have nothing to do with the present question. The only remaining one is, Mark i, 9: *ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζ. τῆς Γαλ., καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην.* Now if we place a comma after *Ἰωάννου*, the clause *εἰς τὸν Ἰορδ.* will refer both to *ἦλθε* and *ἐβαπ.*, which is doubtless the true construction; and it is the idea of motion contained in the former verb (*ἦλθεν ἀπὸ . . . . εἰς*) that requires this preposition, which would otherwise have been *ἐν*, as everywhere else. The meaning, therefore, is, that "he came to the Jordan, and was baptized there." The motional force of *βαπτίζω* is thus left wholly without support in the New-Testament diction.‡ In every one of the passages where it occurs, this word is

* See the article by Prof. Stuart, above referred to.

† It is no objection to this view, that it makes *βαπτίζω* differ little in essential force from *βάπτω*: the same is true of many derivatives in English; *e. g.*, *truth*, truthful, *truthfulness*. There is this great advantage in the derivative *βαπτίζω*, that it differs in form, and just enough in sense, to fit it for being employed in the technical acceptation to which we shall presently see it was applied.

‡ The only other passage in the New Testament where the word *βάπτω* occurs, besides those noticed above, is John xiii, 26, where it is not followed by any preposi-

used in a strict *technical* sense to denote *ceremonial ablution*, either as a Jewish lustration, (Mark vii, 4; Luke xi, 38,) or in Christian initiation, (including the preparatory baptism of John, and the figurative affusion of the Spirit, as well as the metaphorical overwhelming with suffering.)* It is this technical sense that constantly distinguishes βαπτίζω from βάπτω, and from every other word of similar import in the New Testament; and if the preceding views are correct, the word itself furnishes no authority for insisting that the idea of motion, as in *plunging*, *immersion*, and the like, is in any way essential to the ceremony.† I have not of course gone over the whole ground of the usage of this word, but have confined myself to its consideration in that relation under which it presents itself in the text at the head of this essay.

2. The sense in which ὄνομα is here to be taken. This word is used with a latitude of meaning in the New Testament which often renders it difficult to fix its precise shade of signification.‡ It occurs,

(1.) In the proper sense, denoting the *appellation* by which any one is known. Under this head may be included (by *metonymy*) its use for *person* simply; *e. g.*, a few *names* of us.

(2.) By implication, *authority*; *e. g.*, in the phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τινός, *i. e.*, as using that person's name to sanction an act, by virtue of the efficacy implied therein. This cannot be the meaning here, for εἰς is used, and not ἐν, nor ἐπὶ, nor the dative at all.

(3) Emphatically, *designation*, *i. e.*, a title grounded upon some character or relation; *e. g.*, εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου, for the sake of his prophetical *rank*, (not *in* [the] name, &c.;) ὃς ἐὰν δέξηται παιδίον

tion. The compound ἐμβάπτω occurs three times, all in the same connexion as the passage last referred to, (that is, with reference to the sop given to Judas at the last supper,) where Mark's ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος εἰς τὸ τρυβλίον, (*i. e.*, smearing his fingers [by sopping a morsel] into the dish,) is explained by Matthew as ὁ ἐμβάψας ἐν τῷ τρυβ. τὴν χεῖρα. No writer uses εἰσβάπτω, a singular circumstance if βάπτω properly involves motion.

* See Robinson's Lexicon of the New Testament, s. v.

† Some have committed an error on the other extreme, by denying any reference to the mere *process* of ablution in βαπτίζω, and interpreting it as meaning simply to *purify*; (so Pres. E. Beecher, in a series of articles first published in the Biblical Repository, 1840–42.) This is confounding an act with its result or design. Any word might be thus distorted, if we overlook its plain inherent signification and direct application. Note, that in Acts i, 5, the baptism of the Spirit is spoken of as a distinct *act*, to take place "not many days hence;" ch. ii, 3, shows the *mode*.

‡ See Robinson's Lexicon of the New Testament, s. v., where, however, the distinctive force of the preposition preceding ὄνομα is not sufficiently observed, and the divisions interfere with each other in the citations classed under each; this seeming confusion must always take place, where no more subdivisions are used to reduce the senses to a strict classification.

ἐν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, *i. e.*, because of such a one's *denomination* as a Christian. To this class may be referred its sinister acceptation of *mere name* or empty profession, (Rev. iii, 1.) Under this third division some set down ὄνομα in the text under consideration,* explaining it of the adoption of the distinctive title of *Christ*ian on baptism. But to limit its meaning to the notion of being *called by the name* of Christ, leaves a very jejune and narrow sense, and makes the insertion of τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος entirely irrelevant; for although converts are called Christians, they are not designated by any term derived from these two other names, and the very name "Christian" was not used at first, but accidentally imposed by enemies.

(4.) Comprehensively, *character, i. e.*, the nature, qualities, and relations implied in one's name, especially τὸ ὄν. τοῦ Θεοῦ, Κυρίου, Χριστοῦ, &c. These phrases are usually said to be a mere *periphrase* for *God* himself, &c., the ὄνομα being *redundant;* but the question constantly returns after such an evasion, If the writer meant no more than that, why did he not say so at once? No respectable author uses words superfluously, or without at least some meaning; and every one feels that ὄνομα in such passages does cast a peculiar shade of meaning upon the main idea, although it generally requires a steady and penetrating gaze to enable him to distinguish that shade with sufficient exactness to depict it in words. The phrase seems to have originated in the Hebrew practice of giving persons names expressive of their disposition or circumstances; and hence, as applied to the Deity, it came to imply, by a reverential adumbration, that which expresses the Divine attributes, either within themselves, or in the aspect under which they are manifested to men. (Compare the significant use of the term in Exodus iii, 13–15; xxxiv, 5–7.) The phrase τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, (or either of its equivalents,) thus includes everything known pertaining to the Godhead, and in its particular application covers so much of this general idea as belongs to the scope of the context where it occurs. Its connexion, therefore, becomes very important in determining its precise import in any given instance,—especially the prepositions (those *links* of expressed thought) which point out the relation which the word introduced by them sustains to the general purport of the sentence, or of the word preceding in construction. The modification hence resulting has often the effect of evolving an additional idea, without which the meaning of ὄνομα would be too indefinite for apprehension. An instance in point occurs in our Saviour's petition to his

* See a German criticism on this text, translated in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1844, p. 703.

Father on his disciples' behalf, (John xvii, 11,) τηρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, where the tenor of the context shows that the *constructio prægnans* is to be filled up by some such expression as ἐν τῇ γνώσει τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, keep them (faithful) *in the acknowledgment* [*i. e.*, apprehension and promulgation] *of thy character*, (with all its saving relations as revealed in the gospel, introduced by me to their acquaintance.) This passage, it seems to me, precisely illustrates the usage of ὄνομα in the text under consideration, where I would accordingly take it to denote the whole circle of *truth* implied in the relations of the Father, Son, and Spirit, both with each other and with mankind; in one word, the gospel *creed*, as a system of sacred knowledge and practice. Much of the force thus assigned to this word, however, depends upon,—

3. The relation here indicated by εἰς. We have seen that βαπτίζω is in several instances in the New Testament followed by εἰς, but we have also seen that it is not a verb of motion; this preposition cannot therefore in these cases be used in its original *locative* sense, but in its secondary *causal* acceptation,—in other words, not as pointing out that *into* which anything might be plunged, but the design or object *in order to* which a person may be baptized. A more minute examination of these passages will establish this point, as well as elucidate the meaning of the present text. These passages are all similar to the one under consideration, involving the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα.

In Acts viii, 16, in speaking of some disciples of John found by the Apostles, it is said, "As yet he [the Spirit] was fallen upon none of them, only βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ," *i. e.*, they had been baptized in anticipation of Jesus as their future Master, or as a pledge in advance of their allegiance to him. So in Matt. xix, 5, it is said of others under similar circumstances, "When they heard this, ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄν. τοῦ κυρ. Ἰης." where verse 4 shows that this was meant as a token of their faith in him as actually adopted disciples. Paul says, (Rom. vi, 3,) "Know ye not that ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς τὸ ὄν. Ἰησοῦ, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτ.?" *i. e.*, as verses 2 and 4 clearly show, all who unite themselves to him by profession, thereby plight themselves to a conformity with his (literal) crucifixion by a figurative one as to internal sin. In 1 Cor. i, 13, he indignantly asks, Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε; "Was it the religion of Paul merely that you espoused in your baptism?" And in verse 15 he declares, "I baptized none of you, lest any should say that εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβάπτισα, I thereby engaged him to be *my* proselyte." In chapter x, 2, he says that the Israelites, who passed through the misty sea, πάντες

εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο, *i. e.*, thus sealed themselves as by a baptism to the religion which Moses was about to teach. In chapter xii, 13, speaking of the abolition of all distinctions between Jews and Gentiles, he says, ἐν ἑνὶ Πνεύματι εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, we have been cemented to (become) a single community in the faith by the same spiritual baptism. And in Gal. iii. 27, he says that these universal privileges are guarantied to all ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, who have been joined to Christ by (spiritual) baptism. These are all the passages in the New Testament in which this phrase occurs.* In each of them it is obviously derived from the peculiar phraseology of the baptismal formula, and, if I mistake not, they clearly concur in establishing three points,—the technical usage of βαπτίζω, irrespective of any idea of motion; that ὄνομα denotes here the Christian *faith;* and that εἰς indicates the *adoption* and profession of Christianity as the end signified by the rite. The import of the whole clause may therefore be summed up thus: "*Initiating them into the religion of the Trinity by the ceremony of baptism.*" It is this tenet that peculiarly distinguishes our religion from Judaism; and the truths involved in the relations and offices of the several persons in the Godhead are what elevate and characterize Christianity above every other system of faith.

The context eminently harmonizes with this interpretation: Christ commissions his chief pupils to canvass the globe as missionary propagators of his doctrines; the outward badge of discipleship, with those whom they proselyte, is to be an induction into his school by the rite of baptism; and they are then to go on, more fully indoctrinating the neophytes into all the sublime maxims and details of the sacred science.

* The last three have been added for the sake of completeness, as being entirely similar in import, although not containing the word ὄνομα. The collocation εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, without βαπτίζω, occurs after πιστεύειν in John i, 12; ii, 23; iii, 18; 1 John v, 13, to denote in like manner Gospel *truth* as the *object* of faith, which connects believers by a saving covenant with Christ. In Matthew xviii, 20, δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, the import of ὄνομα is extended so as to include the *cause* of Christ, and εἰς shows that this is the *object* whose interests the company are met to promote. A peculiar turn of the above sense, No. (3.) of ὄνομα occurs in Heb. vi, 10, "for God is not thankless, [in failing to reward such pious acts by the bestowal of additional grace,] to forget your work and the love which ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, in having ministered to the saints," *i. e.*, which you have manifested *towards those who represent him*,—spoken apparently in allusion to Christ's pointed identification of himself with his followers in the reception of beneficence, Matt. xxv, 40.

## Art. V.—HILDRETH'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

*The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of the Government under the Federal Constitution.* By Richard Hildreth. Three vols. 8vo., pp. 569, 579, 592. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1849.

A nation's annals should be written contemporaneously with the events they commemorate; but proper history can be composed only when those events have matured their fruits, and developed their true character and relations. That point was reached, as to American colonial affairs, at the end of the Revolutionary war; and the experience of more than half a century has sufficiently determined the character of the times that gave form to our Federal Republican institutions. The time is, therefore, fully come when we should have a well-digested American history, coming down to the time of the inauguration of the first president. Every true patriot has a lively interest in his country's history, and is concerned that it should be written only by such as have the heart to appreciate, and the hand to execute, the required work.

It is highly desirable that such a work should be composed by an American, as it would be alike discreditable and unsafe to commit it to other hands. But though many of our best prose-writers have laboured chiefly in this department of literature, and have here gathered their greenest bays, yet till recently we had no national history that could aspire to the literary rank that the subject evidently demands. The only work of the kind extant, before the publication of the one whose title stands at the head of this paper, was that of Mr. Bancroft. The author of that work enjoys a high literary reputation, and is unquestionably a fine writer, a ripe scholar, and a diligent student of American history; and yet we think his History of the United States has failed to answer the public expectation, or to meet the requirements of the case.

In writing history, especially where the materials are abundant, it is quite as important to know what to omit as what to insert; and the value of such writings depends very much on the judgment with which the materials are selected. Mr. Bancroft's history comprises a great amount of matter relating to our early affairs, but not always judiciously selected nor happily arranged. There is also in it much that is quite as nearly related to Kant's philosophy and the vagaries of Swedenborg as to American colonial history. His method of conducting the historical discourse we esteem decidedly objectiona-

ble, though sustained by the authority of a considerable number of respectable modern writers. The plain and direct narrative style is exchanged for that of the drama. A stand-point is assumed, from which all parts of the historic scene may be contemplated, and in respect to which each particular is viewed. Sometimes the narrative is used apparently only to establish or illustrate some ulterior point, and then every statement, and the whole disposition of the narrative, must be subjected to that idea,—a process that gives to some things an undue prominence, and casts others, of equal or greater importance, into the background. When used sparingly and very discreetly, this method may be useful to give sprightliness to the discourse, and to suggest the philosophic thread of the history: but if used more freely, it appears pedantic, and seems to assume to dictate the reader's opinions by partial statements and special pleadings. We would not be understood to condemn Mr. Bancroft's history as without merit: we esteem it a highly valuable contribution to our national literature; but we are also convinced that it can never serve as a standard history of the United States. That important place in our domestic literature remained unoccupied till very recently, and accordingly we were gratified when we learned that another attempt had been made to fill the vacant niche; though a sense of the magnitude of the work, and the recollection of the failures of others in the same enterprise, forbade us to entertain very sanguine expectations of its success. We have accordingly examined the work, without prepossessions or prejudices, and with many misgivings, and now propose to set forth the results of our examinations.

The manner in which the author enters upon his task is remarkable, as indicating his direct mode of approaching his subject, as well as containing an indirect satire upon the manner of some of his predecessors. He thus introduces himself to the reader in his prefatory "advertisement:"—

> "Of centennial sermons and Fourth-of-July orations, whether professedly such or in the guise of history, there are more than enough. It is due to our fathers and ourselves; it is due to truth and philosophy; to present for once, on the historic stage, the founders of our American nation, unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apologies, without stilts, buskins, tinsel, or bedizzenment, in their own proper persons; often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious, and mistaken, but always earnest, downright, manly, and sincere. The result of their labours is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell the story exactly as it was."

It is not necessary, perhaps, to venture a guess as to who are aimed at in the allusion to "centennial sermons and Fourth-of-July orations" "in the guise of history,"—all that must be perfectly intelligible to the reader. The paragraph is chiefly valuable as a key

to the author's views and purposes relative to the subjects of his pen: for as he intimates his design to utter only plain truth, so he faithfully carries out that purpose, rendering his history eminently an unvarnished statement of facts. We shall have occasion to notice this particular more fully in a subsequent part of this paper.

Some of the peculiar difficulties of the work he had undertaken are forcibly set forth in another paragraph of the same "advertisement:"—

"To combine a mass of materials—generally dry, sometimes defective, and sometimes contradictory, embracing a multiplicity of petty details concerning numerous independent communities—into a harmonious and well-proportioned whole, all the parts of which shall illustrate each other; and, preserving the necessary brevity, to convey to the reader a distinct idea of the persons, facts, and bearings of our history, in narrative somewhat picturesque and life-like; is a task so difficult, that, in the present defective state of our historical literature, even a distant approach to it can hardly fail to be acceptable."

The amount of embarrassment arising from the complexity of the subject of our early history, can be but faintly appreciated by the merely cursory observer. The theme is of "numerous independent communities," while the history is required to be a "harmonious and well-proportioned whole;" so that there are constant dangers between the tendency to confound things really distinct, or, on the other hand, to sacrifice the necessary unity of the subject. That our author has not always shunned these dangers, is no occasion for surprise: that he has succeeded so well, is cause for gratulation.

In presenting the history of America, a point of observation must first be assumed, from which the future scene of that history may be contemplated. A rapid glance over the period of discovery, brings our author to the beginning of that of colonization,—the salient point of our history. The condition of the region about to be exhibited as the scene of the historic drama, required a prefatory notice; and its former inhabitants deserved the poor tribute of a recognition. Both these subjects are attended to, by giving a very brief notice of the physical character of the country, as seen by the early colonists, and by sketching a little more fully the political and social condition of the native tribes,—their traditions and religious observances, and their manners and customs generally. With this part of the work, so far as relates to the native Indians, we confess a want of complete satisfaction. It is quite too meagre; and though the subject is resumed in a later chapter, it is even then very imperfectly set forth. The scope of the work would have allowed a comprehensive, though concise, sketch of all the native tribes inhabiting that portion of our territory now occupied by the States; and such a sketch from the hand of our author would have been invaluable. We can only express our

regret that his second chapter (the first relates to discoveries) was not so expanded as to embrace that subject with the necessary fulness.

The early history of our country is made up of detached and disconnected portions. Each colony was for a long time distinct and independent of all the others, and of course each requires its own independent history; and in preserving this distinction, and yet maintaining proper unity, lies the difficulty of the work. This every American historian must of necessity encounter, and in proportion to his skill in overcoming it will be his success in this part of his work.

The course adopted by Mr. Hildreth is perhaps as felicitous as the nature of the case would allow. Without any formal distribution of the work into parts, there is an evident recognition of such a distribution. The whole period "from the discovery of the Continent to the organization of the government under the Federal Constitution," is naturally divided into three subordinate parts,—the first embracing the period of colonization, during which each colony is viewed chiefly as a distinct and independent community; the second, the period of advanced colonial existence, when the affairs of the several colonies had become somewhat blended, and themselves began to coalesce; the third is the period of the Revolution, when the national characteristics rose permanently above the colonial. This distribution is not formally recognized, and as it is perfectly natural, it might very possibly escape the observation of the hasty reader; but it is made, and it is all the more valuable because it is not violent.

The settlement of the region now embraced in the United States, was attempted by both Spain and France before the English began any permanent establishment upon its soil. The Spanish province of Florida—discovered by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, and explored by De Soto in 1539, extending northward indefinitely, but certainly as far as the Savannah River—included the colony at Saint Augustine, the oldest European settlement within the present limits of the United States. The French, too, had begun to plant colonies in the north, before their island neighbours had commenced sending colonial adventurers to the more inviting regions of their own Virginia. But the progress of both the Spanish and French settlements was tardy and feeble, and in many cases the impressions made were speedily erased by a new influx of barbarism, or absorbed by the more sturdy growth of the Anglo-American settlements.

In considering the history of our country, a local distribution is as obvious as the temporary one. The colonies formed three groups,—those of New-England, the Puritanical colonies; Virginia and the

Carolinas, the land of the Cavaliers; and the heterogeneous, but sufficiently distinguished, Middle colonies. Some may be inclined to question the propriety of this arrangement as to Maryland; but we feel perfectly safe in assuming that the natural affinities of that part of our country, whether in its colonial or later history, determine its character to be that of a middle State; as to Delaware, there never was room for a question on the subject. This original distribution of the Colonies, which pervades the early history of the country, has survived all the changes of later times, and is still manifest upon the face of the social and political institutions of the country.

During the first of the above periods the several colonies are spoken of separately, and for the most part in distinct chapters; the history of one being conducted onward through several years at once, without reference to the simultaneous progress of others. The early history of Virginia, reaching over a period of thirty years, comes first, and then follows an almost contemporaneous history of the Dutch settlements on and about the Hudson. Next comes the history of the colonies of the East,—a distinct group, independent of each other, and yet having many things in common, but peculiar to them as a whole. Of these, Plymouth, the Puritan of Puritans, was planted in 1620. Nine years later, the colony of Massachusetts Bay was begun; and about the same time, that of New-Hampshire; and soon after, the smaller ones of Ligonia and Pemaquid. Following the current of time a little farther, new colonies are seen rising up in different parts. Maryland, on the Chesapeake, dates from the year 1634; and a few years later, the New-England colonies of Connecticut, New-Haven, Providence, Rhode Island, New-Somerset, and Maine, took their origin,—some of them the germs of future members of the American Confederation, and some shortly to be absorbed into others, and thus to disappear from the pages of history.

The stirring events that were transpiring in England during the times of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate, had more than an incidental relation to the American colonies. Left to themselves, on account of the civil commotions of the mother country, they indeed "grew up by her neglect," and took deeper root in the soil in which they had been planted. The tide of immigration had ceased, and nearly all intercourse with "home" was suspended: so that a native American generation presently came to occupy the foremost places in the community, and to diffuse the sentiments, as well as to recognize the facts, of incipient independence. The political contests and discussions carried on with so much violence in England, were not unknown, nor without their influence, in America. As every person bred in the colonies was a republican in fact, the forms

of sentiments of republicanism could not fail to be congenial to them; and no doubt the civil wars of England prepared the way for the emancipation of her American colonies. This period is properly recognized by our author in its distinctive character; and the progress of the three great local divisions of the colonies is properly noticed in separate chapters.

The period of the Restoration of the Stuarts is distinguished in American history by the planting of the Carolinas, the steady progress of the older colonies, and their perpetual conflicts with the Home government respecting their liberties and chartered privileges,—conflicts in which the aggressions of despotism can be plainly observed, advancing with the certainty of destiny to extinguish the last sparks of American freedom.

The contemporaneous progress of the French territories of the North and West, demanded at this point a more full and specific notice than had appeared necessary in the preceding portion of the history,—a subject full of deep and exciting interest, somewhat tinged with the romantic, and one that is becoming more and more practically important, as the regions thus occupied are incorporated into our vast commonwealth. This subject is detailed with the author's characteristic powers of lucid but forcible condensation; and with it closes the first period of American history,—simultaneous with the English Revolution of 1688. This period embraces much the most difficult portion of our history, and no little skill is required so to conduct the narrative as to present a clear and intelligible view of the whole, without a confusion of its distinct and independent parts. Perfection in a work of this kind is not to be expected; but we believe that Mr. Hildreth has approached as nearly to that point as is consistent with the nature of the case.

The second period of our history—extending from the English to the American Revolution, a space of over eighty years—is much more homogeneous than the former. The settlements had become more extended; and by their intercourse with each other, and their co-operation in affairs of mutual interest and common danger, their histories become fused into something like a common mass,—though the elements of individuality still predominate. From this point our author attempts to conduct his story in a single and continuous narrative, which he does with a good degree of success, though evidently not without very considerable difficulties. In weaving so many threads into a common tissue, frequent passages from one to another is necessary; and the facility with which this is performed, gives a very favourable notion of his constructive genius. But by an editorial or mechanical defect of management, the full benefit of

his arrangement is not realized by the reader. As the contemporaneous history of the several colonies is presented in successive paragraphs, the passage from one subject to another must often be rapid, and even abrupt, and of these passages the reader should be fully apprized. The change of dates is generally sufficiently indicated on the margin; but the transition should also be typographically indicated, which could have been done by simply separating the several paragraphs by the space of two or three lines, and putting the initial words in small capitals. We hope in some future edition to see this change introduced.

As the period of the Revolution approached, the colonies became more and more united by common interests, and their history presents, of course, more unity; and as that period advanced, the national characteristics constantly increased over the colonial. The advantage arising from this source is plainly perceptible in the third volume,—embracing the history of the period in question,—as it permits the story to gather interest, and to present a consecutiveness of narrative that was not attainable in the broken and detached histories of the separate colonies.

We have given this analysis of Mr. Hildreth's History, that our readers who have not yet seen the work may be able to understand the author's method of constructing the complex and multiform narrative of our early history; and to show how he has buffeted the difficulties that opposed him in reducing the whole to a simple and continuous history. And while we are fully aware that the work as thus performed lacks much of absolute perfection, and in some points may be very liable to criticism, we must confess that our gratification at the success attained, greatly overbalances the regret we may feel for any seeming want of success in other particulars. The arrangement is as luminous, perspicuous, and natural, as the materials would allow it to be; and the whole is as thoroughly digested into a "harmonious whole" as is compatible with the diversity of the parts of the subject.

In relating affairs that affect men's passions and interests, the sentiments of the narrator often exert a great influence upon the tone of the narrative. Histories relating to matters of partisanship are nearly always partisan histories, and in using them the reader needs to be constantly upon his guard, and always to make due allowance for the writer's mental aberrations. The historian's page is the window through which those of the present time contemplate the scenes of the past; and according to the degree of its perspicuity will the notions obtained be true or false. A landscape seen through stained glass appears more gorgeous than the same would if seen through a

colourless medium, but the view will be less truthful; and if the medium magnify some parts and diminish others, and so distort the whole, the image will be a caricature rather than a veritable picture. The importance of an unprejudiced state of mind to the writer of history, will appear the more plainly from the consideration that the historic images that he presents are copied from his own inward conceptions; and if prejudices and affections are mingled with his perceptions of the truth, those no less than these will affect his statements of facts and developments of principles. An historian should be of no party; should entertain no prejudices; and should be as far as possible removed from the influences of his own feelings.

These negative qualities of a perfect historian—yet not the less valuable because they are negative—are possessed in an eminent degree by the writer of the work now before us. He seems to enjoy an almost entire freedom from partisanship, and only faint intimations are given as to his political, social, or religious affinities. Facts are stated with all seeming fairness and fidelity; and the grouping and arrangement of the materials indicate a philosophical rather than a partisan classification. The author is not presumed to have no opinions and sentiments relative to the matters discussed; but he has the discretion not to arouse the reader's suspicions by proclaiming them in advance, and the good taste to avoid an authoritative determination of every question that arises. It is probably as much a matter of necessity as of choice that he thus writes, as evidently in his mental constitution the intellect predominates over the sensibilities. His perceptions seem to be very little affected by his feelings: he considers things with entire impartiality, and applies the same rigid tests at all times and to all classes of subjects. His estimate of the office of the historian is evidently very high; and among the attributes required in one who would exhibit the past to the present, a strict fidelity to the truth is shown to be primary and essential. He accordingly comes before the public, not as the advocate or apologist of any man or of any theory, and so has no occasion to evade or conceal any truth. His estimate of characters is remarkable. After reading a very plain account of some transaction,—not peculiarly remarkable in itself, but necessary to be told as a link in the chain of history, in which certain apparently plain and ordinary persons figure as chief actors,—one is at length surprised to recognize them as old acquaintances in plain attire, who had before been seen only upon the historic stage dressed up for the occasion. Historians, like portrait-painters, seem often to feel a kind of professional obligation to make the best of their subjects,—to portray their features as they are, but to fill in and colour up as

the case may require. Mr. Hildreth, on the contrary, emulates the photographer,—for in his sketches of character one may recognize with equal clearness "their faults as well as their virtues, their weaknesses as well as their strength." But in all this there is no appearance of a design to surprise by new and unusual views of men and things. No traces can be detected of Mr. Macaulay's taste for reblackening whitewashed atrocities; no grin of satisfaction is seen when, in stripping off the "tinsel and bedizzenment," some hitherto hidden deformity is laid naked. He deals with the subjects of his pen as with men having the common characteristics of the race: nor is it strange that, when thus treated, the best are seen to have possessed some human infirmities, and the worst some redeeming qualities.

No part of our history has suffered more from the opposite course than that of New-England. The Pilgrim Fathers have been the theme of innumerable overwrought panegyrics, and of not a few equally unfair satires. They were indeed a remarkable class of men, possessing many real excellences of character, and some rather unamiable eccentricities. The attempt sometimes made to exhibit them as a race of model men, is absurd; and the opposite and less excusable one, to prove them a class of heartless and self-seeking hypocrites, is ridiculous. Mr. Hildreth has steered wide of both these extremes. He abundantly confutes, without alluding to them, the aspersions of a certain class of writers, who from political, or more commonly from theological and sectarian prejudices, have studied to sully the good name of the Fathers of New-England. Yet, under the clear and steady light that he reflects upon the subject, these venerated men appear very unlike themselves as exhibited in "centennial sermons and Fourth-of-July orations." We have often felt, while reading some of the many fulsome laudations of the Puritans, and the counter-statements and views of their enemies, that a discriminating history of that people was a desideratum in our literature. This want no longer exists; for "Hildreth's History of the United States" will hereafter be regarded as the one accurate and reliable story of the golden age of New-England Puritanism.

In delineating individual characters, the same clear and cool discrimination is everywhere manifested. Under the touch of his pencil the Cottons, Endicotts, and Mathers of that age of romance appear as "living and breathing men." They seem, indeed, somewhat diminished in mental stature, just as a man seems less in a clear atmosphere than when seen in a mist; but they are more natural, and really more admirable, than when viewed on stilts or in buskins. They are shown to have been men of indomitable energy, and not without the sympathies of humanity; or, to use the author's

own words, they were "often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious, and mistaken; but always earnest, downright, manly, and sincere."

The Pilgrim Fathers were English Puritans,—Roundheads of the school of the Long Parliament times,—rather than Puritans of New-England. These were a later race, "to the manner born," and distinguished by clearly marked characteristics from their ancestors. As a specimen of the genuine New-England Puritan we take Cotton Mather. The reputation of that great man has suffered more than that of almost any other person of his times, both from the blind panegyrics of friends and the invectives of enemies. On the one hand, he has been lauded as almost impeccable,—"a prodigy of learning, eloquence, and piety;" and on the other, denounced as the basest of hypocrites and the most remorseless of spiritual tyrants. His connexion with the Salem witchcraft affair has been used to his prejudice further than is consistent with fairness; and the intimation that has been thrown out, that he purposely got up and carried on that delusion for sinister ends, is childishly and maliciously absurd. He was a believer in the reality of witchcraft, as were most of his contemporaries, the learned as well as the ignorant; and like Sir Matthew Hale and Sir William Blackstone, he held that that offence should be detected and punished by the guardians of the public peace. He was doubtless duped by his own credulity, and the prevailing credulity of the times; but let not those who live in an age of Animal Magnetism, deal too severely with those who, in another age, followed after a more venerable and not more absurd delusion.

We speak of Cotton Mather as a specimen of the original New-England Puritans. As such, he was active, politic, and zealous for whatever he esteemed the right. He was austere in his manners, fierce and unrelenting towards opponents, but generous and public spirited even to self-devotion. His intellect was restless, inquisitive, and acute, so that he became learned rather than educated,—a peculiarity of New-Englanders pretty generally to the present time; and his zeal for religious truth regarded rather the outward symbols of faith than its spiritual manifestations. But, as often occurs with truly pious persons, with the advance of years, his zeal for outward forms gave place to a warmer and more comprehensive charity; and in his old age the former persecutor of the Baptists was heard preaching the dedication sermon for a Baptist "meeting-house."

Another of the great men of those times, but of a type somewhat different from either the Pilgrim Fathers or the New-England Puritans, was Roger Williams,—the prototype of the better class of "come-outers," with whom the land of the Pilgrims has always

abounded. He seems to have been constitutionally impracticable,—one of those unmanageable ones who can never find their place in the social body. With great simplicity of character, and some faint and undefined notions of "soul liberty," he evidently saw nothing clearly, and was never fixed in his own opinions. At first an eccentric Puritanical minister, he presently became a Baptist, and the founder of the Baptist denomination in America; then, abandoning his infant progeny, he cut loose from all his moorings, and was a "seeker;" and at last he settled down a kind of mystical moralist. But his heart was in the right place, and seemed to suffer less than is usually the case from the aberrations of his intellect. He has been celebrated as the pioneer of religious liberty,—perhaps justly; but we have yet to learn that he is better entitled to that honour than many others, who, standing in need of toleration, have claimed as a right that which, on a change of circumstances, they would have been slow to award to others as a favour.

Lord Baltimore, too, has been honoured as one of the fathers of religious liberty in America. What he would have done, had he possessed the power to carry out his own purposes, is not easily determined; for he never proclaimed a theory on the subject, nor yet in fact established religious freedom. Those whose positions in matters of faith expose them to persecution, very generally favour toleration; and this was always the case with Lord Baltimore. He had a delicate part to act; and in attempting to introduce the practice of universal toleration in his province, he no doubt consulted expediency quite as much as principle,—for sooner than greatly endanger his proprietary privileges, he could consent to become a persecutor himself, and that against Roman Catholics.

A striking peculiarity of this work, is its clear method of tracing from their primary elements the existing social and political institutions of our country.

The widely dissimilar materials that formed the original elements of American society, might have suggested the expectation that it would be heterogeneous and ill-compacted; but the result has not answered such an expectation. No other country of one-half the same extent ever presented a population so homogeneous. Though even the English colonies were severally made up of widely separated classes, yet in developing the Anglo-American character, Puritans, Catholics, and Cavaliers, approximated very nearly to a common type. And though there were whole colonies and other large settlements of other than English immigrants, yet they were all with remarkable facility assimilated to the common character. The English was the only national language; and as only good language can be

exported, the vernacular of the American colonists was always purer English than that of the corresponding classes in the mother country. In the Huguenot settlements the French language scarcely survived the first generation; before the Revolution the Dutch had ceased to be spoken in New-York, except by the most illiterate in the rural districts; and though the German was more tenacious of life, yet it steadily yielded to the progress of Anglo-Americanism, and has always been, as it now is, a foreign language. The American character possesses, to an unequalled degree, the power of assimilating others to itself; so that while large masses of foreigners are cast among us, whether by the extension of our territory or the influx of immigrants, they are so rapidly transmuted into the common character, that little appreciable change is experienced.

The application of this law is limited, however, as to its full power, to those races whose physical likeness to the Anglo-Saxon race will permit a complete blending. With the Indian and negro races the case is somewhat otherwise. Though these assimilating tendencies have not failed to affect them, especially the Africans, yet nowhere short of Hindostan is the power of *caste* so severely and injuriously operative as in our own country. Before it the aboriginal tribes have receded, step by step, till scarcely a remnant is left to the east of the Mississippi; and now that the entire continent is seized by the quickened spirit of adventure, the early extinction of the race seems to be painfully imminent: while the enslaved or half-emancipated Africans, increasing with unequalled rapidity, and forming an unwieldy foreign element in the social body, suggest the difficult inquiry, What will the end be?

The old ecclesiastico-political state of the New-England colonies presents a curious anomaly in modern history. The Pilgrim Fathers, driven by persecution into the wilderness, found themselves suddenly in possession of complete governmental authority. As hitherto their bond of union had been purely ecclesiastical, their spiritual leaders became of course the actual heads of the new commonwealth. The power thus obtained without ambitious designs on the part of those who received it, was long and pertinaciously retained by their successors: yet it was generally exercised with moderation, and used for benevolent purposes. In the more advanced stages of the colonial history the ministers and magistrates acted as co-ordinate powers, though the limits of their several prerogatives were never well defined. The natural progress of society, and the character of our political institutions, have greatly modified and limited the authority of the "theocracy" of New-England; but it still lives and operates in the character and habits of the people,—rendering them the most moral,

the most intermeddling, and yet the most conservative portion of the nation.

The origin and growth of our civil institutions is a theme of great interest, and a subject capable of an easy philosophical analysis. Colonies are naturally democratic. Removed from the presence of authority, men develop their individuality, and learn self-reliance more fully than in a well-compacted society. This tendency to individualization was seen in the early periods of our history: and though time has made great changes among us, it is still a strongly marked feature of the American character. The personal predilections of the original colonists, as well as their circumstances, tended to give a liberal character to their government. Many of them were exiles from their homes, expelled by the hard hand of oppression, who had sought the wilderness as an asylum from tyranny; others were restless spirits, to whom the freedom of the colonies was more congenial than the constrained order of the old country; and yet others were such as viewed government only as a power over them, to be resisted as far as could be done with impunity,—the apprentices and bound servants, who came at length to constitute a considerable body in the community. All these agreed in demanding a form of government embodying the largest liberties.

The course pursued by the Home government had for the most part the same tendency. To promote the planting of colonies, liberal charters were granted to the proprietaries; and they, in turn, to encourage emigration, granted large privileges to the colonists. Thus the plantations were from the beginning little republics, where men learned the art of self-government; and afterwards, left to themselves to contend with the difficulties and dangers of their condition, the people learned the further, and not less important, lesson of self-dependence, as well as proved to themselves that the benefits of good government could be enjoyed without the pomp and burdens of royalty. Out of such circumstances arose, almost necessarily, the first notions of both Republicanism and Independence.

The confederation, and at length virtual consolidation, of the several distinct provinces into a single political body, grew out of their characters and condition. At the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, the people of the British American colonies had become in a high degree homogeneous. They were one in language, in religion, and in social and civil institutions. By their extension the settlements abutted upon each other, and the people passed and repassed the boundaries without feeling that they had gone into foreign parts. The idea of the unity of the colonies prevailed also in England, and found expression in the acts of Parliament. But the

strongest influence towards consolidation was found in the common dangers of the colonies, and their united efforts for the common defence. Behind them were the native tribes, terrible as enemies, and unsafe even as friends; to the north and west were the French settlements; and to the south, those of Spain,—always regarded with distrust, and often engaged in open hostilities with their English neighbours. Much of our early history is made up of accounts of intercolonial wars, by which the Anglo-American colonies were united in a common struggle, and of course brought into a unity of feeling and interest.

The scheme of a formal confederation began to be talked of as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century. Penn proposed and advocated the measure in 1700, and his recommendation was seconded by several of the colonial statesmen and political writers during the succeeding half-century. At the famous Albany convention, in 1754, the subject was strongly urged upon that body by Franklin; and so plainly did such a confederation appear to be demanded, that a plan of union was adopted by the convention, and recommended to the several colonies and the mother country: but it failed on account of the mutual jealousies of the parties concerned. But the great French and Indian war, and the gathering of the storms of the Revolution, compelled the colonies to a more intimate union among themselves, and a temporary and imperfect confederation was at length effected under the Continental Congress, which at length gave place to the more complete and symmetrical union of the States under the Federal Constitution.

The third of these volumes embodies the most satisfactory exhibition of the American Revolution that we have seen. As the volume is complete in itself, it forms a valuable history of that remarkable period in our affairs, and may be used separately. Beginning in 1773, with the active measures of the British government to force the tax-paying teas upon the colonies, it follows the course of revolution to its consummation in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the final dissolution of the Continental Congress, in 1789.

The various conspiring or counter-working causes of that great event are properly developed, and so arranged that while the author completely conceals himself, and scarcely suggests his own views and feelings, he controls both the understanding and the feelings of the reader. One almost trembles as he is led to the point where, but for a false stroke by which the opportunity of conciliation was lost, circumstances promised to avert the threatened rupture. Yet it is made sufficiently evident that, though incidental causes may have precipitated that rupture, no course of administration could

have finally averted it. The ripe fruit does not more naturally drop from the stem, than large colonies, remote from the mother country, become independent,—the question of separation is one of time rather than of fact. America had already reached the period of adolescence, and could not long continue in colonial pupilage. But it often happens that precocious maturity excites the jealousy, and offends the lust of power in the parent,—a feeling now strongly manifested by the British government toward her overgrown American progeny. Hitherto a sense of weakness had held the colonies in close allegiance to the parent State; but the recent wars had taught them their own strength, while the neglect of the Home government had gone far to destroy the lingering affection of the colonists towards her; and long before it assumed a definite form, the notion of independence was deeply seated and extensively diffused.

As is usual in such cases, the Home government under-estimated the strength of this feeling, and reckoned too lightly of the power of the colonies. Unconditional submission, and that alone, was prescribed by the ruling party; more stringent laws were enacted, and increased military establishments set up, to guard against the tendencies to independence. But the opposition to the Stamp-Act taught the administration the necessity of a temporizing policy, and the new laws for taxing the colonies were purposely made as little objectionable as they could be without surrendering the imperial authority of the Parliament. Seldom has so stout a resistance to the invasion of an abstract right been made by the popular masses, as was then exhibited in America against the odious tea-tax. The claims of the two parties were irreconcilable, nor did the case admit of a compromise. A less violent course on the part of the Home government might have delayed the separation for a quarter of a century, but the event itself was inevitable, and probably it occurred at the best time.

The story of the Revolutionary struggle has been so often related in the style of fulsome panegyrics, that the prevailing idea of the whole subject is a kind of mental kaleidoscope; but as presented by Mr. Hildreth, it wears the aspect of stern, unvarnished truth. There is a naturalness,—a reality,—in the historical images and scenes of this volume, that is indeed painfully truthful. After reading them, every one will be ready to acknowledge that our national birth was not without its labours and convulsive throes; and though in its cradle our country was a giant in strength, yet was it ushered into existence naked and unarmed. When the Continental Congress assumed the direction of American affairs, with their nationality they received on the one hand a war with the mother country, and

on the other little else than the personal materials of a nation. The appliances of government, whether civil or military, were all wanting. Military stores and accoutrements, the furniture for the field or the camp, were neither possessed nor attainable; and money, the real "sinews of war," was not to be had. Patriotism may suffice to draw an army from the fields and firesides of the country; but that degree of patriotism is yet to be exhibited that shall, by voluntary "benevolences," subsist such an army while fighting the battles of the country. Those writers who choose to expatiate on a few bright spots in the dark field of our affairs at that period,—who discourse only of the Boston Tea-party, or of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, or dwell upon the exhibition of moral courage seen at the signing of the Declaration of Independence,—may make fine pictures, but at the expense of historical fidelity. To this kind of writing our author makes no pretensions; and yet it may be doubted whether any other writer of American history has done so full justice to the memories of the illustrious men of those times. The starving, half-clad, and poorly armed continental militia, pining in wretched camps, or flying before the enemy, marking the snow and ice with the traces of their naked and bleeding feet, present a more sublime spectacle than was ever seen in the brilliant hosts commanded by Napoleon or Wellington,—though a certain class of writers may lack the soul to appreciate it, or the courage to proclaim what they perceive.

The Revolutionary War presents a series of disasters and defeats to the American forces, alternated by a few highly valuable victories; but from every disaster new courage was derived for another struggle, and every defeat seemed only to develop the powers to suffer and to do that had hitherto lain dormant in the body politic. Omitting the two great victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, the history of that war is little else than a series of repulses and retreats, slightly varied by a few brilliant though unimportant successes. These two great victories, though in a military view highly creditable to our arms, were chiefly remarkable for their substantial value. The surrender of Burgoyne was the turning-point of the Revolution; the capitulation of Cornwallis was its consummation in favour of the American cause. Throughout the whole contest there is a manifestation of indomitable purpose struggling against poverty and weakness, with their consequent privations, yet rising superior to the insolence of power and seductive temptations to inglorious ease. These were indeed "times that tried men's souls," and seldom in such severe trials have there been so few cases of defection.

Histories professedly devoted to civil affairs, frequently assume the style of military records. The historian is seduced from the

quiet of civil and social affairs, to trace the gorgeous hues and exciting exhibitions of camps and battle-fields. To write a history from such materials requires less genius than is requisite in most other cases, since the dull imagination that slumbers over the repose of peace and good order is aroused to action by the peals of battle and splendour of armed hosts. Yet such histories are generally sadly defective in literary taste, and of pernicious moral tendency. We esteem it among the great excellences of this volume that, though devoted to a period of fierce and violent warfare, its tales of blood and slaughter occupy but a very small portion of the narrative. Upon scenes where the genius of a Headley would revel with the gust of a vulture, this writer dwells but briefly, and with manifestly painful distaste; and when historical fidelity compels him to detail the horrors of mutual fratricides, he so conducts the narrative that the reader is fully prepared to sympathize with his closing reflection,—"*such is war.*" The moral influence of a history written in such a tone and spirit, is infinitely better than that exerted by the fascinating but delusive pictures of military splendour that too often emblazon the pages of history.

The same rigid method of estimating men and characters noticed in an earlier part of this history, prevails also in the history of the Revolution. Though that period presented many rare spectacles of disinterested patriotism, yet even that bright picture is not without its spots. These exceptions to the general fidelity heighten the brightness of the incorruptible ones who, despite of all disadvantages, achieved so great a work. "Exaggerated estimates," remarks our author, "of the disinterestedness and public spirit of those times, detract not a little from the real magnitude of the American Revolution; the really difficult and truly admirable thing is, to accomplish great objects by merely human means." All the agents of this great work were indeed merely men; some of them, however, were men adapted to the times,—as incorruptible in virtue as they were indomitable in energy and fortitude; but there were also others who exhibited a full share of the frailties and the faults of human nature.

The power of plain truth to reduce a great story to a small one, and to strip some glorious affairs of their "patriotic rouge," is frequently illustrated in this volume. Take as an example the account of the capture of Andre. In conducting the story of Arnold's treason, the writer comes at length to the affair of the capture of the Spy. Here some account of the "neutral ground," and of the two classes of marauders that infested that region, was necessary to the proper exhibition of the narrative. We give his own words:—

"The 'Cow-boys' lived within the British lines, and stole or bought cattle for the support of the British army. The rendezvous of the 'Skinners' was within the American lines. They professed to be great patriots, making it their ostensible business to plunder those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the State of New-York. But they were ready, in fact, to rob anybody; and the cattle thus obtained were often sold to the Cowboys in exchange for goods brought from New-York. By a State law, all cattle driven toward the city were lawful plunder when beyond a certain line; and a general authority was given to anybody to arrest suspicious travellers."—Vol. iii, pp. 321, 322.

After this preparatory statement of the singular state of things out of which that important affair grew, he proceeds with the narrative:—

"The road to Tarrytown on which Andre was travelling, was watched that morning by a small party on the lookout for cattle or travellers; and just as Andre approached the village, while passing a small brook, a man sprang from among the bushes and seized the bridle of his horse. He was immediately joined by two others: and Andre, in the confusion of the moment, deceived by the answers of his captors, who professed to belong to the 'Lower' or British party, instead of producing his pass, avowed himself a British officer, on business of the highest importance. Discovering his mistake, he offered them his watch, his purse, anything they might name, if they would suffer him to proceed. His offers were rejected; he was searched, suspicious papers were found in his stockings, and he was carried before Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines."—Vol. iii, p. 322.

How unlike the story of the disinterested patriotism and stern contempt of poverty of these "three young farmers," must be evident to every reader. The introduction of the name of Major Talmadge in the next paragraph, suggests a suspicion that the historian has seen a statement of this whole affair, made by that gentleman some years afterwards on the floor of the House of Representatives.

An interesting feature of this part of our history is the case of those who retained their attachment to the British crown,—a class always respectable in numbers, and still more so in wealth and intelligence. Partisan zeal has stigmatized them to a most unjust odium, and few have been found to plead the cause of a depressed and defeated party. Our author has dealt more liberally with them than has generally been done, and, while fully sympathizing with the cause they opposed, he is nevertheless just to them in their mistaken choice and course of action. At the beginning of the Revolution, out of New-England and Virginia, comparatively few who had much to lose were willing to pledge all upon the issue of a war with England; and a lingering affection for the mother country withheld many a patriotic heart from going to the extremities of civil war and independence. But the current of affairs bore everything before it, and compelled every man to choose one of the extremes as the

only practicable alternative. Thus many strong loyalists became active supporters of the American cause, and some, who had co-operated with the movements that were now ripening into rebellion, drew back when the tendency to that extreme became manifest. Previous to the Declaration of Independence the loyalists were the party of "law and order;" but that act reversed the position of things and exposed them to great embarrassments. On this point our author remarks:—

"In the position of that considerable class of persons who had remained in doubt, the Declaration of Independence and the assumption of state government made a decided change. It was now necessary to choose one side or the other. Very serious, too, was the change in the legal position of the class known as Tories,—in many of the States a very large minority, and in all respectable for wealth and social position. Of those thus stigmatized, some were inclined to favour the utmost claims of the mother country; but the greater part, though determined to adhere to the British connexion, yet deprecated the policy which had brought on so fatal a quarrel. This loyal minority, especially its more conspicuous members, as the warmth of political feeling increased, had been exposed to the violence of mobs, and to all sorts of personal indignities, in which private malice, or a wanton and insolent spirit of mischief, had been too often gratified under the disguise of patriotism."—Vol. iii, pp. 137-8.

The fate of the American loyalists in the Northern States was a hard one. Their property was confiscated, their persons and families were exposed to every form of indignity and insult, and at last they were driven out into exile among the snows and forests of Nova Scotia. For their sacrifices they were very inadequately recompensed by the British government, though at length the rigour of the confiscating laws of the States was relaxed, and many regained much of their former possessions; and, a better feeling towards them beginning to prevail, many returned to enjoy the protection of the government they had at first opposed. Among the descendants of these are some of our most valuable and patriotic citizens.

The domestic and civil affairs of the country during the war of the Revolution occupy a large portion of the volume under review. The exhibition is full of curious and painful interest. The expense of the war to the public treasury amounted to seventy millions of dollars,—a sum equal to twenty times that amount at this time, in proportion to the resources of the country at the two periods. Every form of productive industry was paralyzed;—towns were burned,—the inhabitants robbed and plundered, and a wide-spread ruin pervaded the land. During the former part of this period the attempt was made to replenish the exhausted exchequer by the issue of paper money. The Continental Congress alone emitted the nominal sum of two hundred millions, and a still greater amount was

issued by the several States. In vain did the legislatures endeavour to prop up this kind of currency; it necessarily declined in value inversely and geometrically as its amount was increased, till at length it became utterly valueless,—a terrible example of the futility and iniquity of all attempts to create a fictitious circulating medium.

As to the author's political and religious sentiments, we are left to make up our estimate from incidental remarks, and the general tone of his observations. He is evidently not an ultraist in either of these points, and he seems carefully to avoid all appearance of a design to dictate opinions to his readers. In politics he seems to be at once progressive and conservative. In detailing the history of the formation of the Federal Constitution he clearly shows, as historical fidelity required him to do, that national consolidation was the ruling design of the framers of that instrument; and if, as the mode of making his statements indicates, such a view is most congenial to his judgment and feelings, we honour him the more on that account. His views of religious liberty seem at times to verge almost to licentiousness; and, if reduced to practice, would, we fear, be incompatible with public morals. Yet there is no apparent sympathy with immorality, but he insinuates a doubt as to the lawfulness of compelling persons to refrain from offending against the moral and religious sentiments of the great mass of the people among whom they reside,—a doubt that we do not entertain.

Upon theological and ecclesiastic questions he is even more reserved than elsewhere. He does not pronounce the *shibboleth* of the "orthodox," nor yet employ the dialect of the theosophists of the learned city in which he resides. Theological and ecclesiastical questions are discussed sparingly; and while all opinions and sects are treated respectfully, none is set up above others as the only true and right. His remarks on the prevailing latitudinarianism that preceded the great apostasy in the churches of Massachusetts, suggest the suspicion that his own religious notions are not high-toned; and these considerations, added to the fact that he gravely alludes to the pretended Apostolical Succession as a reality, enable one to fix his denominational locality with a good degree of certainty.

But we must hasten to close our observations upon this work, the examination of which has afforded us a high degree of satisfaction. We esteem it the most valuable contribution ever made to our domestic historical literature, and confidently expect that it will hereafter be known as *the* "History of the United States." It embraces the whole subject with all necessary fulness, and yet without prolixity. It presents the history of the country,—its people, its social, religious, and industrial affairs, as well as its political and military

operations. It is the history for our academies and colleges, for our family libraries, and for the study of the man of leisure. In its merely literary character it occupies an elevated place. We have already commended its general plan and structure, and could say much more, if it were necessary. The prevailing characteristics of the style are compactness and perspicuity. It has very few embellishments, as the necessary brevity of the statements forbids their introduction; and this, with other distinguishing properties of the work, gives the style an appearance of dryness, that may seem, to such as are not interested in the matter, very much like dulness. With mere loungers in literature, the work will not be likely to become a favourite. There are also occasional appearances of carelessness of manner,—cases of false syntax, or the use of quaint and inelegant terms, or the introduction of provincialisms,—that should have been avoided. But these faults are few and unimportant; while, as a whole, the style is pure and nervous Saxon.

We take leave of the subject by repeating the expression of our satisfaction that such a work is written, and by acknowledging the obligation of the public to the author for its production,—and to the publishers for the style of the mechanical execution of their part of the work, which is only such as befits its high literary character. The success of the work is certain, and its influence will be salutary.

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## Art. VI.—THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

*Our Scottish Clergy: Fifty-two Sketches, Biographical, Theological, and Critical, including Clergymen of all Denominations.* Edited by John Smith, A. M., Author of "Sacred Biography," &c. Second thousand. Edinburgh. 1848. 8vo., pp. 400.

There is a chapter in the history of modern civilization which remains yet unwritten, and which perhaps never can be written by an uninspired pen. It is the relation of the Pulpit to the existing form of civilization. The general influence of Christianity on the progress of society will be questioned by few; and the agency of the Church as a vast organic element in modern civilization, either for good or evil, is admitted by all. The influence of Christianity is that of a silent system of truth, diffused like some imponderable fluid through the masses, and working, unseen, its stupendous results. The action of the Church is that of a mighty receiver, collecting in its compact and powerful organization this unseen agency for more direct

and available use. Connected with, but distinct from, both these is the power of the Pulpit, by which this collected energy has been brought to bear directly on the masses of society, with its wonderful powers of analysis and fusion. That this influence must be a very powerful one, appears obvious at a glance. Here is a body of men, animated with a common purpose, and speaking a common language; bound together by the strongest ties of common interest and effort; not concentrated into a few centres of blazing light, but scattered all over a community; obtaining access on equal terms to the highest and lowest in society; received by all with confidence and affection; approaching them at times and under circumstances when they are most susceptible of impression and conviction; and weekly, at least, appearing in public to enforce their views with the most awful sanctions, and in an attitude that tends to disarm cavilling and command assent. Let such an organization be brought fairly into action to accomplish any purpose, or enforce any system of opinions, and it must obviously wield a most tremendous power. But let the opinions it advocates be God's eternal truth, and the purposes it aims at God's designs of mercy to a lost world, and we have an engine whose power it would require the calculus of eternity properly to discuss. Great, however, as is the inherent power lodged in this agency, its actual influence will depend greatly on the character of those who wield it; and must vary with their intellectual and moral training, their spiritual earnestness, their industry in study, their fidelity in action, and the unity of purpose that marks their efforts. It is obvious then that it will differ in different countries, and in different periods in the same country, independent of that divine influence, whose breath cometh as it listeth, irrespective of human calculation or foresight.

Before the Reformation the power of the priesthood was prodigious, but the power of the Pulpit limited. The influence of the priesthood was official rather than personal; based on a superstitious veneration for the powers supposed to vest in their office, rather than on the intelligent and faithful mode in which these powers were exercised. Men dreaded the displeasure of one whom they supposed to be endowed with the tremendous power of creating the incarnate Son of God, of absolving from sin, of opening and shutting the gates of Paradise, and of wielding the terrible anathemas of the Almighty. But in all this there was nothing to develop the intellectual, or elevate the moral, nature of men. The basis was fear, the structure superstition. In all this the peculiar power of the pulpit, as a vast educational engine to act on the hearts and minds of men, was not brought into play. Nor was it ever possible to bring it into

vigorous action without jeopardy to the power of the priesthood. Let men be appealed to as rational and moral agents; let them be brought to reason on the great topics of morality and religion, and an axe is laid at the root of all mere ghostly power that must soon bring it low. We cannot, therefore, look for any very distinct exemplifications of the power of this agency in the long interval that separates the reformation of the first century from that of the sixteenth.

In the primitive Church we know it was brought into full and powerful operation, "for it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching" to accomplish that wonderful work before which Judaism and Paganism fell. It was because men went forth everywhere "preaching the word," that the followers of Christ were soon found in every spot, from the hovel to the palace. And for several centuries it retained its power for good or evil over society, in the hands of such men as Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Paul of Samosata, and others, who sometimes wielded this agency with gigantic energy. But the power of the priesthood so soon began to mingle itself with the power of the pulpit, and continued so rapidly to gain upon it, as the light of apostolic times grew distant and dim, that we cannot discriminate between them with any degree of accuracy. Very soon, in the downward descent of the Church to the long valley of her humiliation, the priest supplanted the preacher; and, as a matter of course, piety became little more than superstition. Hence, in the long night of the dark ages, the altar took the place of the pulpit, and the influence of Christianity was often little more than that of mumbled masses and empty forms.

Again, at the Reformation we find this agency brought into vigorous operation. In the comparative scarcity of books, it was of necessity that the people looked mainly to the pulpit for information concerning the great questions that agitated society; and it was from the pulpit that they received those ideas and impulses that were afterwards developed in the hall of council, the field of battle, and the scenes of common life. Much as we owe to the massive tomes that mark that stirring period, and stand as monuments of learning, it is yet mainly to the tones of thunder that were uttered from the pulpits of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, that we are indebted for that waking up of the world, the results of which we see in the stupendous strides of modern civilization.

Since that period we find the power of the pulpit keeping pace with the principles of the Reformation. Where the Reformation has taken root and flourished, there has the pulpit assumed its legitimate position as the great teaching agent of society, and exerted a

powerful, and often a controlling influence on the social life. Where the Reformation has been excluded, or but partially admitted, there we find the power of the pulpit limited to a corresponding extent.

There is no country in Europe where the influence of the Reformation has been more deeply and extensively felt than in Scotland. Under the auspices of John Knox, Andrew Melville, and others, the work was carried forward with thoroughness. Almost every vestige of Popery was eradicated; not a rag of the "auld scarlet mither" was left to flaunt in the air; and an open field was made for the action of the principles of the Reformation. In their own energetic terms, they pulled down the nests, that the rooks might all fly away. We should hence naturally expect that the power of the pulpit would be pre-eminent in Scotland. Such accordingly we find to be the case. The ruling element of Scottish civilization has always been the religious one; and the controlling agency in the application of this element has been the pulpit. The great movements of Scottish history have been produced by religious ideas, and these movements have been greatly affected, and often directly controlled, by those who preached the gospel. John Knox, Andrew Melville, Alexander Henderson, William Carstairs, William Robertson, and Thomas Chalmers, appear in the successive eras of Scottish history as its ruling spirits. They are the men whose forms loom largest to the eye in looking back over the past. Its Jameses, and Mortons, and Lauderdales, and Claverhouses, and Argyles, were but the gilded indices on the dial-plate which marked the movement of these mightier main-springs within.

It is therefore with a peculiar interest that the inquirer into the social condition and progress of Scotland will examine into the character of her clergy. It is true, that in the growth and expansion of other elements in modern times, the pulpit does not hold the commanding position that it did in the past centuries of Scottish history. Other forms and agencies of influence have advanced more rapidly than it has, and have left it somewhat in the back-ground. But, in spite of this, we are disposed to believe that the most important element in Scottish society, the element whose loss would inflict the heaviest blow on its best interests, and the element acting most extensively for good, is still the pulpit.

Regarded in this light, the book before us possesses more than an ephemeral interest in the eye of the careful student of modern history and civilization. It is not simply a passing sketch of a few men who are acting their part in the great drama of national life, but the unfolding of a portion of the most active and efficient element of Scottish civilization. It is in this light that the book has a

peculiar interest for us, and it is with this view that we propose to examine its contents.

It contains a series of sketches, made weekly during the year 1847, from the ministers of the different religious denominations in Scotland; sometimes giving an analysis of the sermon and other services of the Sabbath selected for portraiture, and sometimes giving a brief account of the intellectual character and ministerial standing of the clergyman depicted. It is somewhat after the manner of, if it was not actually suggested by, "Grant's Random Recollections of the Houses of Lords and Commons;" though it is done in a less slip-shod style. The value and importance of such a work, if done with candour and ability, is obvious; for few people, and still fewer ministers, have an extensive opportunity of estimating the ministerial qualifications of many clergymen. But there are some peculiar difficulties attending such a task, when undertaken in the midst of those to be described, and by a writer over his own name.

It is well known that the public ministrations of many clergymen are very unequal, owing to ill health, unusual engagements during the week, or *invita Minerva*. This is particularly the case with men of excitable temperaments, and men whose position exposes them to many claims on their time. Hence, to make a random selection from their public exercises may present a very unfair specimen of their powers. It is subjecting them, without their knowledge or consent, to what may be a most unjust ordeal for the trial and determination of their ministerial abilities; for we know that in the pulpit, as well as everywhere else, "*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*" This difficulty is in part obviated in the work before us, by an accompanying sketch of the clerical character and standing of each minister; but it is only in part, for there is at times an obvious discrepancy between the character of the preacher and the character of the discourse sketched. But there is a difficulty yet more serious than this. It is a matter of extreme delicacy to describe faithfully a man who is yet alive, and before whose eyes we know our portrait will be spread. If he possess real excellencies, it is hard to speak of them in the terms they deserve, without seeming to descend to flattery, and uttering that praise which it is dangerous to speak in the ear of even the humblest and wisest of our race. If he has defects, it is also difficult to parade them before the public eye in their real light, without the risk of seeming malignity; and there is a strong temptation to gloze them over, and attempt to conceal them. This is especially the case if the person described is within our personal acquaintance; and if we are writing a book whose popularity and sale must depend in

part on his supporters and admirers. How far this difficulty has been avoided by our author we cannot decide, without a more intimate knowledge of the persons described. But judging from internal evidence, we should infer that he has steered as clear of Scylla and Charybdis as was possible under the circumstances. Faults are mentioned with a mingled candour and kindness that inspires confidence in the fidelity of the author.

We now proceed to furnish our readers with an opportunity of forming their own estimate of the clergy here described, and the manner in which the author has performed his task. And in doing this we shall depart from the order, or rather the want of order, of our author, and group together the ministers of each denomination, that our readers may be able to form some conception of the relative strength and influence of each Church, from the character of those regarded as its most prominent ministers.

We naturally begin with the Establishment. Owing to its relation with the government, its control of posts of honour and profit, its certain salaries, and the *prestige* of royal approval and official influence, it must always draw around it much of the talent and ambition of the country. And having never been cursed with such corruptions as exist in the English Establishment, it has always been an institution of great power. But in making our selections from its ministers here described, we were painfully impressed with a conviction that it has been shorn of much of its splendour by the great disruption. "Ichabod" seems to be written on its hoary and venerable battlements. This impression is gathered from many minor points, but mainly from several prominent facts. The first is, the relative character of the ministers described. There is no reason to suppose that our author selected inferior men from the Establishment; on the contrary he seems to have chosen the most prominent there, as well as elsewhere. But, as a whole, they are decidedly inferior to the representatives of the other bodies. There is among them scarcely a single preacher or writer of transatlantic reputation, whilst there are a number of such in the other Churches. This is surely a fact of no ordinary significance. Another is, that nearly all of them have been called to their present positions since the disruption. As these positions are the most prominent, lucrative, and important in Scotland, it proves that the men who were deemed capable of filling such positions at that time, went out of the Church; and the natural presumption is, that the Establishment was then despoiled of her brightest ornaments. Another fact is, a sort of apologetic tone that occasionally appears in the claims that are set up for their standing. The author seems anxious to convince the

reader, that although public opinion may not coincide with him in his view of these men, yet they are undoubtedly men of ability and influence, independent of their official relation to the national Church. This tone of deprecation suggests more than it expresses.

The first we select is the Rev. JOHN MUIR, D. D., of St. James, Glasgow, a man somewhat advanced in years, but of high standing and long influence in the Church. After describing the services of a particular Sabbath, the author thus speaks of him:—

"We ascribe Dr. Muir's popularity partly to his *manner* in the pulpit—a manner distinguished by its ease, its energy, its singularity, and earnestness. His manner, we say, is remarkable for its ease. When he appears in the pulpit he seems quite at home. His movements are thoroughly inartificial. Though there are certain characteristics that belong to a graceful manner, there are also individual peculiarities indispensable. The person who regulates his movements according to the rule and square method of schools, may get credit for being well bred, but in many cases the rules of etiquette destroy that individualism which constitutes the great charm of physical action or gesture. Dr. Muir retains that very strong individualism in his gestures that renders them so fascinating. His action is varied, and generally in keeping with his subject. His voice, not unpleasant, and well under command, changes with his subject, and pleases by its variety. The energy of his manner contributes to his fame. In former days, when in the vigour of youth and manhood, he had few equals in his animated address, and even now that the weight of years begins to press him, he retains no small share of the vigour, power, and pathos which were wont to entrance his thronged audiences. He has sufficient independence of mind to carve out a path for himself, and hence many who have been accustomed to hear those whose manner and matter never depart even in one iota from the beaten path, have frequently expressed their surprise and wonder at what they designate his singular manner. All are struck with his great earnestness.

"The chief causes of his popularity, however, are to be found in his matter. On the leading doctrines of the gospel he is thoroughly evangelical, and on its leading duties thoroughly *practical*. The views he constantly enforces are the apostasy and degeneracy of man—the substitution and work of Messiah—the justice, sovereignty, and grace of the Most High, and of the strictness and impartiality of that account which all must render at the bar of God. He dwells on the relationships believers sustain to God—the character and endearments of their union with his Son—and the energy and love of the Spirit of all grace. The duties of the second table of the law are exhibited as springing from new relationships and new responsibilities. He keeps his hearers in the presence of Him who is light and love, and continually reminds them of the obligations they owe to a three-in-one God. Occasionally there may be a little of the mystic in his views, but, generally, every heart responds to the trueness with which he describes that intimate union which exists between the Church and its great Head. It is but fair, however, to state, that while his views of the New Testament, as far as the leading doctrines and duties of the Gospel are concerned, are both true and consistent, he entertains, and teaches, very peculiar notions regarding many parts of the Old Testament. Some of the historical books he considers symbolical, and interprets them accordingly. These extreme views are referable to a loose method of interpretation. Nothing but a genuine piety can save those who adopt such from the wildest extravagancies or downright skepticism. Soon as one can believe that a passage that bears every proof of the historic is merely a figure, he is like a

ship at sea chartless and pilotless, and only an unseen power can save him from utter shipwreck. When a passage bears a symbolic meaning, no one more readily perceives its beauties or more vividly exhibits its spiritual bearings. On the prophetic he is quite at home, but on the historic he flounders." —Pp. 53, 54.

Dr. Muir is remarkable for an aptness at repartee, and a tendency to personality in his prayers, which we cannot but regard as unfortunate in a minister of Christ, even where unintentional; but as most highly reprehensible when deliberately used and cultivated. An amusing instance of this quaintness is given by our author, as follows:—

"On preaching in a royal burgh not very far from Glasgow, he is said to have commenced his prayer by saying, 'O Lord, make the magistrates of —— wiser and better.' The magistrates, suspicious that some charge lodged under the petition, sent a messenger to him next morning, asking what he had against the magistrates. The doctor, who had used the petition in a general way, was rather surprised with the question, and said to the messenger, 'Tell the magistrates of —— that I am very sorry the prayer seems not to be answered.' This circumstance, whether strictly true or not, gives a very good idea of the home thrusts he employs in his prayers."—P. 55.

The tone of deprecation above alluded to will be detected in the following paragraph:—

"At the time of the disruption many thought he would come out, but he remained in the Church; while the majority of his elders, and a great part of the members left, and formed Free St. James' congregation, and consequently St. James' Church is now by no means so well attended as in former years. Still, however, it numbers many influential and excellent families, who are ardently attached both to the Established Church and to their minister. Dr. Muir, though advanced in years, retains his strength and vigour well, and occasionally manifests all the ardour and enthusiasm of former days. Those who 'cannot see anything in him' may account for the fact as they best can, that during a long life he has commanded around him a very numerous and influential audience."—P. 55.

Our next selection is a man in the prime of life, who is known, at least in Scotland, as an author, the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D. D., of St. Paul's, Glasgow. He has written a book on the "Manners and Trials of the Primitive Christians;" a work of three volumes, entitled, "Eastern Manners illustrative of the Old and New Testaments;" besides some other works of alleged interest and value. Of this gentleman the author thus speaks:—

"In rebuking sin he uses no circumlocution, but speaks plainly out. Indeed, he carries this almost to excess, as regards the language he employs. We had marked several instances where his rebukes made some approximation to the blasts of the famous trumpet of Knox. When the subject savours of the awful he often startles the most careless; and, on the other hand, when he treats of the lovely and fair, his plain and graphic descriptions elate and thrill the inmost feelings.

"The conciseness of his views is also apparent. Though occasionally his

illustrations are diffuse, his ideas are simple and unique. To the subject under discussion he strictly adheres, and correlative ideas are unable to divert him from the current of thought. As a consequence, his discourses are short and compact. On the occasions we were present, the discourse never occupied more than forty minutes, and yet there was no lack of matter. Unlike those who wish to extend a discourse over as long a period as possible, he seems to study to make his sermons short. We do not say that he always presents views in the most striking form, but whether faint or vigorous, they are always in the foreground. Some preachers deem it necessary to tell all they know of the subject they discuss; they deem it imperfect if it is not exhausted; but Mr. Jamieson satisfies himself with presenting the truth in one or more of its appropriate aspects, and often suggests rather than exhausts ideas.

"In the communication of knowledge, the preacher does scanty justice to himself. Accustomed to speak without notes, his style is occasionally diffuse and obscure. Many of his sentences are hypothetical and involved. Aware of the exhaustlessness of his phraseology, he seems to give much less attention to language than to thought. Conscious that he has fully mastered the ideas to be brought forward, he preaches in the belief that as he proceeds language will occur in which to render them sufficiently palpable and popular. The consequence is, that while his phraseology is grammatically accurate, it is often rhetorically defective. * * * His written style has little of the diffuseness of which we complain. It is generally philosophical and definite. His ideas are expressed, not in words seized at random, but in terms selected after the model of the severest taste. * * * Few have been so liberally gifted with a clear, full, musical voice, but it is imperfectly under control. The gentlest whisper of the preacher would be quite distinctly heard throughout the largest building, and yet he reads, and prays, and preaches at the top of his voice. In reading especially, this error is manifest. Instead of beginning at a moderate pitch, and allowing himself room to raise or depress it as the subject demands, he commences loud and high, and continues so with little abatement till he finishes. At the close of the sentence there is sometimes a sudden falling off of the voice, but too seldom is there a well-modulated period. There can indeed be no emphatic word when all are emphatic, and there can be no rising above the greatest height. The loud monotony that characterizes his sermons robs them of that majesty and dignity which give a discourse much of its charm. If the subject of our sketch would just speak as he does in common conversation, and only raise his voice as the subject demands it, we have no doubt that he would become one of the most fascinating preachers of his time. His gestures are, on the whole, very good. They are sufficiently animated, without being violent, and they possess much of that grace and dignity which we desiderate in the intonations of his voice. His *action*, indeed, contrasts with the monotony of his voice—it is varied, energetic, unexceptionable. Those accustomed to his ministrations can have no idea of the effect his loud speaking has on a stranger. There is no rest, no pause, but one continued fever from end to end. It put us much in mind of the remark of Robert Hall on the style of the author of the History of Enthusiasm, namely, 'there is no repose in it.'"—Pp. 262–265.

Our last selection will be a younger man, the Rev. ROBERT GILLAN, of St. John's, Glasgow, who is thus described:—

"In his case we find an illustration of our theory of mental and physical proportion. His appearance is the index of his mind. These sharp features, these rapid glances of the eye, that restlessness in every feature,—all tell significantly of the activity, and energy, and vigour within. One can say, at sight, that the preacher, whatever pulpit faults he may commit, could not be

guilty of the one most common and most intolerable—we mean *dulness*. Before he opens his mouth, he is seen feeling and speaking. The thoughts have already left the mind and revel in the countenance—feeling has already commenced its outpourings, and circulates with every pulse, and beams in every feature. That narrow, high, slanting forehead tells of a coming torrent, and that restless frame already feels the burden on the soul it contains. Liveliness then forms one of the leading excellences of this preacher. He goes to the pulpit,—not like a dull functionary, but like one who is to work with his might; not like one who is to say a lesson, but one who is about to throw his soul into his subject; not like one who preaches because he is expected to preach, but one who feels a wo upon him if he preach not the gospel with all his might.

"Another characteristic of this preacher is, his command of figure and language. Almost every idea is illustrated by some familiar object, which gives it a prominent and pressing tangibility. Instead of following the ordinary dry routine of theological discussion, he makes the natural the symbol of the spiritual—the visible of the invisible. We do not say that all his figures are in keeping with a severe critical taste; but, in general, they throw much light on his subject, and arrest the attention of those on whom commonplace illustration makes no impression. Nature, in his hands, becomes a vast system of symbols, all shadowing forth the doctrines of the cross.

"As to the matter of his preaching, we should say that it is evangelical. In the afternoon's discourse, he gave a very complete view of the entire scheme of redemption—man's position as a creature under the government of God—his accountability and responsibility—his sinfulness and guiltiness—the way of acceptance through the atonement—and the means of sanctification by the Spirit and grace of Christ.

"But attractive as is the matter of this preacher, his manner is still superior. It combines almost every possible excellence with several defects. On a lively, energetic, and graceful manner, he has induced all the rapidity and fury of the delivery of Chalmers, and much of the extravagant gestures of Candlish. When he commences his discourse, he leans forward on the Bible and speaks for some minutes, slowly, distinctly, and calmly; but as he proceeds he becomes erect, and begins to move, with violence, his whole body. Now one of his hands is raised, now both of them; now one is before, another behind him; now they almost meet at his back; anon they come in contact before him. In general, however, the action suits the word; though in some cases the manner is more energetic than the matter warrants. Some of his periods are lengthy and stately, and occasionally he works up a climax with much skill, and terminates it with thrilling effect. It requires a very determined church sleeper to enjoy a sound nap under his preaching. We observed one—the only one—in the whole church, as far as we know, who contrived to get asleep, but the voice of the preacher soon broke his slumbers, and he appeared greatly agitated on his awakening, and seemed under the impression that something more awful was transpiring than a '*neighbour snoring*.'

"Occasionally the preacher appears deeply affected with his message. On two occasions, during the delivery of the first discourse, his feelings seemed to overcome him, and to demand relief in tears. Such manifestations, when natural, tell very effectively on an audience, who always feel, and always believe, soon as they are sure the speaker does so. While we willingly concede to the subject of our sketch the most popular pulpit style of any minister we have heard in Glasgow, it were well for him to avoid extravagance. Extravagance has, in some cases, answered tolerably well as a substitute for higher requisites; but in the present instance it is not required. The substantial excellencies of the preacher would of themselves secure a wide popularity."—**Pp. 186–188.**

From these extracts it will be seen that the Established Church still numbers men of talent and influence among its ministers, in a sufficient degree to retain much of its influence over the Scottish people.

Our next selections will be from ministers of the United Presbyterian Church. This is a body composed of two previously existing Synods, termed the United Secession and the Relief. The United Secession had its origin in 1732. The ancient difficulty of patronage, which has ever been an element of discord and schism in the Church of Scotland, was brought up in what was considered a most flagrant case of the intrusion of a minister on an unwilling and resisting congregation. In the discussions that arose concerning this case, other abuses were brought forward and inveighed against, until much excitement and exasperation ensued. At length a considerable secession took place, at the head of which was Rev. Ralph Erskine; and a separate organization was formed termed the Associate Presbytery. This body grew rapidly until it was rent by what was called the Burgher and Anti-Burgher controversy, —a dispute as to the lawfulness of the Burgher's oath when taken by a dissenter. This was the oath taken when men were admitted as burghers, or freemen, in the boroughs of Scotland; and, among other things, contained a clause approving of the established religion, and promising to defend it to the death. The Burghers contended that a dissenter could lawfully and consistently take this oath, in spite of his opposition to the established religion and his efforts against it. The Anti-Burghers alleged that such an oath by a dissenter was unlawful and inconsistent, and could not be taken with a clear conscience. The controversy issued in a separation in 1745. The division continued until 1820, when the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Synods came together under the name of the United Secession.

The Relief Church had its origin also in a difficulty connected with the subject of patronage. In 1752 a presbytery refused to induct a minister who had been presented by a patron, because of the unwillingness of the people to receive him. The presbytery was severely dealt with by the higher courts, and one of the members, the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, deposed from the ministry for contumacy. He, with two other ministers, were applied to immediately by the people of Colingsburg, to furnish them relief from the effects produced by a rigorous execution of the law of patronage. They accordingly did so by forming a Presbytery, to which they gave the appropriate title of the Presbytery of Relief. This Presbytery grew into a Synod, and was termed the Relief Church.

As these two bodies were alike in their origin, their doctrines, and their order, efforts were repeatedly made for their union. These efforts were crowned with success in 1847, when the Relief and United Secession Synods were constituted into one ecclesiastical organization, under the name of the United Presbyterian Church. It is now a large and flourishing body, embracing some of the strongest religious elements of Scotland. The largest number of ministers belonging to any one body, delineated in this book, are those of this Church. A fact indicative at least of the importance they had in the mind of the author.

We select from among these, first, the Rev. JOHN BROWN, D. D., grandson of the celebrated John Brown, of Haddington, and Professor of Theology in the Divinity Hall of the United Presbyterian Church. The author remarks of him, that he has as yet published no extensive work. This, if true when this work was written, is not so now. He has published a course of Expository Lectures on First Peter, that have been received with the greatest favour, and rank among the best works of the kind in the language. He is a ripe scholar, a clear thinker, and a forcible preacher. He is thus described in the work before us :—

"Dr. Brown is a philosophical preacher. He is careful to show that the Scriptures are not only consistent with themselves, but that their teachings are also in unison with right reason and the essential nature of the mental and moral universe. He shows, for instance, that the proud man is a miserable man, not on account of any arbitrary enactment or special infliction, but because his whole life and deportment are a continued struggle to obtain a position which no creature can occupy, and which all the laws of society and the well-being of the community forbid him to obtain. On the contrary, he explains how an humble man is a happy man—how all the laws of his own being—the laws of society and the laws of the great universe, conspire to make him so. We consider this one of the most striking features of Dr. Brown's preaching. The great mass of Scripture expounders of the present day seem to consider it necessary to shut their eyes against their own existence, and against the external universe, that they may look on the Scriptures only. They are afraid to allow the Bible to encounter the discoveries of science, or the deductions of philosophy, lest discrepancies should appear. From their studies they exclude all light but that of their own dim understandings, and hopelessly attempt to satisfy their hearers that the book is of God, because consistent with itself. Dr. Brown fearlessly allows the orbs of science and philosophy to shine on the book, and calls on men to believe it, because it reveals the highest reason; because it embodies the soundest philosophy, and because the Author of the universe and the Framer of its laws is obviously the author of revelation and of eternal redemption.

"The completeness of Dr. Brown's sermons demands attention. The exordium is always natural, and sweepingly clears the way without anticipating future discussion; the division is textual and lucid; the illustrations are short, luminous, and argumentative, and the peroration is inferential, comprehensive, and practical.

"It is scarcely necessary to add, that his sermons are strictly evangelical.

The doctrines of the cross are the burdens of his theme. He preaches Christ as an atonement, and Christ as an example. His views on some of the leading doctrines have been severely tested in the theological crucible as well as by public opinion, and every attack on them has only added to his popularity. Over the body with which he is associated he has long exerted a potent and a healthful influence; and though he occasionally advanced faster than some were inclined to follow, the catholicity of his doctrinal and ecclesiastical views has been working like a leaven through the entire mass, transforming it more and more towards the apostolic model, and according to the advanced spirit of the times.

"The pulpit manner of the subject of our sketch is remarkable. He enters on his duties like one in earnest. He loses not one moment, but hastens forward till he finishes. The manner in which he reads the psalm has been frequently made the subject of remark. His loud, firm, clear, though rather unmusical voice, falls with power on the audience. In prayer, too, though his manner is humble and devotional, his voice has the same air of authority. Its deep sounds, as sin is confessed and mercy implored, have a powerful effect. It is, however, in preaching that he allows it full scope. When he expounds he proceeds somewhat monotonously, but withal so earnestly, that the interest of the audience never flags. When, however, he preaches without notes, his voice swells—his utterance becomes rapid—his gestures become animated—he stamps with his feet—and gives expression to the vehemence of his mind by various other external signs. In general, however, the discourse warrants the impetuosity. He reveals the terrors of the Lord, so as to persuade men; he exhibits, with all the vehemence of enlightened love, the compassions of God, and beseeches them, with an earnestness and an energy worthy of the object in view, to be reconciled to God. Though he makes no approach to the fury of a Chalmers, there is often much in his manner to recall the extraordinary appearances of that mightiest of preachers. There is the same uncouth, unmodulated, and earnest voice—the same hastening pauselessly onward—and the same breathless attention commanded. Brown is Chalmers chained. He labours as intensely, but he wants the fancy and the fury which fascinated and overwhelmed. The wings of his imagination have been shorn by the instruments he employs in his critical and analytical operations."—P. 277–279.

The next we introduce is the Rev. A. O. BEATTIE, M. D. and D. D., Gordon-street Church, Glasgow. He presents the somewhat unusual instance of a man who, after spending twenty-five years in the ministry, commenced the study of medicine, and regularly took his degree at the University of Glasgow, still continuing his ministerial labours. He is thus described:—

"About ten years ago we went, in company with several students, to hear a minister from Glasgow preaching in the First Secession Church, Aberdeen. The evening was bleak and sombre, calculated to produce melancholy musings even in youthful minds. As none of us had seen the stranger, whose fame had reached us as a preacher during the day, we were on the tiptoe of expectation. On arriving, the crowded place of worship brightened our hopes, and led us to promise ourselves something good. A few minutes after the announced hour, a portly, grave man entered the pulpit, and, with a slow, distinct voice, commenced the service of the evening. We were pleased with the simple, sincere, earnest appearance of the minister, and before the preliminaries were over, we considered ourselves all right. The preacher

selected for his text 1 Cor. xv, 53, 54. 'For this corruptible shall put on incorruption,' &c. He then proceeded to describe man as mortal here and as immortal hereafter, in graphic, solemn, and significant phrase. To give any conception of the effect of that discourse, on ourselves and others, is impossible. The subject was in unison with the gloominess of the evening. The structure of the human frame was so described, that every individual of the crowded audience seemed afraid to move lest vitality should cease, or the body fall to pieces. The solemnities of the resurrection morning, when this corruption shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality, were brought so near, that the trumpet seemed to sound, and the heavens to rend, and the graves to open, and the righteous to appear in robes of splendour, and the wicked to come forth clothed with shame and everlasting contempt. The effects of that Sabbath evening were visible afterwards, and many to this hour, like ourselves, retain vivid recollections of that appropriate and masterly discourse."—P. 161, 162.

"From our introductory remarks, our readers will be prepared to hear no ordinary excellencies, as a preacher, ascribed to the subject of our sketch. He is emphatically a clear thinker. One *may* disapprove of, but cannot mistake his ideas. They are not indistinct images, but tangible realities—expressed not in elaborate diction, but in the simplest phraseology. He deals in facts, not in theories. His mind is evidently of a matter-of-fact cast. He sees a subject in all its bearings. The geographical and the historical he makes to illume the theological. A text, or fact, has no charms for him till he has examined its connexions and bearings. As a consequence, one of the leading characteristics of his preaching is its TANGIBILITY. He draws out no fine-spun theories from insulated texts—he never surprises an auditory with the trappings of oratory. As he speaks, fact after fact appears in one unbroken chain, each bearing a proper relation to the other, and all elucidating the subject of discourse. The most illiterate, as well as the most learned, get a hold of his discourses. Unlike a preacher of whom Robert Hall complained, that his sermon had no hooks—nothing on which the mind might fasten—Dr. Beattie's discourses seem all hooks together; and those unable to follow the train of his reasoning, can at least pick up important facts as he proceeds."—P. 165, 166.

"Since he came to Glasgow, he has always preached to a large congregation. The number of members is large, and since October, 1825, he has admitted three thousand six hundred and eighty-eight persons. His powers of recognition are remarkable, so much so, that he can name almost every individual connected with Gordon-street congregation. He is among the first to discover a vacated sitting in a pew. When he enters the pulpit, his keen, sharp eye runs through the whole house. He has been known to call on a Monday forenoon to see individuals who left the sittings somewhat abruptly, and would say, 'I saw the first approach of your indisposition. I saw you becoming pale or flushed,' as the case might be, 'and was almost tempted to stop my discourse and recommend your retiring.' Nothing, in fact, escapes his keen glance.

"In the church courts he is very useful; being well versed in the forms, and being a ready and effective speaker, he becomes, when necessary, a powerful and somewhat dangerous opponent. His medical knowledge is a useful auxiliary to him in visiting the sick, and his advice in that department is uniformly trusted."—P. 169.

There are several men of distinction and ability in this body whom we would gladly present to our readers; such as Dr. King, successor to the distinguished Dr. Dick, in Greyfriars, Glasgow, a

minister of great popularity and influence, and an author of some eminence; Dr. Lindsey, Professor of Exegetical Theology; Dr. Struthers, the historian of the Relief Church, and the author of several valuable works; Dr. Kidston, a man of great influence in his own church, and much respected out of it; the Rev. JOHN EADIE, LL. D., Professor of Biblical Criticism at Glasgow. But our space will not allow it.

The oldest, though among the smallest of the bodies of Presbyterian dissenters, is the Reformed Presbyterian Church. This is the lineal descendant of the old Covenanters, or Cameronians, who, under Cameron and Cargill, Renwick and M'Millan, played a part at once so heroic and so tragic in the scenes preceding the Revolution, and whose foibles and follies have been so cruelly caricatured by Scott, in the "Tales of a Grandfather." Their distinct ecclesiastical origin, however, only dates from the accession of William of Orange, in 1688. At that time a settlement of the Church of Scotland was made, on the basis of which Scotland consented to enter the Union. To this settlement the Covenanters objected, that it did not recognize the Solemn League and Covenant, which they considered a fundamental law of the kingdom; that civil rulers were granted a power over the Church inconsistent with its Scriptural rights and proper independence; and that by the law of patronage then established, the rights of the people were taken away. To these principles other peculiarities were added in time, which have hardened into a distinct ecclesiastical system, held by them with a zeal which their opponents term bigotry. Their narrowness and rigidity of tenet have always kept them within small bounds, though their influence as a conservative element in religious movements has been distinctly felt.

Of this body we have but one specimen in the volume before us, the Rev. WILLIAM SYMINGTON, D. D., of Great Hamilton-street, Glasgow. He is extensively known in this country by works on the Atonement, the Intercession, and the Kingly Office of Christ, which are held in high esteem by those who sympathize with him in his views of theology. He has also written treatises on Lots, Popular Ignorance, the Jews and Popery; together with several historical works of considerable merit, besides smaller publications of a more ephemeral character.

The number of Congregational Churches in Scotland is comparatively small. This arises from several causes. The inborn tendencies of the Scottish people have always been to another ecclesiastical system, innovations on which they have repeatedly resisted to blood. The missionary exertions made by Independency, under

the Parliament leaders, during the first Revolution, were by no means palatable to the people; for although it must be confessed that the logic of old Noll effectually silenced his opponents, it cannot be said to have always convinced them. Since that period its efforts for extension have not been very vigorous or successful. Owing, perhaps, to the more purely democratic character of the system in Great Britain, as well as to other causes, it has not been so restlessly aggressive there as it has been in this country. It is true, there are symptoms of the same spirit appearing there within a few years, which may yet emulate the "manifest destiny" of Congregationalism in the hands of our "universal" brethren of New-England.

The only minister from this body whom we can quote is Rev. RALPH WARDLAW, D. D., West George-street, Glasgow. Dr. Wardlaw is well known in this country as a voluminous and highly respectable writer. He has written on the Socinian, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Voluntary controversies; Christian Ethics; the Atonement; Man's Responsibility for his Belief; several Biographies; with many smaller discourses on a great variety of subjects. He stands confessedly among the first men in Scotland for intellect, and ability as a writer. He possesses also an undeviating integrity of character; a horror of everything approaching to meanness and dishonour; a candour and fairness in argument, with a high and gentlemanly bearing, bordering, however, sometimes too much on the distant and reserved, that have given him great influence throughout all classes in Scotland. Our author thus speaks of him:—

"Among the causes of his pre-eminence, we may notice what we may designate the *completeness* and *elegance* of his mind. Most minds are distinguished by one or more preponderating faculties which quite overbalance the others. Imagination rules the judgment, or the affections master the understanding. In the subject of our sketch it is impossible to detect any such discrepancy. There are men that possess some one faculty in a higher degree, but few possess the whole in such harmony. Symmetry, not strength—health, not robustness—beauty, not sublimity, characterize his mind. Modesty and shrinking sensitiveness govern his proceedings. He makes no adventurous voyages—no Alpine journeys in quest of materials for thought. The dangers of the distant—the gloom of the profound—and the risk of the daring, he never ventures upon. He has never raised the (Eureka) '*I have found*,' for he never went in quest of the marvellous. The materials on which he operates are perfectly common, yet these, subjected to the crucible of his mind, assume new and beautiful forms. Of a huge folio thrown into that crucible, three-fourths go to dross, and the residue comes forth like gold purged. His mind is not creative, but *assimilative*. Send it in quest of materials, and its very fastidiousness would send it back empty a thousand times; but give it those that have occupied the attention of men of note, and its experiments are most successful. We do not say that it is perfect in its ana-

lytical operations. Our opinion is that it is, if possible, too analytical. It analyzes what every other will consider ultimate facts, and makes occasional distinctions without a difference. Sometimes when expounding the Scriptures this excessive analysis is painful. He sees a principle, or precept, involved in a passage, and labours with extreme ingenuity to make that palpable to others, and hence, instead of adopting the usual and obvious sense, he occasionally deduces meanings which are far-fetched, and therefore doubtful. With this exception, an exception occasioned by superabundant acuteness, the action of his mind is exceedingly healthful. When he is about to assail some argument, he is not satisfied with taking a general survey of it. He inspects it minutely as a whole, and as made up of parts. The terms in which it is couched are first subjected to a scrutiny, and often a double meaning, which becomes the point of his assault, is detected in them, and the point, too, at which he is most successful. He never is diverted from this minute inspection by a fair and symmetrical exterior. An edifice which others would pronounce, at once, faultless, is unable to forbid his keen search, and under the most specious external, he often discovers rottenness and corruption. The extreme quickness of his mind renders him a formidable antagonist. He often, instead of defending his own hypothesis, demolishes his opponents with their own weapons, by showing them that whatever be the character of the views they assail, they use weapons that are more dangerous to themselves than to the assailed. Frequently his antagonists, on the Voluntary and Atonement controversies, have been astonished to find that their assaults on his views completely destroyed their own. No man can use the shield with more effect. The arrows glance on it, and return upon the strong-holds of the assailants. Grant his premises, and his conclusions are generally inevitable. Give him unquestionable propositions, and he will speedily construct a perfect syllogism. It is almost impossible to convey a full idea of his mental completeness. His mind cannot move unless it can move with certainty. All hap-hazards are bugbears to it. He is no smatterer, and no pretender—what he knows, he knows thoroughly. This peculiarity runs through the extent of his knowledge. He never guesses at the meaning of a word in his own or in any other language; before he uses it, he must know it. Nor is he satisfied with ascertaining its meaning, he must be sure of its pronunciation. Where he doubts, he must stop. He can refer to no subject in theology, in science, in philosophy, or in politics, with which he is not thoroughly versant. Such severe accuracy deprives him of the advantage of that show of learning which mere dabblers can readily command. In the professorial chair this peculiarity is strikingly apparent. If he never astonishes his students with the extent of his learning, the thorough mastery of the topics brought under review edifies and delights them. He can never speak of what he has seen *somewhere*, he must be able to tell the exact place. He seldom speaks of what one says in *substance*, he must be able to give his exact words and meaning. The disarrangement of a sentence—the false measure of syllables—improper intonations, all grate on his ear like harsh thunder. The pain such occasion him is wholly indescribable. One may conceive something of it when his arm is dislocated, or when his eye-tooth is being torn from its socket. Often must the subject of our sketch envy those whose minds are so disjointed that a false measure, a limbless argument, or a barbarous intonation chime in with them; and hence when he shrinks and shudders, these harshly utter the enraptured Hear! hear!" —P. 60–63.

There is another Congregational minister of some eminence, favourably known in this country as a writer—the Rev. David Russell, D. D., of Dundee—but we have no room for further extracts under this head.

We had hoped to gain some satisfactory information from this book of the internal condition of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Those acquainted with her history during the time of Laud; the bloody and relentless dragoonings of James II., and the days of the non-juring bishops, have seen little in that history from which to draw any hope for the cause of truth and piety. Nor have any more recent facts in her history tended to brighten that hope. Indeed she seems, on some occasions not far distant, to have needed another stool of Jenny Geddes, to arrest with its vigorous hurl her tendencies to the mummeries of her scarlet sister. Occupying, as she does, the galling position of a dissenting body, yet asserting and feeling the most supercilious superiority, it were not much to be wondered at that her tone to other churches should be arrogant and bitter; and that her antagonism in position should cherish a corresponding antagonism in doctrine. Like those interesting fossil remains that we sometimes find in society, with a long pedigree and a short purse; with so much hereditary merit, that it seems to have excluded all that is personal; whose pretensions are inversely proportioned to their ability to support them; and who are continually chafed by the perverse blindness of the world to their claims; she has ever chosen to sit apart in her virgin stateliness, the very pink of all propriety. We had hoped, therefore, to obtain some nearer view of this younger and portionless sister of the Anglican Church, but our knowledge is little enlarged by it. We have but two Episcopal ministers described, and they not apparently types of the prevailing spirit of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The first of these is the Rev. C. Popham Miles, a man of considerable ability, and some reputation as an author; and a man of fervent evangelical piety. The last trait mentioned will cause our readers to learn, with but little surprise, that in 1844 he felt himself compelled to renounce Scotch Episcopacy, and attach himself to the Anglican Church. His people, however, clung to him, and with nine other churches in Scotland, prefer the step-motherly supervision of the English Church, to the maternal mercies of Scottish Episcopacy. We are forced to confess that we cannot severely condemn their taste. The other minister is the Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, of Anderston, Glasgow. He seems to be eminently a working man, a sort of *niger cygnus* among his brethren; and as he was at the time of this notice a divinity student in Cambridge, and hence in the way of liberal and evangelical influences, a few years may find him following in the footsteps of Mr. Miles. Were the staple of Scottish Episcopacy composed of such men as these, we should have higher hopes for it than we have. But, as it is, we can only hope that her

ability to pervert the gospel may be far below what we fear is her will to do it.

There is but one Baptist minister described, Rev. John Paterson, a man of respectable abilities, and some pretension as a scholar.

We now come to the only remaining religious body whose ministers are described in this volume, the FREE CHURCH. This is the latest birth of ecclesiastical Scotland, and a birth of amazing precocity. It sprang forth, Minerva-like, a panoplied Church, in the full vigour of a lusty maturity. Although a thing of yesterday, born under the frown of royal displeasure and patrician hostility; composed mainly of the poorer classes; and coming forth from the establishment stripped of everything, it has erected one of the most stupendous and efficient systems the world has ever seen. And all this, like the magician's tree, has sprung up, budded, blossomed, and fruited, before our astonished gaze, in a single hour of the world's life. Our limits will not permit us to speak at length of this Church, and we hasten to our author's notices of its ministers. In making our selections, we omit two names of the "few mighty," those of CHALMERS and BROWN, the Moderators of her first two Assemblies, for they are now numbered with the mourned and honoured dead.

The first name in the book is that of Rev. ROBERT BUCHANAN, D. D., of the Free Tron Church, Glasgow; a man whose face and head a physiognomist and a phrenologist would pronounce faultless. His mind seems to partake of the rotundity and completeness of his body. Without the disproportionate protrusion of any one faculty, which is too often mistaken for genius, he has a harmonious development of all the mental powers, combined with the graces of a Christian, which ensures him an extensive influence and popularity. We have not room for any extracts regarding him.

We regret that the sketch here given us of Dr. CANDLISH is so meagre and unsatisfactory. Since the death of Dr. Chalmers, he is generally regarded as the leader of the Free Church, and one of the first men of the age. The author evidently appreciates his standing, but dismisses him with half the space that is devoted to much inferior men. The following incident in his early career is interesting, not only in itself, but as showing how much the *laudari a laudato* may accomplish for struggling merit, when so nobly and magnanimously given as in his case:—

"He was located, about the year 1832, in an humble town in the west of Scotland. Occasionally he then officiated in Glasgow, and some saw in the young man gifts of a high order, but the mass considered his presence weak and his speech contemptible. Among his auditors in St. Enoch's on a Sabbath was one of the most eminent lords of the Council and Session. At a

public occasion on the following Monday his lordship took occasion to refer to the discourse he had heard on Sabbath, and expressed his surprise that, instead of a scantily-filled church, there was not a crowded congregation, for, in his opinion, the sermon was one of the ablest he had ever heard. From that day forward our young preacher, who had hitherto been unnoticed and unknown, obtained a name and a fame. Our readers will already know, that the person alluded to is Dr. Robert Smith Candlish, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh, whose fame is identified with that of the Free Church, and rapidly hastens to a wide universality."—Pp. 113, 114.

Dr. Candlish has a rapid, fiery, and restless spirit. His mind is often impatient of the slow steps of a plodding logic; and, lion-like, depends on its sudden spring and its powerful grasp to seize and master its conclusions; and hence, lion-like, may sometimes fall short of its mark, and fail of success. His imagination is a very prominent power of his mind, rendering it wonderfully fertile in thoughts and suggestions, and investing every object with a gorgeousness of colouring, and yet with a distinctness of outline, that tend much to give popularity to his preaching. His energy is almost superhuman, and suggests the image of some gigantic spirituality imprisoned in a narrow organism, which it is ever fretting and chafing to burst asunder, that it may go forth untrammelled and free. His style and manner in the pulpit are rather American than English—vehement, earnest, and impassioned; regardless of the small graces of small orators, and high treason against Blair. His untiring industry; wonderful capacity for business matters; extensive knowledge, and power in debate, will always put him in the front rank of every ecclesiastical judicatory of which he is a member. The following extract will give some notion of his character and manner:—

"On Sabbath evening, at a quarter to six o'clock, the doors of Free St. Paul's were opened, and though the service did not commence till half-past six, a number rushed into the chapel soon as admission could be gained. Before the hour of commencement every seat was occupied, and the passages were filled up, and hundreds were unable to find admission. Soon as the neighbouring bells had ceased, a person under the middle size, wrapped in a huge pulpit gown, issued from the vestry, and with hurried steps ascended the pulpit stair, and having flung himself into the corner of the pulpit, hastily snatched up the psalm-book, and turned its leaves. Having passed his fingers through his dishevelled hair, and made a number of hasty movements, he rose, and in a harsh guttural voice gave out the 20th Psalm to be sung. At this moment those who knew not the occupant of the pulpit were earnestly asking their neighbours, 'Is that Dr. Candlish?' and being answered in the affirmative, set themselves very philosophically to reconcile their preconceived ideas of him with the person before them. Such thoughts as the following passed through more minds than one. Can the mind that weekly entrances metropolitan audiences—the mind that presides over and moulds all the councils of the Free Church—the mind that acknowledges no superior but that of the mighty master-spirit that dwells in Dr. Chalmers—can such a mind dwell in

that small and singularly-arranged morsel of humanity? Is that indeed the man who, in presbyteries, synods, and assemblies, on the platform and in the pulpit, occupies a first place, and knows no fear, and seeks no favour? The singing being over, the preacher precipitately arose, and, leaning forward, poured forth a prayer remarkable for its simplicity, seriousness, and energy. Those who know Dr. Candlish only by his controversial discussions, can form no conception of the character of his devotional exercises."—Pp. 114, 115.

"The preacher then suddenly rose and opened the Bible near the commencement. He turned over the leaves in quantities, pressing them down with force till he reached 2 Timothy ii, 19, which he gave out as his text."—P. 115.

Our next specimen is a man less generally known than Dr. Candlish, but of great ability and promise; the Rev. JOHN MACNAUGHTON, of Paisley. He has been distinguished in the keen contests that are so common in Scotland, as a sort of spiritual Cœur-de-Lion, wielding a trenchant blade, whose edge and temper have become rather formidable to theological Paynims. The author thus speaks of him:—

"In personal appearance, Mr. Macnaughton is rather below middle stature. He has a well-made, firmly-set body, and a graceful carriage. Indeed, we may add, that, to our notion, he is the *beau idéal* of a little man. In the pulpit, or rather on the rostrum, (for there is no pulpit in the Free High Church,) he appears to great advantage. His features are dark and finely chiselled: his forehead expansive, his eye piercing and eloquently flashing around him, his lips thin and slightly curled, indicative of great energy and firmness. He seems to be about forty years of age; a few gray hairs, glistening in his dark locks, intimate that his life has been spent 'in labours oft,' and, indeed, this were no less than truth, for there are few men who get through a greater amount of business, and yet manage it more methodically and with less noise and bustle."—P. 216.

"His style is distinguished by a clear, close, logical acumen. One may obtain few new ideas during one sermon, but these few are brought home fresh and forcible. No point is left at a peradventure—nothing in a state of uncertainty. One may concur in what he says, or may differ from him, but away one must go without a doubt of what he wished to understand, and of every argument which the preacher employed to enforce the importance of the subject. He never loses sight of his subject, nor allows his hearers to do so; his text, whatever it may be, is kept in view, and the divisions of his sermon are to be found in it, and this is saying more than the utmost stretch of our charity will allow us to admit regarding the one-half of sermons. United to a bold and vigorous fancy, he is possessed of great powers of close metaphysical reasoning, and the ability, however difficult the ground he occupies, of so simplifying his subject, that the slowest understanding may follow him. This is one excellent feature in all his discourses—the bottom of his subject is seen. His language is chaste and simple, often highly poetic, rising to sublimity, as he dilates on some favourite theme. Unlike the short, graphic sentences of Dr. Hamilton of Leeds, skipping one after another like grasshoppers, those of Mr. Macnaughton are long, and often involved, suited, however, to his peculiar style. Yet, though this forms a great barrier to the popularity of his printed discourses, one does not find fault with them. On hearing him, one rather likes them. Their length does not obscure their meaning. The hearer is never obliged to pause and ask what that sentence

meant, or to try the reconstruction of it, puzzling the brain to extort the sense or connexion out of it. His manner in the pulpit is dignified and impressive; his action graceful and appropriate. There is no straining at effect, no torturing of the body into hideous postures, or still more hideous grins, disfiguring the countenance. All is unstudied and natural. His voice is strong, clear, and regular, without being injured by that affected, disgusting drawl, or twang, which so many preachers seem to think adds a degree of sanctity to speech. He possesses complete command of it, even at its highest pitch—and we have heard it ringing through the largest churches in Scotland, till the hearts of the hearers thrilled within them—it is completely under his mastery. Save when delivering controversial discourses, he rarely or never reads, seldom even employs notes; yet one never finds him stumbling or breaking down, or employing inappropriate language. His voice, as he commences, is at first low; it gradually rises with the development of his subject; his action increases till he reaches a climax—a very torrent of words thundered forth eloquently, and at times awfully. 'Fire baptized sentences' roll at the heels of each other in quick succession—every eye is riveted, every heart trembling, every sound hushed; the tear is trickling down his own cheek, it is rolling over the face of many a hearer; quick, low sobs may be detected in the silence, deep-drawn from some touched conscience: the preacher's voice still rises—rises with the language of inspiration; some solemn Bible passage crowns the whole—a deep amen—and he is silent. Often have we sat under such passages as these, with breath suspended, waiting for the close. All the time he preaches, his eye is never off his congregation. It flashes forth sternly at them, pew by pew. No sleeper, inattentive or disorderly hearer, escapes notice; and we believe it is no unusual thing to hear him stop abruptly, and order that man or woman to be wakened up, or mark out a restless individual."—Pp. 218, 219.

There are several other men of distinction whom we would gladly introduce to our readers, did our space permit; such as the Rev. John Forbes, D. D., LL. D., who, among other works, has published one on the Differential and Integral Calculus, derived synthetically from an original principle, which proves him to be a master of the exact sciences; the Rev. Dr. Henderson, the distinguished pastor of St. Enoch's, Glasgow; the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, a sort of Scottish Rowland Hill; and the Rev. J. G. Lorimer, an historical writer, well known and highly esteemed in this country; but our limits forbid.

The only additional minister of the Free Church we can quote, is the Rev. John Roxburgh, successor to the lamented Brown and Chalmers, in St. John's, Glasgow, of whom the author says, (uninfluenced by any personal partialities, since he does not know him personally,) that he considers him one of the best preachers of his time. We can quote but a single paragraph descriptive of him:—

"Few men are better qualified for the ministry than the pastor of Free St. John's. When he ascends the pulpit his countenance is the emblem of tranquillity. He takes his seat as one fit to occupy it, and instead of the timid glance around on his audience, he leisurely surveys them. On rising he begins to speak so low as to be imperfectly heard. Like all natural orators,

he begins calmly, and rises with his voice as he proceeds. On the historic and the didactic he discourses slowly and coolly; but as he reaches the pathetic or the sublime, his eye kindles, his hands are raised, his voice swells, and his every attitude and gesture sympathize with the conceptions he utters. When he reaches his loftiest heights, however, he never abandons the dignity of his manner. He rises from the earth only to soar aloft like the eagle. The gestures become more animated, but not so much so as the subject. His manner follows the matter, and the matter has still the pre-eminence. We have seldom seen a pulpit manner so unexceptionable. The preacher is utterly free of affectation, and other similar vices which prey upon inferior minds. He appears what he is, and is what he appears. It is utterly impossible for any one to personate a manner so natural as this preacher, unless possessed of natural dignity."—P. 255.

The space we have already occupied will preclude any extended reflections in conclusion. It will be seen, however, from this rapid sketch of the Scottish Pulpit, that it is an engine of prodigious power. When it is remembered that of these fifty-two ministers, three-fourths are from the single city of Glasgow, and that not a metropolitan city, nor a centre of ecclesiastical influence; it will be seen that the ministry of Scotland embodies a large amount of talent and learning. Its influence, therefore, must be felt throughout the entire country. As it also appears that the decided majority of the ministers in all churches are pious, evangelical, and laborious men, their influence must be salutary and elevating. Our hopes, then, for the advancing civilization of Scotland are strongly confirmed by this brief glance at her clergy.

Another remarkable fact apparent is, the decided ascendency of Dissent in Scotland. Without referring to precise data, we believe that the proportion of ministers and people between Dissenters and the Establishment is not less than three to one; and if intellectual character and standing are thrown into the scale, the preponderance will be still greater. The influence of this fact on the great question of Church and State, which must soon be met in Great Britain in a most formidable shape, will be readily perceived.

Connected with this is another fact worthy of remark. It will be observed that all the Dissenting bodies which have sprung from the Establishment, have had their origin in disputes on the question of patronage, and in assertions of the spiritual rights of the people. In these feelings most of the other Dissenting Churches can unite, even though they may not have been directly subjected to the action of the law of patronage. We have, then, this remarkable fact, that the great mass of the piety and intellect of Scotland is directly arrayed, by origin and history as well as position, against the existing order of things; and engaged in discussions and fostering principles that tend to develop and establish the rights of the

masses. In other words, the great body of the Scottish Church is essentially reforming, or, if the term be taken in a good sense, revolutionary, and acting in accordance with the great law of progress. The effect of such an element on the social, political, and religious condition of the British empire, would afford interesting matter for speculation, could we enter upon it. If the next great struggle in England be one that shall involve the religious element; if the ominous strides that Popery is making in all parts of the empire towards its ancient arrogance and power, be seconded by the yet more ominous advances that are made in the English Church to meet it; if that restless, sleepless, and unscrupulous system, that has never regarded any laws, human or divine, that lay in its way to absolute dominion, and that has ever followed its designs with the most relentless and unyielding tenacity, should be encouraged, by the truckling spirit of the government, to make a grasp at that brightest jewel that was ever plucked from the triple tiara; then it may be seen why God, through these troubled centuries, has been schooling a hardy and manly race among the hills and floods of Scotland; and, as the spirit of Bannockburn and Drumclog flames out into a loftier blaze of heroism than that which appalled the usurping Edward or the bloody Claverhouse, the blue banner of the Crown and Covenant will be seen floating over the hottest and deadliest field of that terrible conflict.

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## Art. VII.—NOEL ON CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

*Essay on Christian Baptism.* By Baptist W. Noel, M. A. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

There are perhaps few among the eminent living divines of the Church of England who have been more widely known, or more highly esteemed, at home and abroad, than the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Wriothesley Noel, M. A. Allied to the nobility of his native country, where ancestry is so highly estimated, his early practical piety and ardent zeal in the cause of Christ, superadded to his learning, ability, and eloquence as a preacher, rendered him an illustrious, popular, and useful minister, whom the Anglican Church delighted to honour. His spacious church was ever thronged with admiring and devout worshippers; and there were few American travellers who, if a single Sabbath were allowed them in London, did not seek

an opportunity to listen to Mr. Noel, especially if they had learned to prize evangelical truth, by which his ministrations were reputed to be pre-eminently characterized.

When it was announced, some months ago, that this able and distinguished minister of the Establishment had renounced his relation to "the Church," and sacrificed the elevated and enviable position which he had so long and so reputably filled, the fact was heralded and accompanied by an "Essay on the Union of Church and State" from his pen, which served to create the impression, that his conscientious convictions adverse to the State Prelacy had prompted him thus to abandon the Establishment. No sooner, however, had the book reached this country, than it was perceived, even from his preface, and still more clearly from the volume itself, that he had *other* reasons for his defection than those of State Prelacy, or the controversy between his evangelical and non-evangelical brethren in the ministry of the Establishment.

These ominous givings out may be found in the preface to that work, (p. vii,) where he expresses his apology for leaving the church of which he had been pastor for twenty-two years, and in which he had hoped to spend the remainder of his days, in the following language, viz.: "*Sterner duties, which the study of the Word of God has forced upon my attention, have to be fulfilled.*" These "sterner duties," then nameless, could be inferred, to some extent at least, from numerous passages in relation to "Christian Baptism" in the body of the "Essay on Church and State;" and soon after, it was proclaimed that the author had been rebaptized by immersion, and had become a minister of the Baptist Church. This step has been followed by the publication of the work before us.

The precipitancy with which the book has been issued, is unworthy at once of the author and of his chosen theme. His former work bears the date of December 14th, 1848, until near which very recent period he continued to be the pastor of the Anglican Church to which he had been so long attached. In less than *nine months* afterwards this second volume appeared, and from its preface the following extract is cited, viz.:—

"During my ministry in the Establishment, [twenty-two years,] an indefinite fear of the conclusions to which I might arrive, led me to avoid the study of the question of baptism!"

This extraordinary confession, of itself, is enough to warrant the conclusion that the intellectual character of the author has been greatly overrated. If not, he presents a melancholy example of infidelity to the vows of a Christian minister, of which it is hoped

there have been few parallels. Deterred during his whole ministerial career of twenty-two years from studying the subject of baptism, and this avowedly by an "indefinite fear of the conclusions" to which such study might lead him! Nor, as he affirms, did he enter upon it until he had "settled his mind upon the union of the churches with the State," and resolved to quit the Establishment: for then first he "turned his attention to this question" of baptism.

Here, then, we have a Christian minister, the pastor of a large congregation in the greatest city in the world, continuing for nearly a quarter of a century to preach and baptize according to the formularies of his Church, administering this sacrament to both infants and adults; and all the while *afraid to study the subject* of that ordinance of Christianity which he was ever teaching and practising as one of the important sacraments of religion; and this lest he should be convicted of radical error, amounting, as he now professes to regard it, to heresy. Let us charitably hope, that those whom he has left in the Establishment, especially his "evangelical" compeers, are not so lamentably ignorant, nor so sadly negligent of their duty.

We cannot refrain from admonishing our Baptist brethren to "rejoice with trembling" over this new recruit, for verily there is a cause. After baptizing infants for more than a score of years, and all the while deterred from studying the subject by "indefinite fears," what assurance can they have that he has not in like manner avoided the study of other subjects no less important? May he not have had similar "indefinite fears" in relation to the Divinity of Christ, or in reference to the eternity of future punishment, and avoided the study of these and kindred topics even until now? Is this caution uncalled for with a Christian minister who for so long a period had so neglected his Bible;—a neglect which we may infer from his own assertion, that it was the recent "study of the *Word of God*" that constrained the "sterner duties" of which he speaks? Moreover, what confidence can be placed in the steadfastness of a man who, from a few months' "study of the Scriptures, and of the advocates of infant baptism *alone*," could be led not only to renounce his own former baptism, but to consent to the *repetition* of the solemn ordinance by which he had been "consecrated unto the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," with water, according to the command of Christ, and by one whose call and qualifications as a valid administrator he does not even now presume to question? We confess to an involuntary shudder at what we regard to be a profanation of a holy sacrament; having long looked upon "rebaptism," under such circumstances, as being next door to impiety, for which nothing but a morbid conscience, created by perverted religious

teaching, or invincible ignorance, could possibly furnish an excuse.*

The account given by the author of his conversion is somewhat remarkable. He tells us that, by examining honestly each passage of Scripture on the subject that came in his way, he was convinced that "repentance and faith ought to precede baptism." This was his first discovery; and his second was "the unsatisfactory reasons assigned by the Anglican Catechism for baptizing infants." The date of these conclusions is not given; but, in studying the subject of *late*, he says,—

"I determined to form my judgment entirely by the study of the Scriptures, and of such authors as advocate the baptism of infants. To that determination I have adhered: and, not having read a single Baptist book or tract, I publish the following work as an *independent testimony* to the exclusive right of believers to Christian baptism."

If it be inquired, how it came to pass that the Bible and the standard authorities of his own Church had not been previously

* It has been recently affirmed, on semi-official authority, that Mr. Noel has refused to "immerse" a candidate who had been "sprinkled" in *adult years*, on profession of faith; thus demonstrating that he only renounces "infant baptism," and himself shrinks from the mockery of "rebaptism" in the instance of adults, whose only baptism consists in what he elsewhere calls "religious sprinkling," and declares all such persons to be "unbaptized," and for the reason that "the external act of baptism is immersion!" for "baptism means immersion, and to baptize is to immerse." Indeed, on page 26, Mr. Noel emphatically announces that "Christ has commanded his ministers to *immerse* disciples, and has commanded his disciples to be *immersed:*" and he refuses rebaptism to an adult who has not been "immersed," while claiming such to be the "command of Christ," alike imperative upon him and upon the subject. Nay, he withholds from him the completion of the "new birth;" for, on page 97, he teaches that immersion is absolutely essential to salvation: "When a person who has received spiritual life manifests it by immersion, *then* he is born of water and of the Spirit,—his new birth is complete."

These glaring inconsistencies in the teachings of this novitiate may, however, all be forgiven, in view of the potency of the new proselyting weapon with which he furnishes our Baptist brethren. All who shrink from immersion for any reason, have only to be sprinkled by a Pædobaptist minister, and Mr. Noel will recognize the ordinance as "believers' baptism," and refuse to "rebaptize" them, even though they allege the teachings of his own book as having convinced them that they ought to be immersed. Indeed, the first section of chapter five, in his book, is an attempt to prove the obligation of "re-baptism;" and for the reason that as the "form of baptism is immersion *in* water," and such persons "have not been immersed," and are "therefore unbaptized." Still, however, Mr. Noel's especial horror seems to be "infant sprinkling;" and hence he admits not only to the communion, but to membership in the Baptist Church, all such as have been sprinkled on profession of faith in adult life. If this teaching become orthodox in Baptist churches, we may venture to predict that immersions will be few, though their membership may be greatly increased by this "accommodation theory," of which Mr. Noel is the exclusive proprietor.

studied on this subject, the only answer is found in the "indefinite fears" of the author during his long ministry. The reason why others, by the same study, do not reach the same conclusion, must be the absence of these "indefinite fears," or any other fear of the truth. The recent lamentable defection of so many ministers of the Establishment, to Rome and elsewhere, may possibly find the same explanation and apology, though we could scarcely expect such a "development" from Oxford. They have, it may be, only remained so long in a Protestant Church, because of their "indefinite fears" of the results of studying the claims of the Papacy; and hence they, too, may have been led to "avoid the study" until recently, and every one of them might very possibly, as truly, use the language of the author,—"Sterner duties, which the study of the Word of God has forced upon my attention, have to be fulfilled." The difference between them and him is, that, while *he* has literally turned a somerset in theology, *they* have only made the easy transition from Puseyism to Romanism.

So much for the indiscretion and haste of the author in publishing a book on a topic which calls for profound and extensive study as a qualification to instruct the Church or the world. We may reasonably anticipate, therefore, that even the talents and learning of Baptist Noel have been found weak and inefficient in the service of the cause to which he is the latest recruit, and we predict that our Baptist brethren themselves will have cause to regret the publication of his book.

In one respect, certainly, the book will be found perfectly unique. Here is an "Essay on Christian Baptism" of some three hundred pages, and yet it begins by *assuming* the whole question at issue,—or, rather, the radical point of the whole question,—in the following sentence, viz.:—

> "I assume in the following essay, that the word baptism means immersion, and that to baptize is to immerse; the evidence of which fact I hope to adduce in a separate volume."

He thus avoids the *mode* of baptism throughout the essay, having summarily cut the Gordian knot by this bold assumption. Had he waited until he had studied this subject in the light of the Scriptures alone, and "without reading a single Baptist book or tract," he would perhaps have been less assuming.

For the present, however, and until the forthcoming of his promised volume, which he says is to furnish evidence of "the fact," that baptism means immersion, we forbear dwelling upon the arro-

gance which his assumption and this language imply. It may suffice to remark here, that even this "translation," instead of "transfer," of the Greek word βαπτίζω, for which the Baptists so earnestly contend, in the judgment of the author of this work, is altogether insufficient to correct the Pædobaptist teaching of the Bible. And he therefore "assumes" again, that our received version of the Scriptures is so erroneous on the subject of Christian baptism, that he is called upon to alter, change, and modify its language, in conformity with the dogma of immersion. The extent to which he has done this, to serve his purpose, will presently appear; and the reader will be at no loss to perceive the necessity under which many eminent men in the Baptist denomination find themselves, either to renounce the exclusiveness of their creed, or to make a new version of the Bible. This last appears to have been determined upon by one party of the American Baptists at least, judging from the recent action of the Rev. President of the American and Foreign [Baptist] Bible Society; and it would seem that Mr. Noel has filled his book with citations from this or some other new translation in advance, for his professed quotations of Scripture are nowhere to be found in any existing version.

The extraordinary leap to the conclusion that "baptism means immersion," will strike the candid reader with amazement, until he shall perceive throughout the volume that "to assume" is characteristic of the author's mind,—a habit which he has indulged, until it has become his second nature. It cannot be justly charged to his recent immersion, for during his long ministry he "assumed" the contrary, and taught that "religious sprinkling" was baptism according to the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church; a doctrine which he "assumed," not only without study, but all the while filled with "indefinite fears" lest his assumption was erroneous. And yet he now pronounces upon the thousands whom he meanwhile "sprinkled in infancy" the ex-cathedra sentence that they are wholly unbaptized, and for two reasons, both of which he here "assumes," viz., that "baptism means immersion," and that it is "unlawful to baptize infants."

Without attempting to show all the fallacies by which Mr. Noel has been beguiled, it may be in place here only to glance at his anomalous position. For example, he assumes that Moses, and all the multitude of the children of Israel, were "immersed" unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, notwithstanding the inspired record informs us that they were "under the cloud," the sea a wall on either side, and that they passed over "dry shod," and that the Egyptians were "immersed," but not baptized. He "assumes" that John

immersed "the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan;" and he "assumes" that there were no infants among them, but, as they were both men and women, he "assumes" that all these multitudes were "immersed" in their clothes, although decency and safety forbade it, unless they all had a change of raiment; he "assumes" that the jailor at Philippi, with all his house, were "immersed" in the prison at night; and in this case, as well as all the baptisms of households and families on record, he "assumes" that there were no infants among them; and thus to the end of the chapter. Surely, by whatever other negation Mr. Noel may henceforth be designated, he will never be denominated *un*assuming!

And here we take occasion to express our surprise at the pretence, for such it is, that his is an "independent testimony," because of his having refrained from reading a "single Baptist book or tract;" while he admits, and even vaunts the fact, that he has "read such authors as advocate the baptism of infants." And, pray, did he not find in these all the arguments relied upon by the authors of all the "Baptist books and tracts" which are of any repute? It is true they are stated only for the purpose of refutation; but with his "indefinite fears," he was obviously in a state of morbid predisposition to receive the Baptist arguments, and to reject their refutation, however conclusive; so that his "testimony" is at an infinite remove from being "independent," and the transparency of this sophism is scarcely worthy of criticism.

But we feel still greater humiliation, in being constrained to allege something worse than sophistry against Mr. Noel, by impeaching either his veracity or his memory. We charitably hope and believe that it is the latter only that is in fault. He claims the merit, for such he regards it, that he has given his "independent testimony" without "reading a single Baptist book or tract." How is this disclaimer to be reconciled with his citations from Baptist books and tracts, of which there are many, although a reference to a few only of these will convict him of forgetfulness or worse? On page 290 he inserts a quotation from Andrew Fuller's works, accompanied by another from the Primitive Church Magazine for 1849; and again, on page 294, another citation from Mr. Fuller; while his repetition of the arguments, and even citation of the language, of Robert Hall demonstrably prove that he *has read* more than "a single Baptist book and tract," and obviously had them lying before him when he wrote his chapter on "free communion." What a melancholy instance of the infatuation of the author's mind, when he allows his book to go forth, with the internal evidence thus spread upon his pages

that his pretended "independent testimony," as well as the foundation upon which he claims it to be such, are alike self-contradictory.

It is not our purpose to enter into a critical exegesis of the texts of Scripture which the author has perverted, by altering their language, for the obvious purpose of making them tributary to immersion as the only true mode of baptism. This would be foreign from the object of this review, and is, moreover, wholly uncalled for, since so much has been said, and well said, by others who have chosen this department of polemics, or have brought their Biblical criticism to bear upon this controversy. Our object will be attained by holding up to the Christian world a few of the unauthorized changes which Mr. Noel has ventured to make, without apology or explanation of any kind, and which, when placed in quotation marks, and cited by chapter and verse, as the language of Scripture, as commonly received among us, must be regarded almost as—we regret to say—little less than moral forgeries.

But we proceed to our painful and humiliating task. The text quoted from Matthew iii, 11, is thus written, and over and again repeated: "I indeed baptize you IN water;" and, "He shall baptize you IN the Holy Ghost." All the numerous collateral texts are similarly altered by the like interpolation; for such it is, since this substitution of the preposition *in* for *with*, every Greek scholar knows, has no semblance of authority which can justify this indiscriminate change. The object, however, of thus rendering these texts cannot be mistaken.

Our author having thus misquoted Scripture, in the desperate effort to sustain the dogma of immersion as a proselyting weapon, we find him constantly repeating, in the didactic and argumentative portions of the book, that the commission to the ministers of Christ to baptize, is to "immerse *in* water," thus assuming, or rather begging, the whole question. This is more palpably evident when he says, "Christ has commanded his ministers to immerse disciples, and commanded his disciples to be immersed," &c. Could *as*sumption or *pre*sumption transcend this?

A like unwarranted change is made in the substitution of the preposition *unto* for *in*, throughout all those passages in which the latter does not answer the purpose of the author and his Baptist brethren. An example is furnished in his use of Matthew xxviii, 18, where our Lord directs the Apostles to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Of this text our author says it must mean "*unto* the name," and not "*in* the name;" and assuming again this new

rendering, he adds, "When Jesus said, Baptize them *unto* the name of the Father," &c.

But, in short, Mr. Noel changes every text in the common version which he finds intractable by kindred alterations; and as our limits forbid the mention of them all, a few examples must suffice, viz: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, *for* the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost." In this text Mr. Noel substitutes the word *unto* instead of *for*, and then from this corrected rendering he infers that the remission of sins was the necessary and immediate effect of baptism! Again: "This do *in* remembrance of me," is translated by Mr. Noel, "*unto* a recollection of me;" or, "*for* a remembrance of me;" which, he says, "means a recollection of me *at the same time!*" And his inference from these several renderings, most illogically drawn, is, that those who came to John's baptism "must have repented at the same time," and were hence "penitent believers." We forbear to dwell upon many other equally unauthorized versions of particular texts, which the author has not scrupled to render contrary to any existing translation, whenever he finds it necessary for the object he has in view. Indeed, in numerous cases, he does not even allude to the changes thus arbitrarily made, but refers to the chapter and verse of the common translation as authority for the text he thus misquotes, thereby necessarily misleading the unsophisticated reader. This radical wrong is perpetrated so often as to utterly invalidate the teachings of the volume.

For the reasons stated, the doctrinal teachings of the work before us are not examined in detail. The two points elaborately argued by the author may be thus expressed, namely:—

1. None but believers can lawfully be baptized.
2. Infant baptism is unlawful.

After carefully reading all that he has said on these topics, we have been unable to discover a single argument which has any claim to novelty, or one which has not been over and again met and refuted by Wesley, Clarke, or Watson, of our own standard writers. In the work of Wall on Infant Baptism, the precise positions occupied by Mr. Noel are demolished alike by reason and Scripture. And yet he proceeds to repeat in endless iteration all these threadbare pleas for what he calls "believers' baptism," and these worn-out objections to the baptism of infants, precisely as though he thought they would be as new to his readers as they seem to have been to himself; for "hitherto" he had been afraid to study the subject. Or, perhaps, he fancies that because they are now put forth by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, they will be received

because "Sir Oracle opes his mouth." His own dogmatism, and the sycophancy of some of his American admirers, would seem to authorize this assumption, far more than the dogmas he "assumes," for many of which there is no rational pretext.

It is amazing to witness the self-complacency with which Mr. Noel enlightens his readers upon the old hackneyed topics of "Jewish baptism," "the baptism of John," "First baptisms by the disciples," "Apostolic baptisms," &c., thence assuming that none but believers ought to be baptized; whence he sagely infers the unlawfulness of infant baptism, which he calls "religious sprinkling," by a sneer which is in *him* peculiarly undignified and unbecoming. His lamentable want of information on the whole subject, and the abounding blunders of fact and argument into which he falls, can only be attributed to his brief study of the subject, and his very superficial and partial investigation either of "the Scriptures or those writers who advocate the baptism of infants," since it is manifest from his citations that even if he did "refuse to read a single Baptist book or tract," he has avoided, in like manner, the ablest and best writers of his own and other churches, else he would have avoided the gross misrepresentations into which he has been beguiled.

For example, he founds the authority and obligation of Christian baptism upon the apostolic commission recorded Matt. xxviii, 19, 20; and found also in Mark xvi, 15, 16. Hence, *ex necessitate rei*, he makes water baptism essential to salvation, and yet denies baptism to infants because incapable of faith, which he maintains to be the condition precedent to Christian baptism. The doctrine of infant damnation owes its origin to just such ignorant perversions of the Scriptures. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," manifestly refers to those only who are *capable* of believing; else "he that believeth not" must apply to those *incapable* of believing, and all such must be damned. Are infants saved without faith? May they not then be baptized without faith? To hold the contrary is alike unscriptural and absurd.

And pray was not faith in like manner necessary as a pre-requisite to circumcision in the case of adults? What says Paul, (a better authority than Mr. Noel, when, as in this case, they are at issue,) as to the nature of circumcision? "And Abraham received the sign of circumcision, a *seal* of the righteousness of the faith which he had, being *yet uncircumcised*." And yet did not God command him to circumcise all his male children on the eighth day?—and this on the precise principle on which infant baptism is predicated of the apostolic commission to "baptize all nations,"—faith being required of all

capable of its exercise, as preliminary to baptism and necessary to salvation; but the *sign and seal* of the righteousness of faith being in the divine economy equivalent to believing in the cases of infants, and all others incapable of faith.

That the author of this work perceived the fallacy of his sophisms on this subject, is apparent from the laboured effort he makes to protect his reasoning from the allegation of proving infant damnation. His own language is here cited, and the reader will form his own estimate of his ingenuousness and of his logic. He says:—

"Infants can be saved without faith, because God can give them regeneration, which is equivalent to faith; but they are unfit for baptism, because baptism is a profession of faith, and they are capable of making neither a profession of faith, nor of anything which is equivalent to it. It is a fallacy to infer what man, who is ignorant, may do, from what God can do, who is omniscient. He can give an infant salvation, because he sees in the infant all that prepares for salvation; but man may not give an infant baptism, because he cannot see in the infant the grace which fits a believer for baptism. As infants are generally unregenerate, and we can never *know* what cases are exceptions, unregenerate infants ought not to be injured by being baptized as regenerate. Salvation depends upon faith in the adult, and on regeneration which is equivalent to faith in the infant; and as infants are capable! of regeneration, they may be saved. But baptism depends upon the manifestation of faith or of regeneration; and as infants are incapable of this manifestation, they may not be baptized."—P. 170.

Will it be believed, after this choice specimen of transcendentalism, of which a Jesuit ought to be ashamed, and which is a scandalous caricature upon Gospel teaching to which hyper-Calvinism itself has no parallel, that Mr. Noel should then gravely allege that Jesuitical reasoning is the basis on which infant baptism rests! And yet with this professed horror of the logical stratagems of Jesuitism, his whole fabric of exclusive "believer's baptism" is built upon those texts in which faith, &c., are *named* in the text before baptism is *named;* while he makes no account whatever of those texts in which the order is reversed, as in Acts ii, 38, 39, where remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost are declared to be consequent and subsequent to baptism, instead of being prior, and pre-requisite thereto: and so of kindred passages which will occur to the reader.

But again: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God." To be "born of water," in this text, according to the author's creed, is water baptism, immersion *in* water; and yet it is named first, and before being "born of the Spirit," which he insists must precede baptism. But again, by this interpretation of the text he is fully committed to the doctrine that water baptism (immersion) is essential to salvation; for the text makes each of the two births equally important and necessary.

And if none can enter into the kingdom of heaven without "immersion *in* water," then it follows that all unbaptized persons are excluded from the kingdom of heaven; and of course they ought to be excluded from the communion of the saints on earth, and the dogma of close communion, which he so earnestly opposes, is the true doctrine. What is to become of his plea for free communion, which is by far the most rational and Scriptural portion of his book? It is, however, in very strange company, by its close proximity to the chapter urging *re-baptism* as a duty upon all Christians who receive his "independent testimony" against "religious sprinkling," and in favour of the "exclusive right of believers to immersion."

Mr. Noel is doubtless aware that this text in John, detailing the conversation between our Lord and Nicodemus, is very differently interpreted both by Baptist and Pædobaptist authorities, and by those of deserved eminence; the notion of the reference to water baptism being repudiated as far-fetched, and unwarranted by the context, as well as contrary to other scriptures. The doctrine of *the* new birth (not two new births) being here enforced, ("Except a man be born *again*,") the question of Nicodemus, "Can a man enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" was understood and replied to by our Lord, by repeating the doctrine of *the* new birth, and explaining that he meant being "born of the Spirit," the birth to which Nicodemus referred; the natural birth being called "born of water," and afterwards being "born of the flesh," in contradistinction to being "born of the Spirit," which is the new birth, being "born again," in the sense of our Lord's teaching in this passage.* Without committing anybody else to this interpretation exclusively, "we speak as unto wise men, judge ye," and yet it must be obvious that the author's assuming this text to teach water baptism, and of course immersion, is as Jesuitical as anything he can find in any Pædobaptist authority whom he thus characterizes. This text obviously teaches no such thing; and hence the hypothesis of "spiritual water" being meant in being "born of water and of the Spirit," has been by many regarded as the true teaching of our Lord, and for the reason that it cannot be water baptism, else this is *as* essential to salvation as being born of the Spirit,—a doctrine which Mr. Noel takes especial pains to prove that he, at least, does not believe.

Without attempting anything like an exhibition of all the grounds upon which the practice of infant baptism rests, it may suffice in

* Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke clearly recognizes this interpretation when he denominates the one the "birth of the body," and the other the "birth of the soul."

this place to say that it is very manifest the author "had not studied the subject," down to a later period than he names; certainly he had not when he wrote this book, else he would not have misrepresented the grounds upon which his "Christian brethren," whom he still admits to be such, rest for their authority to baptize infants. He contents himself with a very meagre presentation of the arguments for Pædobaptism,—*all* of which were accessible to him had he desired to meet them. The flimsy fabrics upon which he expends his logic are mere theoretical hypotheses, constructed by sectarian writers in connexion with their several creeds; and, at best, are only worthy of being regarded as auxiliary and collateral, and not by any means as *the* arguments by which the antiquity of infant baptism or its apostolic authority is sustained.

In arguing against infant baptism, Mr. Noel manifestly has in view the dogma of baptismal regeneration, which he deduces from the formularies of his own church, though he knows that a different view of those formularies is held by very many of his evangelical brethren of the establishment. In declaring that "the reasons assigned by the Anglican Catechism why an infant should be baptized, without repentance and faith, are very unsatisfactory," he only rejects one theory of infant baptism. And in then demolishing the foundations of the Calvinistic system, upon which the baptism of infants has been ingrafted, he does no more than has been done a thousand times before. And yet he has only shown the fallacy of these isolated theories, and in their errors and inconsistencies we may cordially agree with him. But the doctrine of infant baptism rests on other and better grounds, than either the "Catechism of the Anglican Church," or the Calvinistic dogmas on the subject which he has chosen to gainsay; and, moreover, a very large proportion of Pædobaptists, constituting a majority of such in the Christian world, reject "baptismal regeneration," whether in the case of infants or adults; and at the same time repudiate the doctrine of "infant damnation," as unscriptural and absurd. These all deny that "water baptism," or anything else, except repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, is essential to salvation. They hold that, by the atonement, all mankind are born into the world in a state of initial salvation, and that by consequence *all* infants dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by the merits of Christ; and hence, with or without water baptism, it is impossible that any of them can be lost, for "of such is the kingdom of heaven." They believe that as circumcision was, by Divine appointment, applied to infants as the initiatory ordinance of admission into the Jewish Church, as the sign and seal of the covenant of promise

in their case; so water baptism, or "circumcision without hands," was thus appointed under the Christian dispensation, as in like manner an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace. And while, in the case of adults, repentance and faith are the pre-requisites to the initiatory ordinance of water baptism, in the case of infants no such requisition is made, though they are entitled to the ordinance on the profession of faith in their parents or guardians, who hence desire thus to consecrate their children to Christ. And as, with the circumcised, circumcision became uncircumcision if they afterwards refused to keep the law, so baptism becomes un-baptism, whether of infants or adults, if the baptized live and die in impenitence and sin.

Hence while such honour the sacrament of water baptism, because instituted by Christ; and because his apostles and their legitimate successors in the holy ministry are commanded to baptize "all nations;" and because believers who became proselytes, whether Jews or Gentiles, with their households, were baptized in the primitive Church, of which the Scriptures afford ample proof; yet they deprecate the exaltation of water baptism beyond the Divine appointment as an "outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace," by substituting the visible for the invisible, the outward for the inward, the sign instead of the grace. Hence they steadfastly resist and condemn every scheme which proposes to deform Christianity, by exhibiting it as a sacramental instead of a spiritual religion; as do all those which attach undue and inordinate importance to any form or ceremony whatever, to the disparagement of "the weightier matters of the law." Believing, according to the Scriptures, that penitent sinners are justified by faith, and faith alone, this being the only condition of salvation, they shrink from any and every substitute or auxiliary, as being "generally" or particularly essential to salvation. We forbear to indicate the numerous and flagrant inconsistencies into which the author has been betrayed in his elaborate assault upon the dogma of "close communion," which is characteristic of the Baptist denomination. On their premises, which he "assumes," they are clearly right. He adopts their errors, and yet argues against their legitimate and necessary result; for the reason that he is not yet purged of the "old leaven;" or, as his new brethren will probably allege, because he has not yet "studied the subject." For example, Mr. Noel says:—

"After the institution of baptism by our Lord, no person who refused to be baptized was ever admitted in any Christian church to the Lord's supper."

And yet, in the face of this apostolic example, he argues for the admission of Pædobaptists to the communion of Baptist churches, not because he would thus recognize their "religious sprinkling" as in any sense baptism, but for the reason that they are "unbaptized," "wholly unbaptized." "Regarding him simply as an unbaptized believer, I advocate his right to a place at the Lord's table in a Baptist church," which it will be seen is in direct contravention of the teachings and practice which he ascribes to the Apostolic Church.

Again: the ground on which he argues for free communion is, that multitudes among Pædobaptists are "men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, walking with God, and labouring for Christ;" and he protests loudly against excluding such "eminent Christians" from the Lord's table, and treating them as heretics and aliens from his church. In this connexion he names such holy men as Baxter, Howe and Flavel, Doddridge and Whitefield, Edwards and Payson, Fletcher, Martin, Brainard, and Chalmers, and pleads for their admission to the Lord's table in Baptist churches, by "assuming" again, and with singular modesty as well as charity, that they "had not light enough to throw off the Jewish ordinance of infant circumcision, but must revive it in infant baptism;" he denominates them "*weak* in the faith," and argues that, "notwithstanding their errors, and though unbaptized, they ought to be admitted," for the reason that "their faithful profession and their holy life prove that God has received them; and those who are accepted by God as his beloved children, are surely good enough to be welcomed by erring and sinful followers of Christ as beloved brethren."

Still, notwithstanding this strange medley of inconsistency, our Baptist brethren should not deprecate so much the teachings of the author as they seem to do in America. They need have no fears that their exclusiveness (their only proselyting weapon) will be wrested from them by this liberal novitiate in their faith. His plea for free communion, notwithstanding it has been so lauded on the one side, and dreaded by the other, is a very harmless thing; since, while it "keeps the word of promise to the ear, it breaks it to the hope," and, with a show of liberality, is in practice as intolerant as the most ultra close communionist can desire, as we now proceed to show.

His utmost stretch of "free communion" is to "admit Pædobaptists to communion with Baptist churches as unbaptized," on the ground that their "neglect of baptism is simply an error, for that they are unbaptized is true;" and this error, he affirms, "does not touch the great doctrines of the gospel." And he adds, "If they claim the admission of the validity of their baptism, we are obliged

to refuse their claim, because truth does not allow it." It is clear that no Pædobaptist could avail himself of Mr. Noel's "free communion" without a sacrifice of principle, dishonouring that ordinance by which he has been consecrated to Christ; so that, practically, his semblance of liberality is null and void.

In taking leave of this extraordinary production, we cannot refrain from lamenting that the author should have estranged himself from the cause of Christian union, and placed himself in the attitude of hostile array against his evangelical brethren in Europe and America, by this sudden transition into the very extreme of sectarianism. His former work, commemorating his escape from the shackles of State Prelacy, had inspired the hope of better things than that he should straightway allow himself to be "driven down a steep place into the sea" of ultraism. Having but just escaped the Scylla of "Church and State," behold him wrecked already upon the Charybdis of an exclusiveness no less unscriptural and absurd! Instead of "grace to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ," in the evangelical spirit of his previous volume, we find him anathematizing his Christian brethren as unbaptized, because they have not been immersed. In this book he declares himself to be a convert from baptism *with* water, to baptism *in* water; while simultaneously with his publication, one of his compeers has issued an antidote, entitled "Confessions of a Convert from Baptism *in* Water, to Baptism *with* Water." Mr. Noel renounces his "religious sprinkling," and has been rebaptized by immersion; while his dissenting clerical brother in the same city, and at the same time, renounces his immersion, and is rebaptized by sprinkling. What a picture is this for the unbelievers and scoffers of the world who mock at sacred things! With such exhibitions of Christianity, when will the mouths of gainsayers be stopped? What course is so well calculated to pour contempt upon this ordinance of Christianity, as the rebaptism of such men as Mr. Noel and his quondam friend; the one to degrade sprinkling, and the other to deny the validity of immersion?

That such a man as Mr. Noel should so far forget his high calling, and turn aside from preaching Jesus Christ and him crucified, to talking about believers' baptism; and instead of looking and praying for the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire from on high, crying, "Immersion! immersion! immersion!" strikes us very much like the conduct of those whom our Lord rebuked for being vastly busy about "mint, anise, and cummin," while they needed to be reminded of "the weightier matters of the law." That there is cause of lamentation over his sad degeneracy, every reader will be convinced, on comparing the fervent tone of spirituality and the evangelical

spirit pervading his former book on Church and State, with the dead and cold formality which characterizes the several chapters of this later work. The former breathes throughout the whole the earnest benevolence of the Gospel, and one cannot help perceiving that the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith alone is the grand theme of his confidence, and Christ is all and in all. But in the latter, "immersion in water" is the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the ending. For although Mr. Noel does not fail to recognize the doctrines of experimental religion, yet so great prominence is given to "water baptism," and to "immersion in water" as its only true mode, and believers its exclusive subjects, that not a tithe of the volume savours of anything else, and the reader is constrained to feel that the author has passed from a religion of evangelized spirituality, to a religion of ritual observance and outward formality. The paramount importance of "immersion in water" is so magnified, as connected with the Divine scheme of human salvation, that all else seems to be secondary and subordinate.

All the "apostolic baptisms" are affirmed by the author to have been by "immersion in water," and all the subjects to have been "true believers," not excepting one Simon Magus, whom the apostle afterwards declared to be "in the gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity," to have "neither part nor lot in the matter." And yet it seems that he was commanded to repent and pray for the forgiveness of the thought of his heart; but the duty of immersion in water, or "rebaptism," was never thought of by the apostle, though he had been immersed, according to the author, while a stranger to either penitence or faith.

But it is time to conclude our remarks, already extended beyond due limits. We believe and teach that, according to the Scriptures, the outward application of water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by any authorized administrator, includes all that is essential to Christian baptism, and this without any discrimination as to its mode. That baptism was administered by the apostles to the infant children of believers with their parents, we infer from the teaching of the Scriptures; and that infants were baptized in the primitive Church is undeniable. If it were otherwise, the time of the introduction of this practice into the primitive Church could be indicated, as in the case of known corruptions; but no man ever did, or ever can, produce authentic proof that infant baptism was not practised in the earliest and purest days of the Church, and thus point out the date of its introduction. And while we repudiate alike the dogmas of "infant damnation and baptismal regeneration,"

we regard baptism as the initiatory ordinance into the Church, for believers and their children; for we have the authority of the Saviour, that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." In arraying ourselves, therefore, against the exclusiveness of the author's creed of immersion, we condemn not this mode of the application of water; nor do we assume that baptism is invalid because thus administered. But, in the exercise of that private judgment which we award to others, our preference is for sprinkling or pouring, as in our opinion conformable to the teaching of the Scriptures on the subject, no mode being prescribed, except that baptism is to be performed *with* water. We deny that *βαπτίζω* means to dip exclusively; or that going down *into* the water implies going down *under* the water, else *both* Philip and the eunuch went under the water, and Philip did not baptize the eunuch, any more than the eunuch baptized Philip. Because John baptized *in* or *at* Jordan, we deny that there is any proof of immersion here, any more than his baptizing where there was "much water" proves immersion, or Paul's baptizing in the jail at midnight, where there was not "much water," proves sprinkling. The mode of baptism not being definitely prescribed in Scripture, proves that its mode is unimportant; for, had it been otherwise, it would have been so plain that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err herein."

Exclusiveness, therefore, in reference to any mode of water baptism, cannot, by possibility, have any other authority than that asserted by Mr. Noel, who says: "*I assume* that baptism means immersion;" and is just as decisive of the question, as if we were to say, "We *assume* that baptism means sprinkling:" and either assumption only proves that we presume to be "wise above what is written."

Our limits will not allow us to dwell on the aspect of this exclusive and sectarian creed, which involves our Baptist brethren in the fault of delaying and hindering the conversion of the world, by employing the proselyting weapon of immersion upon missionary ground.

These exclusive and sectarian views ought to be renounced, unless they can conscientiously be regarded as of more value than the souls of men. They are no more commanded to "go into all the world, and teach all nations" this dogma of immersion, and its fruits of exclusiveness, than certain other missionaries have a Divine commission to "baptize bells," instead of preaching the gospel. And they have surely had experience enough at home and abroad to learn, what is obvious to others, that this peculiarity in their creed has erected a wall of partition between them and their bre-

thren, which is as high and impassable as that which exists between Protestants and Papists here, or should exist between the converted pagans and their old idolatrous and heathen religion. It is in our eyes an odious deformity in their creed, a morbid fungus upon their body ecclesiastic. Nor can the world ever be converted by such instrumentality: and we commend this one thought to the prayerful consideration of the Rev. Mr. Noel, and the readers of his book.

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## Art. VIII.—ADAMS'S MINISTER OF CHRIST.

*Notes of the Minister of Christ for the Times, drawn from the Holy Scriptures.* By Charles Adams. 18mo., pp. 246. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1850.

In our January number this work (then unpublished) was characterized as being "full of thought and seeds of thought, as well as of stirring practical appeals for an earnest and effective ministry." We have little fear that this judgment will be set aside by our readers, after they shall have carefully examined the book itself. Its object, as stated in the preface, is "to delineate, with simplicity and brevity, the Scriptural picture of a Christian minister,"—to bring out a "faithful view of the minister for the times, and for all time," with materials drawn from that volume which belongs to the race. It is divided into four parts, of which Part I. treats of "The Minister for the Times as a Man." The principal topics here are the personal qualifications of the *real* minister of Christ,—physical, moral, and intellectual. Each trait is handled singly, with a separate passage of Scripture for a text or motto. We give a specimen of the style of the book, and of the spirit which animates it, from Part I. Under the text, "*One thing I do*," (Phil. iii, 13,) we have,—

"The minister for the times is a *single-minded* man. He has settled the matter fully and forever, that oneness of pursuit is indispensable to distinguished success in any important enterprise. Salvation is his one sublime purpose, as it was the purpose of his great Master. Here is the goal toward which all his energies tend. He takes no step—touches no book—holds no conversation—writes no line—indulges no recreation, inconsistent with this all-controlling point. A hundred things which many good men, and many ministers, allow in themselves, this minister cuts off entirely. His meditations are upon the things of his ministry. He gives himself wholly to them, and continues in them. He determines not to know anything among the people save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. His eye looks right on, and his eyelids straight before him. Each book—essay—conversation—anecdote;—each providence, prosperous or adverse;—all heaven, earth, and hell, are laid under contribution for the effecting of his object. He is a man of one work—comprehen-

sively of one book—one thought—one wish. True, he has various accomplishments, and acts amid varied scenes and in varied capacities; still his mind wavers not—the 'mark' is before him, and fills his eye, while he presses toward it evermore. Christ came into the world—to save sinners. Paul made every innocent compliance—that he might, by all means, save some. Mills determined—that he would savingly influence the world. Martin ran after—the glory of God in the salvation of sinners. Wesley girded himself for—a universal revival of religion. This, exactly this, is the genius of the minister for the times. Perhaps never were there greater allurements presented to the minds of ministers, to tempt them to a division of affection and pursuit. Abundant libraries—attractive lectures—literary and theological discussions—ingenious theories—fascinating circles—honourable appointments—flattering commendations—these, and the like, combined with native downward tendencies, are far too prone to cloud the spiritual vision, and induce the minister to forget the one great purpose of his mission. There is wanting now a race of ministers of singleness of soul—of one, indomitable purpose,—living and running for salvation only;—in whose minds all else, whether in the literary, social, or physical world, is as the dust of the balance. *This is the greatest want of the world.* Greater talents are not needed. Learning, there is an abundance of it. Theologians—writers—scholars are not lacking. A *concentration* is demanded, of energies already in the ministry, to the one great pursuit—the salvation of the race.

"Man of God, what now! A sinner is about to perish forever. Christ has found a ransom. He commissions you to publish it to that sinner, that he may be saved. Shall anything hinder? Shall aught else come into mind?" —Pp. 24–26.

Part II. treats of the "Minister for the Times as a *Student.*" The ground assumed by the author under this head is very high; yet it is, in general, abundantly well maintained. Indeed, this chapter, though condensed and brief, (perhaps *because* it is so,) appears to us to be one of the best in the book. The foundation is laid as follows:—

"But what are the acquired qualifications suited to a minister for these times? We answer that they are, so far as possible, such qualifications as were acquired and possessed in the beginning; and nothing less must be esteemed appropriate or adequate. This view appears amply confirmed not only by the inspired picture of an 'able minister,' but also by the apostolic charge to Timothy, whom Paul solemnly addresses, saying, 'The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.' This means that the apostolic learning was to be communicated to their successors, and received by them; and this with a view to their competency for instructing others.

"What, then, was this apostolic learning? It was the learning of men who had been long, and largely, and personally instructed by the Great Teacher;—men who, for years, had sat at the feet of 'Him that speaketh from heaven,' and whose speaking was such as never man uttered;—men who often wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth;—men that were the companions of Jesus as he went through cities and villages teaching, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom;—men who drank deeply at the very fountain-head of truth and wisdom,—to whom thus the great book of revelation was unveiled,—who listened as, beginning at Moses and all the prophets, Christ expounded unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself, until their hearts burned within them as he talked with them, and opened

to them the lively oracles. The apostolic learning is that of men who were the companions of the Lord Jesus all the time that he went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John to the very day that he was taken up;—men to whom he 'expounded all things,'—who saw and heard the 'many other' things which Jesus did and spoke, by far too numerous to be written, and too astonishing for a sinful world to believe.

"Judge, then, what must have been the learning of the first gospel ministers. They were eye-witnesses from the beginning, and 'had perfect understanding of all things from the very first.' Are there any greater privileges in this age for securing the qualifications adapted to a preacher of the gospel? Are the most studious and profound in this generation any better prepared—*can* they be better prepared to perform this solemn ministry? Can they know more of Christ—of his doctrine—of his spirit and practice—and of the best modes of instructing and persuading men so as that they may be saved? What, then, is the inference? This, simply; that if the deepest and most diligent study will not, to say the least, bring us farther than to the standard of apostolic learning, then any less degree of study will leave us less qualified than were they for the great ministerial work; and what they taught and preached, we shall not be fully 'able to teach others also.' In other words, this ministry will not, and, without miracle, cannot, be perfectly accomplished in us and by us.

"Thus the conclusion is irresistible, that the good and able minister—the minister for these times—is, and must be, a diligent, faithful, earnest, and untiring student. Aiming at nothing less than primitive acquirements and excellence, he will give his mind and heart to the things of God, and, by all appropriate means, pursue after divine knowledge. He studies not everything. Thousands and thousands of books he never reads; but he looks earnestly for every acquisition—every ornament suitable and needful for his most important work. To these he devotes himself unreservedly, rigidly adapting his means to the end in view."—Pp. 96–98.

Part III. sets forth the "Minister for the Times as a *Preacher*," under twenty-five traits. The first treats of the nature and importance of preaching, as a vital and essential function of the Christian Church, as follows:—

"Preaching is the capital office and work of the minister—and of the minister for these times, as well as for all time. It was thus that the gospel dispensation commenced. Christ was announced by preaching. When He appeared, he came preaching. He passed through all the cities and villages, teaching, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom. The Spirit of the Lord was upon him, anointing him to preach the gospel to the poor. The apostolic commission was to *preach*. Paul was called, by God's grace, to preach Christ among the heathen. This was his special work; for Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. Thus this Apostle writes of those who were begotten through the gospel. Peter writes of such as were born not of corruptible seed, but by the word of God; and James writes of himself and others being begotten with the word of truth. And how shall men believe in one of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? This is the divinely appointed instrumentality for the awakening and salvation of the race. Its importance, either from too much inadequate preaching, or from the multiplication of benevolent agencies, or from the degeneracy of the times, may have come to be more lightly esteemed than formerly. Yet preaching is still the great agency—the grand means for the world's regeneration. It is true now, as ever of old, that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing, by the proclamation of the word of God. Nor is he at all the minister for these times who hopes to save the souls of men by other means as effectually as by the preach-

ing of the gospel. He has forgotten the ancient landmarks. He is striking out another path than that which He devised who gave the great gospel commission. Converse he should, at every opportunity. Write he should, wherever his pen may awaken, or guide, or comfort. The press he may use, so far as he has time, to aid the great cause for which he lives and acts. But let him not forget that preaching—*preaching* is his great business—his high calling—his heavenly ordnance—his celestial sword—his burnished weapon of warfare—his strong staff of accomplishment. Preaching has done wonders, from the day of Pentecost to the present; and that, because it is God's own select instrumentality. Immeasurably the greater proportion of saints in Paradise, and of the great multitude now travelling thither, were brought to salvation by gospel preaching. Preaching awoke them at first—led them on to repentance, faith, conversion, sanctification, and perseverance; while its solemn voice, like some strange, invisible power, is ever lifting the Christian toward God,—dying away on the pilgrim's ear only when the everlasting doors have shut him within the heavenly city. To the Jew, it may be a stumbling-block; to the wise of this world, it may appear as foolishness; while yet by such foolishness hath it pleased God to save them that believe. This is still the power of God and the wisdom of God;—this will still be the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes.

"What, then, of the minister adapted to these times? He is a *preacher*. This is his work. For this he studies, and prays, and converses, and recreates, and eats, and drinks, and lives. This, in his mind, is the most weighty and important of all human transactions and efforts. By this, men are saved from an eternal hell, and exalted to immortal life. This is the joyful sound. This is the heavenly heralding. This is the startling note, effectively warning millions on millions away from the wrath to come. This is the solemn trumpet, echoing from hill-top to hill-top,—waking the 'isles of the south,' and shaking the nations. Above all voices running along the earth, this is the voice which 'devils fear,'—the voice which hushes to peace the heaving billows of grief and despair."—Pp. 119–121.

The practical thoughts which follow are all timely, and they are expressed with remarkable point and edge. Take the following as a specimen:—

"The minister for the times preaches *simply*. In other words, he preaches artlessly and plainly. The design is to benefit and save all of every class, and of every grade of intellect and of education. He feels it to be entirely indispensable that he be understood. Hence, he preaches with simplicity. His plan of discourse is simple. Intricacy, and multiplicity of heads and divisions, are avoided. His scheme has unity and definiteness. His arrangement is natural and orderly. The main point of the discourse, as well as the principal heads, are laid down with perspicuity, and with as much brevity as possible. Then the style of the whole performance is simple, though always dignified and chaste, and never descending to any vulgar or mean expression or word. His terms are popular, rather than scientific or technical. Every word is as sound and good as it is simple and plain. His sentences are idiomatic and easy—not long and involved, and are understood as soon as uttered. He uses no superabundance of words and expressions; but announces his thoughts plainly and directly, and there ceases. If imagery be employed, it is always with due moderation and caution, and with a preference for that drawn from the 'lively oracles.' His elocution, too, corresponds to the simplicity of his style. As much as possible he avoids all mannerisms. He speaks distinctly, properly, and naturally;—not as a man acting a part, or performing a piece of mere professional service, but as one who greatly desires to be understood by every

hearer, and who is solicitous to impart as well the impressions and emotions of his soul, as the ideas of his intellect. With such a speaker, all modes and ways will be avoided whose influence is to divert attention from the appropriate impression and purpose of the sermon. The whole arrangement, style, elocution, and gesture, are such as to be forgotten by the audience; while the thoughts, the *soul*, of the discourse fasten all eyes, and arrest all hearts.

"The preacher is simple. In his eye, externals are trifling—the *Word*, everything. That Word, therefore, he preaches with the simplicity of the primitive preaching. However profound as a reasoner, and mighty as a preacher, he prefers to speak five words with his understanding, that he might teach others also, than ten thousand words either in an unknown tongue, or in a style and manner not more easily understood."—Pp. 134–136.

Part IV. exhibits the "Minister for the Times as a *Pastor*,"—a function which needs to be newly inaugurated, almost, among modern preachers, at least in some sections of our country. As usual, the author's first procedure is to show the necessity and importance of the pastoral work:—

"The pastoral ministry is an essential department of the sacred office; and when there is deficiency in this department, the labours of the pulpit, though otherwise able and acceptable, are of comparatively little effect. Happy for the Church and the world, were this great truth engraven upon the heart of every gospel minister upon earth! The idea is still far too prevalent, that a minister's great duty, for the most part, goes out in public preaching. An error this, as insidious and plausible, as it is unscriptural and fatal: and is the more prevalent, as it tallies so well with the worldliness and sloth which, we must fear, tinge too much the character of some who wait at the altar.

"Preaching! What is preaching to a congregation? Is it the mere repetition of the general principles of Christianity—such as we quote from books, and gather in the cloister? Is it the mere doling out of theology and ethics? Is it the dissertation of a student—the babbling of a recluse? God forbid! This amounts not to *preaching;* and he who has exercised himself thus, and wondered at his barrenness, must, henceforth, wonder no more. He fails to preach—fails well-nigh as disastrously as he who mounts the pulpit without thought or arrangement, and pours out a mere broken and ghastly mass of declamation and vociferation. Thou wilt not *preach* to that congregation without preparation; and an essential part of a perfect preparation must be thy deep and familiar acquaintance with the religious circumstances of the people before thee.

"The pastoral department supplies some of the essential elements of the effective and successful sermon. It imparts to the public preaching an indispensable knowledge—breathes into it an indispensable spirit and warmth—inspires it with an indispensable sympathy—dictates an indispensable style—and points out the indispensable application. Mark if such be not the Scripture view of this most important subject. The good minister, for example, is to give to each a portion in due season. But how can he do this, except either by miracle, or by ascertaining, through pastoral diligence, what the exact 'portion' is? Again, what is this 'watching for souls as they that must give account?' Is such momentous watching fulfilled in a mere sermon begotten and reared up in solitude, and with no more adaptation to those particular 'souls' than to any others whom the minister is not appointed to watch, and for whose salvation he is not so specially accountable? Yet again: what is this 'taking heed to the flock,' which the Apostle, in imagery so significant as well as beautiful, enjoins upon the ministers of Ephesus? Is all this poetry a mere 'song,' or means he not, rather, that those elders were to exercise a con-

stant, minute, and impartial care over their respective charges, correspondent to that of a 'good shepherd?' Once more; what of the example of the Apostle, who himself appears, for a time, to have acted the pastor at Ephesus? He teaches publicly, of course, 'and from house to house;' and for three years ceases not to warn every one, night and day, with tears. How was this? Was all this effort in the shape of pulpit sermons? or was it not by public discourses and by personal addresses combined—the two modes reciprocally and mightily aiding each the other? Went not these two apostolic influences hand in hand, just as previously, when daily, in the temple and in every house, Peter and John ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ? This is a plain matter. What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. We may not mend the ways and works of God, nor be wise above what he has written. The apostolic minister of old was a pastor. The minister for these times is equally a pastor. No other is suitable. No other will, in general, be of great use. The age requires not mere hirelings—not those who, while they preach on Sabbaths, are yet remiss and neglectful at other seasons. The times demand of a minister that he 'care for souls'—that he be instant at all seasons—that he spare no pains, whether in the pulpit or out of it—warning every man, and teaching every man, that he may present every one perfect in Christ Jesus."—Pp. 165–168.

From the same Part we extract the following:—

"The minister for the times is a *circulating* pastor. He goes from house to house, like his apostolic exemplars. His study is not his home merely;—his home, rather, is everywhere within his parish or charge. He is in motion. He is here or there, in accordance with his regular system of visitation, or as special exigencies may require. Within the precincts of his charge, he is in "every house;"—not merely those convenient of access, but those, too, that are most remote. Nor yet, in his travels, will he confine himself always to those families and persons that wait on his ministry; but he will call upon any others to whom he may be useful. He will inquire out those who have no stated place of church attendance, and lead them, if he may, to the house of God. He goes out, in his pastoral circuits, into the highways and hedges, and compels them to come in, that the house of God may be filled.

"Then, as he circulates, it is as a minister and pastor. He converses—inquires—instructs—encourages—and warns. Nor does he circulate merely for the purpose of personal intercourse. He includes neighbourhood preaching and lecturing, wherever it is practicable. He has his stated appointments between the Sabbaths in different points, and more or less remote from the place of public worship, in order that he may reach some who would not otherwise hear and be saved."—Pp. 170, 171.

We trust this book will be widely read by our ministers. Especially will it be a useful and profitable manual for those just entering upon the sacred office. Its style is animated and fervent,—sometimes a little disfigured by an apparent straining after point and antithesis; but this is an almost unavoidable result of the minute subdivisions into which, according to the plan of the work, the whole subject had to be cast. And, finally, we thank Mr. Adams for a contribution so fresh, so vigorous, and so earnest, to the practical theology of our Church and of the age.

## Art. IX. SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) "*White-Jacket; or, The World in a Man-of-War;* by Herman Melville." (Harper & Brothers, 1850: 12mo., pp. 465.) Many of our readers, judging simply from the title, will suppose this to be a mere novel, and pass it by. It is, on the contrary, no story at all, but a most graphic picture of the real life of a man-of-war, with what may be called a *series of essays* upon the evils, abuses, and, in part, crimes of the American Naval Service. If this work be true, (and we have no reason to doubt it,) there are brutalities perpetrated in the American navy, under the authority of the American people, which are enough to sink the whole concern, ships, officers, and all, to perdition. We deem it our duty to call the attention of our readers to the book and to the general subject: only regretting that our time and our limits will not allow us now to go into it at length. We cite (one passage only out of many) an account of the flogging of an old sailor, perhaps the best man in the ship, for *refusing to take off his beard.*

"Sir," said the old man, respectfully, "the three years for which I shipped are expired; and though I am perhaps bound to work the ship home, yet, as matters are, I think my beard might be allowed me. It is but a few days, Captain Claret."

"Put him into the brig!" cried the Captain; "and now, you old rascals!" he added, turning round upon the rest, "I give you fifteen minutes to have those beards taken off; if they then remain on your chins, I'll flog you—every mother's son of you—though you were all my own godfathers!"

On the morrow, after breakfast, Ushant was taken out of irons, and, with the master-at-arms on one side and an armed sentry on the other, was escorted along the gun-deck and up the ladder to the main-mast. There the Captain stood, firm as before. They must have guarded the old man thus to prevent his escape to the shore, something less than a thousand miles distant at the time.

"Well, sir, will you have that beard taken off? you have slept over it a whole night now; what do you say? I don't want to flog an old man like you, Ushant!"

"My beard is my own, sir!" said the old man, lowly.

"Will you take it off?"

"It is mine, sir!" said the old man, tremulously.

"Rig the gratings!" roared the Captain. "Master-at-arms, strip him! quartermasters, seize him up! boatswain's mates, do your duty!"

While these executioners were employed, the Captain's excitement had a little time to abate; and when, at last, old Ushant was tied up by the arms and legs, and his venerable back was exposed—that back which had bowed at the guns of the frigate Constitution when she captured the Guerriere—the Captain seemed to relent.

"You are a very old man," he said, "and I am sorry to flog you; but my orders must be obeyed. I will give you one more chance; will you have that beard taken off?"

"Captain Claret," said the old man, turning round painfully in his bonds, "you may flog me, if you will; but, sir, in this one thing I can *not* obey you."

"Lay on! I'll see his backbone!" roared the Captain, in a sudden fury.

"You, boatswain's mate," cried the Captain, "you are favouring that man! Lay on soundly, sir, or I'll have your own *cat* laid soundly on you."

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve lashes were laid on the back of that heroic old man. He only bowed over his head, and stood as the Dying Gladiator lies.

"Cut him down," said the Captain.

"And now go and cut your own throat," hoarsely whispered an old sheet-anchor man, a mess-mate of Ushant's.

When the master-at-arms advanced with the prisoner's shirt, Ushant waved him

off with the dignified air of a Brahim, saying, "Do you think, master-at-arms, that I am hurt? I will put on my own garment. I am never the worse for it, man; and 'tis no dishonour when he who would dishonour you, only dishonours himself."

"What says he?" cried the Captain; "what says that tarry old philosopher with the smoking back? Tell it to me, sir, if you dare! Sentry, take that man back to the brig. Stop! John Ushant, you have been Captain of the Forecastle; I break you. And now you go into the brig, there to remain till you consent to have that beard taken off."

"My beard is my own," said the old man, quietly. "Sentry, I am ready."

And back he went into durance between the guns; but after lying some four or five days in irons, an order came to remove them; but he was still kept confined.

It is for the American *people* to say whether barbarities of this Algerine kind shall be continued in their name or not.

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(2.) "*Studies in Christian Biography; or, Hours with Theologians and Reformers*, by SAMUEL OSGOOD, Minister of the Church of the Messiah in New-York." (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co.: 12mo., pp. 395.) This book is mostly made up of contributions to different literary and theological journals; and large as this class of books has become of late years, we know of but one that surpasses this in interest and attractiveness, and certainly none in enlarged liberality of feeling. Mr. Osgood's Hagiology is sufficiently comprehensive to embrace men of the most opposite types and tendencies, from Augustine to Chrysostom, from Edwards to Wesley. The articles on Augustine, Chrysostom, and Jerome, are elaborate and critical: the remainder are generally rather glowing pictures than critical narrations. That the colours are always truthfully laid on, we cannot admit; but that the artist *aims* at truth of representation, is patent to every observer. We extract the following passages from the article on Wesley:—

"His labours were incredible alike in their amount and their character. Preacher, theologian, ruler, he was constantly at work. Every year he travelled many thousand miles, and even in his travels never slackened his studies. On horseback he was at his book, and at the stopping-places was ready with pen and voice. Twenty years before his death, an edition of his works in thirty-two volumes was published, embracing treatises upon a great variety of subjects. Religion was of course the absorbing theme, but history, natural philosophy, grammar, and even medicine, came in for their share of his time and pen. He was the father of the system of cheap books for the people. He was willing alike to compose and to compile what ever would instruct and elevate the many. Thus he exerted vast influence. From the sale of his books he derived the chief means for his great charities. To his honour be it spoken, the amount ascertained to have been given away by him exceeds a hundred thousand dollars. Consistently enough he might preach that close and judicious sermon on 'Money as a Talent,' under the three heads,—'Gain all you can; Save all you can; Give all you can.' Many go with the preacher in the first two heads, who would be much staggered by the third."

"There is no sight more refreshing and instructive than a cheerful, active old man. Let us look in upon Wesley in his hale old age."

"It would not have been difficult to identify that old man anywhere, whether in London or any of the cities of his sojourn, or in his travels. Few, however, would have judged him to be what he was, from his external appearance merely. Little of the daring innovator was there in his mien. In some distant part of England, you might have seen a man pursuing his journey resolutely on horseback, and showing by the book in his hand that he grudged to lose a single moment of time. You might see the same man walking with firm step through some town or village, giving proof in every motion that he had a work to do. His stature was under middle size, his habit of body thin, but compact. A clear, smooth forehead, an

aquiline nose, an eye of piercing brightness, a complexion of perfect healthfulness, distinguished him among all others. Even his dress was characteristic,—the perfection of neatness and simplicity, perhaps with a little touch of primness; a narrow, plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar,—his clothes without any of the usual ornaments of silk or velvet,—combined with a head white as snow, to give the idea of a man of peculiar primitive character."

"Wesley's death took place, as we have seen, March 2, 1791. England little appreciated the man whom she had lost. The Established Church, of which he continued a minister to the last, and in the bosom of which, until shortly before his decease, he had desired his people to remain simply as a religious society, gave him little benediction, shutting against him the pulpits that were open to clerical Nimrods and Bacchanals.

"Look from Wesley's death-bed towards France; and on the morrow the streets of Paris exhibited a scene that should have proved to the conservatives of England the worth of him who could impress upon the neglected masses the sentiment of religion. The sacred vessels of the Parisian churches were carried to the mint to be coined into that which is called the 'sinew of war.' England followed not France in the desecration. A sentiment of reverence guarded, and still guards, her altars. The tombs of her saints and sages were not to be violated as were those of France, nor their ashes to be scattered to the winds, that the lead of their coffins might be moulded into bullets. Hearts, by thousands, once rude and violent, were now at peace with God, living in recognition of a heavenly kingdom, and chanting holy hymns instead of shouting fiendish curses. Myriads once crushed beneath poverty and toil had been rescued, and, with the faith and love of the Gospel, every good gift had been given. America, too, had shared the blessing; her remote borders had been visited by the missionaries of Methodism, and her forests had rung with their thrilling hymns.

"The founder of the great society rested not in St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey. The ruling powers did not desire it, although they did not deny such consecrated ground to a profligate man of genius, or a blasphemous soldier. Nor did Wesley desire to be buried away from his people. His remains were laid beneath the chapel in which he had so often preached.

"Rest in peace, soul of John Wesley! we are all ready to say. May the English race, in all its branches, bless that name.

"What an idea the history of Wesley and his work gives of the capacity of an individual, and of the productiveness of a single life! It is a great question, in our day, How may the largest crop be derived from an acre of ground? Far greater the question, How much efficient power can a life produce? Wesley's story is a stern homily on persevering, devoted, cheerful labour. 'Work! work!' it cries, trumpet-tongued. 'Work on, work ever, in faith and love!'"

As we have hinted, there are many things in this book not according to our way of thinking: the author's theological stand-point is not ours, and, in fact, we find him here often falling short of what we deem to be thorough views of the nature of Christianity. But with the spirit of his book, in the main, we fully sympathize.

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(3.) Some time since a Dr. Nott of Mobile published a book designed to subvert the doctrine of the unity of the human race. The book appeared to have the two-fold object (if two-fold it can be called) of undermining the foundation of the Christian Scriptures, and of sustaining the system of slavery on the ground that the Africans are an inferior race. The religious men of the South, whether slaveholders or not, were not to be caught with such a bait; and Dr. Nott's book was severely handled in many of the religious journals. But the fullest fruit, perhaps, of his essay, lies now before us, in a work entitled "*The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race examined on the Princi-*

*ples of Science*, by JOHN BACHMAN, D. D." (Charleston, S. C., 8vo., pp. 312.) The book grew out of a series of papers originally read before the Literary Club of Charleston, and bears the marks of rapid composition, with not a few inaccuracies both of arrangement and expression. But these are minor faults. Dr. Bachman's mind is so well stored with the facts of Natural Science, that his *extempore* talk on the subject would be worth taking down and printing in a book; and these *facts* are the only reliance of the argument before us. The arguments for and against the unity of the race are thoroughly discussed on scientific grounds, apart entirely from the teachings of the Scriptures, and the conclusion is reached, on these data alone, that God has "made of one blood all nations of men." Only in the concluding chapter is the harmony of nature and revelation on this subject alluded to; and we quote part of the chapter, as affording at once a specimen of Dr. Bachman's style, and a proof of the humble Christian spirit that animates him in his studies:—

"Reader! we have travelled together over the pleasant but intricate and sometimes perplexing paths of science, in our earnest and persevering efforts at interpreting the book of nature. To the Divine mind everything is plain—everything moves on in the utmost simplicity and uniformity; but owing to the limited powers of man, he hesitates and pauses at every step; the pride of science gives way to a humiliating sense of his inferiority, and he calls for light to guide him through many dark and bewildering paths.

"There is an ancient record, venerated on account of its antiquity, of the pure morality it teaches, and the immortal life it proclaims, that professes to give us the origin and early history of our race; although we have yielded in courtesy to the expressed wishes of our opponents, not to base any of our arguments on the teachings of that volume, yet we felt as if they could not claim this as a right, inasmuch as they were constantly endeavouring to advance their cause, by dragging from the dust of antiquity every obscure and doubtful record, searching among rude and barbarous nations for ancient traditions, and striving to interpret in favour of their theory the hieroglyphics and sculptured heads on the mouldering monuments of antiquity, seizing upon everything calculated to throw doubts on the chronological and historical veracity of the Scriptures, and even telegraphing to America, through the convenient wires of Mr. Gliddon, the yet unpublished opinions of Lepsius. We are, however, disposed to allow them these advantages, although our liberality is not duly reciprocated. They cannot therefore object to our alluding, in the last pages of this essay, to a few remarkable coincidences between the teachings of nature and the revelations of Scripture on some of the greatest phenomena that have occurred in our world.

"Revelation informs us that 'in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.'

"The evidences of creation are all around us. The researches in geology have established the fact that there was a time when this earth was a chaotic mass, and when its surface and its waters were shrouded in darkness.

"We have next an account of the successions in creation preparatory to calling into existence the last, the noblest, and most perfect of all the creatures of earth, who, by the possession of reason and an immortal mind, is linked to the higher intelligences around the throne of God.

"When we dive into the bowels of the earth, we discover in the successive creations preparations made for the multiplied wants of a being thus constituted. Beds of coal to serve as fuel so essential to his existence, and which he only is capable of converting into practical use, had for ages been gathering in vast store-houses over every quarter of the globe. Lime, gypsum, marl, &c., had been forming to aid him in giving fertility to the soil which he was to cultivate by the labour of his hands, and the sweat of his brow. The materials for building, granite, marble, slate, and various earths, were thus prepared for his use. The various metals so essential to art and husbandry, and as a medium of exchange, had many of them undergone

fusion, and were now visible to his eye and open to his hand. Vegetables, fruits and grains, birds and quadrupeds, adapted to his omnivorous habits, had already been created for him; and salt had been laid up in caverns, and by upheavals had been elevated into mountains, to serve as a condiment for his food.

"We have next a history of the creation of a single pair of the human species—of the paradise in which they dwelt being situated in so warm a climate that clothing was superfluous—then of their fall and degradation.

"Whatever changes have taken place in man's physical and psychical character, his present organization gives the strongest proofs of his descent from predecessors similarly organized; and the errors and sins of his life afford evidences of his inherent corruptions.

"We have next a remarkable and astounding prediction, connected with a promise, in unison with the benevolent character of the Deity, and suited to the wants of frail, but intelligent, progressive, and immortal man. A Deliverer was promised —the seed of the woman was to bruise the serpent's head.

"In the lapse of ages one prophet succeeded another, revealing more and more distinctly the character and the message of the promised Messiah. He came at the appointed time, clothed with the purity of an angel, and displaying the attributes of a God. The warfare which He and his followers from that day to this have waged against ignorance and error, infidelity and sin, are matters of history.

"Man has been rescued from barbarism and degrading sensuality; his head has become the throne of intellect, his heart the seat of benevolence and virtue, and his mind, enlarging and becoming more and more spiritualized, gives evidence of his Divine origin, and his exalted destination. These teachings of a promised deliverer of the human family have, according to the predictions, been conveyed to all the races of men in every quarter of the globe, as well as to the islands of the sea. And now the introduction of the Gospel into portions of Africa, and the immense number of coloured Christian communicants in our Southern States, afford us the evidence that another prophecy is fulfilling,—that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God!

"We are further informed in Scripture, that after ages and generations had gone by, and the earth had been peopled by multitudes of inhabitants, a wide deluge had swept the whole human race from the earth, save only the single family of Noah and his sons,—who were preserved in an ark that rested upon Ararat, a high mountain in the East.

"Even should we be unable to discover in any portion of our globe the traces of this last convulsion, yet the various strata in the earth beneath our feet, the extinction of race after race in the inferior animals, reveal to us the evidences that this was the mode adopted by the Author of Nature in blotting from the map of creation one series of animals after another. The traditions too of all nations, both civilized and savage, point to a flood as having been the instrument in the destruction of the original inhabitants, and to a high mountain in which were preserved the germs of the future races of men.

"This is succeeded by an account of the destiny of Noah's sons—their dispersion into tribes, and the confounding of their language, 'that they might not understand each other's speech.' 'And the sons of Noah that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth; and Ham is the father of Canaan. These are the three sons of Noah; and of them was the whole earth overspread.' To Shem was allotted a dwelling 'from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East.' Japheth was promised to be enlarged—his race was to be widely diffused, and he was to dwell in the tents of Shem. To the descendants of Ham, the father of Canaan, a severer destiny was pronounced, for it is declared that he shall be the servant of both Shem and Japheth.

"If we follow the teachings of history, we discover in Shem the parent of the Caucasian race—the progenitor of the Israelites and our Saviour. In Japheth that of the wide-spread Mongolian, many of whom to this day are dwelling in tents—as the various tribes in the East and on our Western Continent fully testify—and Canaan, the son of Ham, although we cannot regard his descendants as accursed, is still everywhere 'the servant of servants.'

"Reader! can all these coincidences, by any possibility, have been accidental occurrences? The leaves in the book of nature, in the various strata of the earth's surface, have been unfolded to us by the geologist. The map of ancient history, the

teachings on the papyrus rolls, and the monuments of extinct races, have been laid open before us by geographers, philologists, and men of science; and modern travellers have told us of the characteristics of the present races of men. Have we not discovered that in every advance we have made in a clear interpretation of the book of nature, we have step by step approached nearer and nearer to the teachings of that volume which the wisest and the best of men have regarded as the truths of heaven, revealed to an erring world by infinite wisdom and unbounded goodness."—Pp. 287–292.

The late expression of Prof. Agassiz' opinion *against* the unity of the race will give new interest and value to Dr. Bachman's book.

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(4.) "*Memoir of Rev. William Gurley, late of Milan, Ohio, a Local Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Rev. L. B. GURLEY." (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1850. 12mo., pp. 268.) We have read this book through almost at a sitting: and it will have the same charm for any of our readers who have personal recollections of Ireland, or who, like ourselves, have been accustomed in youth to hear long stories about the "Irish Rebellion of '98." The chief interest of the book lies in the detail of insurrection and its terrible results, given mainly from the manuscripts of the venerable subject of the narrative himself, and therefore, it is to be presumed, in every way trustworthy. Mr. Gurley's personal perils, trials, and sacrifices, are recorded with entire simplicity, yet the interest of the narrative is intense. Hardly less eventful was his life after his emigration to America. The frontier war of 1812 found him on his farm in the north of Ohio, and drove him from his home. The latter years of his life were passed in quiet and peace; and he continued his faithful labours as a local preacher almost to the end of his *ninety* years. We repeat, that we have rarely read a more entertaining and instructive biography.

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(5.) "*A Treatise on Marine and Naval Architecture; or, Theory and Practice blended in Ship-Building*, by JOHN W. GRIFFITHS." This is a large quarto serial, beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. Its aim is to furnish a clear analytical work on Ship-building, "embracing all that is known to be of practical utility, both in the old and in the new world." Mr. Griffiths is himself well known as an able architect, and we have no doubt he will fulfil all that he promises. The work is recommended also by many of the best ship-builders of this city. It is to be completed in twelve numbers, of thirty-two pages each, at seventy-five cents each. Five numbers have already appeared.

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(6.) THE third and fourth parts of "*Southey's Common-Place Book*, edited by his son-in-law, J. W. Warter, B. D.," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1850,) are before us. The two parts constitute the second and last volume of the whole work. In this volume the extracts are classified under the heads of Theology and Ecclesiastical subjects; Spanish and Portuguese Literature; The Middle Ages; Notes for the History of the Religious Orders; Orientalia;

American Tribes; Remarkable Facts in Natural History; and Curious Facts. Of Southey's omnivorous capacities as a reader we have before spoken; the present volume gives an additional proof of his indomitable industry. Of the whole collection it is our purpose to speak hereafter.

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(7.) THE laborious industry of Dr. CHALMERS was well known during his life; but the successive publication of volume after volume of his posthumous works, makes us marvel at the energy of his mind, and the ceaseless activity with which he must have plied his work. We have now before us the *ninth* volume of the posthumous works, (New-York: Harpers, 1850; 12mo., pp. 554,) containing his "Prelections on Butler's Analogy," which were nearly all written out by Dr. Chalmers himself, in a state fit for publication; his "Lectures on Paley's Evidences of Christianity," and his "Notes on Hill's Divinity." The Prelections on Butler appear to us to be by far the most valuable portion of the volume; and we commend them to all students of the immortal "Analogy." Prefixed to the volume are introductory lectures on "The Use of Text-Books in Theological Education;" and "Advice to Students on the Conduct and Prosecution of their Studies;" each of which contains many valuable and useful hints for students of theology.

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(8.) THOMAS CARLYLE now casts forth his Sibylline utterances in monthly sheets called "*Latter-day Pamphlets*," which are regularly issued here in neat 12mo. form by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, at a price almost nominal. As to the intrinsic value of the wares, men will differ widely. No. I., entitled "*The Present Time*," is little more than an inarticulate wail and reproach on the times and the men of this generation. Carlyle has *no* faith in humanity, as such; nor has he any substitute for it, in the shape of confidence in practical Christianity. Indeed, what *he* deems to be practical Christianity exists nowhere; if it ever did show itself, it has died out long ago. No. II., "*Model Prisons*," is a bitter diatribe against all attempts to soften the rigours of public punishment. Of this pamphlet, however, we have spoken elsewhere in this journal. No. III., "*Downing-street*," is most remarkable for recommending the adoption, in part at least, on the part of the British government, of the American system of appointing cabinet officers;—for such is the substance of the recommendation, though not its form. No. IV. The "*New Downing-street*," we have just received, but have not read.

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(9.) ONE of the most attractive books of the season, and indeed one of the most beautiful ever issued from the American press, is "*The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, by B. J. LOSSING," now issuing in numbers by Messrs. Harper & Brothers. The plan of the work is to notice in detail the various localities made famous by the events of the Revolution, in the order in which they were visited by the eminent artist who prepares the book, and from whose drawings, taken on the spot, it is profusely illustrated. "To delineate

with pen and pencil what is left of the physical features of that period, and thus to rescue from oblivion, before it should be too late, the mementoes which another generation will appreciate," was his employment for several months,—and the result of these genial labours is now placed in a permanent form before the American public. The remembrances of the Revolution are among the surest bonds of union, and the surest pledges of virtue, for the people of these States: and such a work as this, combining high art with pure patriotism and sound morality, deserves a wide diffusion among the people of every part of the land.

(10.) THE tide of writings on the Advent abates a little, both in England and America. The only one which has come under our notice during the quarter is "*Letters on the Prophetic Scriptures*, by Rev. EDWARD WINTHROP, M. A." (New-York: Franklin Knight, 18mo., pp. 175.) The work comes with very strong recommendations from Bishops M'Ilvaine and Hopkins—implying their full reception of the doctrines it sets forth. The author is obviously a sincere and earnest man; and, like all writers of his school, he has the most undoubting confidence in the correctness of his theory of Scriptural interpretation. In the preface he states that Bishop M'Ilvaine characterizes his exposition of 2 Thess. ii, 8, as "wholly unanswerable;" and in this opinion he seems fully to coincide with the good bishop. We regret to see him falling into the very error which he deprecates in the following passage:—"Such men will be held in everlasting remembrance, when the sciolists of the day, who sneer at what they lack wisdom to understand or patience to investigate, are forgotten and disregarded." We do not mean to sneer at Mr. Winthrop; but he will very probably class us with the "sciolists" when we assure him that we have read his book and remain unconvinced. Yet we recommend it to those who wish an introduction to the pre-millennial theory, as a well-written and clear exposition thereof.

(11.) No books are more attractive to youth than collections of Anecdotes. We well remember how, in childhood, we read and re-read the "Percy Anecdotes;" and in this experience there are thousands like us. But the Percy Anecdotes were not a religious collection; the charm and the delight were not associated always with the purest virtue. We have now before us an admirable selection, entitled, "*Anecdotes for the Young, or Principles illustrated by Facts*," compiled by Rev. DANIEL SMITH. (New-York: Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 436.) Not only is the selection good, but the arrangement of the stories is such, that they afford a connected series of illustrations of morality and manners; and the size, form, and price of the volume are all in harmony with its object. The work will be widely diffused, and will deserve it. Every Sunday-school library should be furnished with a copy.

(12.) WE have received the *second* volume of Messrs. Phillips, Sampson & Co.'s neat and cheap edition of Gibbon's Rome. The whole is to be completed in six volumes, with a new and copious index.

(13.) EVERY student of natural science knows the use of such a volume as the "Year-Book of Facts," and similar scientific annuals published in Europe. We have now to announce—and we make the announcement with unfeigned pleasure—an American work of this class, which is perhaps more thorough and complete than any of those published in Europe. It is "*The Annual of Scientific Discovery, a Year-book of Facts in Science and Art*, edited by DAVID A. WELLS and GEORGE BLISS, Jun." (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1850: 12mo., pp. 392.) The scope of the book is very extensive, as it exhibits the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics and the Useful Arts, in all the Natural Sciences, and in Antiquities, together with lists of new scientific publications, lists of patents, obituaries of eminent scientific men, and other important matters. Every care has been bestowed upon the work: and "nearly all that is new and important" in the recent scientific journals of this country and of Europe is embodied in it. The work is to be an *annual*, if this first volume is sufficiently sold; and we trust that we shall see many successive issues of it. Certainly it only needs to be known in order to be approved.

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(14.) "*Cuba and the Cubans, comprising a History of Cuba, its present Social, Political, and Domestic Condition, &c.*" By the author of "Letters from Cuba." (New-York: S. Hueston, 12mo., pp. 251.) This book is a compilation of various matter. Its aim is to prepare the public mind of America for the *annexation of Cuba;* but the writer shows his hand far too plainly to gain the ear of the intelligent and religious classes of our people. What inducements to annexation does he afford, by telling us that the free population of Cuba amounts to 571,129, while the whole number of children at school is 9,082! He gives a fearful account of the moral and social condition of the Cubans, and then asks us to take this festering mass into the circulation of our own national life! With great imprudence he tells us the reason why some of the Southern leaders work night and day for the admission of Cuba into the Federal Union,—that Cuba, "with her *thirteen or fifteen representatives in Congress*, would be a powerful auxiliary to the South."

Much has been said of late with regard to the depreciation of property in the British West Indies since the emancipation of the slaves. If this book is good authority, the same process is going on rapidly in Cuba, notwithstanding the annual importation of slaves from Africa. "An estate which, eight years ago, might be sold for $100,000, would not at this day command $25,000. A negro who could then have been purchased for $500, is at the present time to be had for $300." It seems, then, that the slave-trade is not the sovereign panacea that some of our *American* political economists would have us believe.

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(15) "*The Optimist*, by HENRY T. TUCKERMAN," (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 12mo., pp. 273,) is a series of graceful and gentlemanly essays—in the form of the old school with the spirit of the new. Good sense and good taste are their chief characteristics—precisely the qualities essential to good essay-writing.

(16.) "*Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations; with a Sketch of their Popular Poetry*, by TALVJ, with a Preface by Edward Robinson, D. D., LL. D., &c." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850, 12mo., pp. 412.) A work like this should not be despatched in a mere notice. Nor, indeed, are we prepared to characterize it with any critical judgment. We receive it as we would receive first tidings from a newly-discovered land; so few and so unsatisfactory have been our sources of information with regard to the intellectual culture, the languages and the literature "of a population amounting to nearly or quite seventy millions—or more than three times as great as that of the United States." There is good reason to believe that the whole race spoke in ancient times only one language—but where, and when, cannot be decided. But different dialects of this tongue are the modes of human speech in that vast region of the earth's surface reaching from Kamschatka to the Elbe, and from the Frozen Ocean to the Adriatic. To most of our readers, doubtless, as to ourselves, the literature of these central regions of the old world has been heretofore a *terra incognita*. It can be so no longer. The work before us, modestly offered as a mere "sketch or outline," is more valuable to us just now than a repertory would be,—indeed, *it is* a repertory, most conveniently arranged too, of rare and strange things. The author has had opportunities for the preparation of such a work not before enjoyed, to our knowledge, by any writer in the English language,—several years' residence in Russia, with subsequent advantages for an "extensive study of the Servian dialect and its budding literature." That these advantages were well used, the book before us affords ample proof. We now commend it earnestly to our readers, as opening a new and rich mine—and shall ourselves seek to return to it at an early day.

(17.) ONE of the most attractive works for children and youth that we have seen for a long time is "*The Three Royal Magi, or The Journey to Bethlehem*, translated, altered, &c., by C. E. BLUMENTHAL, A. M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College." (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins: 18mo., pp. 192.) It is a beautiful apologue, founded upon the visit of the wise men to Bethlehem, under the guidance of the star, and their worship of the infant Saviour. Much license is used in the framing of the story, but the spirit is that of a pure, child-like trust in the "oracles of God." We read it some time ago with great pleasure; and are now glad to see it in a translation which, in many respects, is an *improvement* of the original.

(18.) MR. ABBOTT'S series of Histories has established itself so fully in the esteem of the public, that little more is required of us than to chronicle its successive issues. The last, and in some respects the best, is the "*History of Cyrus the Great*," (18mo., pp. 289: Harper & Brothers.) The subject is full of interest for young readers, and Mr. Abbott has thrown even more than his usual life and spirit into the narrative. This series of books is admirably adapted for school readings.

(19.) A NEW edition of "*Facts and Evidences on the Subject and Mode of Christian Baptism*, by C. TAYLOR, Editor of Calmet's Dictionary," has lately been published. (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 12mo., pp. 236.) The book is fragmentary rather than scientific, but contains a great deal of information on the general subject.

(20.) IN a former number we furnished our readers with an extended review of Lynch's "Expedition to the Dead Sea." The work has met with unexampled success: and the publishers have now issued it in cheap form, under the title of "*Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, condensed edition." (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 12mo., pp. 332.) The reading matter of this edition is nearly the same as that of the larger one; and it contains a carefully reduced map.

(21.) MESSRS. APPLETONS have sent us a neat duodecimo volume of Selections of French Poetry for the use of Schools, under the title of "*Choix de Poésies pour les Jeunes Personnes*, par Mme. A. COUTON." (12mo., pp. 329.) As far as we are able to judge, the selection is made with taste and judgment.

(22.) "*Elements of Chemistry, for the Use of Schools*, by JOHN JOHNSTON, M. A., Professor of Natural Science in the Wesleyan University." (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co., 12mo., pp. 383.) This book is intended for elementary instruction in schools, and is, in part, an abridgment of the author's larger work, which has been so generally introduced into the American colleges. It is characterized by clearness of statement, and by judicious discrimination in the choice of topics and in the extent of their discussion. It is brought up to the latest improvements of the science, and will take its place at once, we should think, as *the* text-book for use in the better class of schools and academies.

(23.) THE Hungarian revolution is yet in many respects unintelligible. Perhaps the time has not yet come for a clear and just account of it. A contribution to its outside history is afforded in "*Outlines of the Prominent Circumstances attending the Hungarian Struggle*, by JOHANN PRAGAY." (New-York: G. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo., pp. 176.) The writer was a colonel and adjutant-general in the Hungarian army, under Kossuth, and therefore had good opportunities, not only of knowing the facts, but also of understanding the principles involved in the struggle. Much interest is added to the work by an appendix, containing a series of brief biographical sketches of the leading statesmen and generals who took part in the revolution.

(24.) WE are glad to see that John Angell James' "*Earnest Ministry*," which we noticed at some length in a former number, has reached a *fourth* American edition. (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 12mo., pp. 298.)

(25.) MESSRS. HARPERS have republished "*Cosmos: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, by ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT:" (2 vols. 12mo., 1850.) The translation adopted is that of Otté, which has some advantages over Mr. Sabine's, especially in presenting the original work complete, in offering some additional notes, and in giving English equivalents of weights and measures. To attempt to characterize the work itself in a mere notice would be folly. Bunsen styles it the "great work of the age,"—and as a condensation of the wisdom of a man who has been for more than half a century observing nature, with powers of observation rarely granted to a mortal, it is well deserving of the title.

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(26.) "*The Letters of Junius*" are about the only political *pamphlets* which may be said to be necessary to every library. Mr. Bohn, of London, has lately issued, as part of his "Standard Library," the first volume of an edition, which will probably be the best, as it is certainly the cheapest, that has yet appeared. It contains the Letters by the same writer under other signatures, his confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Woodfall. It is, in fact, a reprint of Woodfall's complete edition, with careful revision, and some additions by the present editor, Mr. John Wade. The second volume will attempt to set at rest the question of the *authorship* of Junius, and will also contain some additional matter from the manuscripts of the late Sir Harris Nicholas.

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(27.) MR. BOHN has also published, in his "Scientific Library," a translation of HUMBOLDT'S Ansichten der Natur, under the title of "*Views of Nature: or, Contemplations on the Sublime Phenomena of Creation; with scientific illustrations*, translated by E. C. Otté and Henry G. Bohn." (12mo., pp. 452.) In the preface to the third German edition, (from which the present is translated,) the venerable and world-renowned author says: "In my eightieth year I have the gratification of completing a third edition of my work, and entirely remoulding it to suit the wants of the age. I have indulged a hope of stimulating the study of nature, by compressing into the smallest possible compass the numerous results of careful inquiry into many interesting subjects, with a view to check the dogmatic smattering and fashionable skepticism which have too long prevailed in the so-called higher circles of society." For this task no living man is so well prepared, both by personal observation and by immense knowledge. The work (with all the excellent books in Mr. Bohn's libraries) can always be had of Messrs. Bangs, Platt, & Co., New-York.

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(28.) "*Mahomet and his Successors*, by WASHINGTON IRVING." (Vol. II. New-York, G. P. Putnam: 12mo., pp. 500.) This second volume traces the progress of the Moslem dominion from the death of Mahomet, A. D. 622, to the invasion of Spain, A. D. 710,—a period of less than ninety years,—within which "the Moslems extended their empire and their faith over the wide regions of Asia and Africa, subverting the empire of the Khosius; subjugating

great territories in India; establishing a splendid seat of power in Syria; dictating to the conquered kingdom of the Pharaohs; overrunning the whole northern coast of Africa; scouring the Mediterranean with their ships; carrying their conquests in one direction to the very walls of Constantinople, and in another to the extreme limits of Mauritania; in a word, trampling down all the old dynasties which once held haughty and magnificent sway in the East." The subject is one admirably adapted to Irving's genius; and he has wrought it into a most pleasing and instructive narrative for all readers. The work would be the better for an Index.

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(29.) A NUMBER of new Sunday-school books, of high merit, have appeared during the quarter, under the editorship of Rev. D. P. Kidder, (published by Lane & Scott, 200 Mulberry-street.) Among them are "*The Atmosphere and Atmospherical Phenomena*, by T. DICK, LL. D." Compilations of this class have made Dr. Dick's name famous; and the present is a very judicious one. It sets forth (in Part I.) the nature, properties, and beneficial effects of the Atmosphere in the system of nature; and (in Part II.) of the various atmospheric phenomena,—clouds, winds, meteors, &c.—Another very timely work is "*The Life of Ulric Zwingle, the Swiss Reformer*, by Rev. D. WISE," (18mo., pp. 227.) A compact life of this great reformer has long been wanted, and Mr. Wise has done the work very judiciously. The "*Sunday-Scholar's Mirror*" is beautifully bound, with gilt edges, (18mo., pp. 288.) Our readers who are acquainted with this work, know that it abounds in attractive and useful reading for children.—"*Be Diligent*" is a pretty piece of biography, illustrating the maxim which forms its title, (18mo., pp. 107.)—"*Work to Do*," (18mo., pp. 73,) is an account of a lazy and wicked boy who became diligent and pious. It lays down the lesson that we must not only be willing to work, but "to do the right kind of work,—the work that God appoints."—Another small and very neat 18mo. of the same class, is "*Written Pictures; or, Short Talks to Young People*, by a Teacher."—Of a larger class is a very excellent sketch of the history of "*The Crusades*," (18mo., pp. 224,) a reprint of one of the valuable publications of the London Religious Tract Society.

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(30.) WE have just received a copy of a new record of Missionary labours and successes, entitled, "*Friendly and Feejee Islands: a Missionary Visit to various Stations in the South Seas, in the Year* 1847, by Rev. WALTER LAWRY." (London, 12mo., pp. 303.) The work is edited by Rev. ELIJAH HOOLE, one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Mr. Lawry is the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Society's Missions in New-Zealand, and Visitor of the Missions in the Friendly Islands and Feejee Islands.

This Missionary, now truly venerable by age and services, proceeded to New South Wales in the year 1817, with the hope of communicating religious instruction to the settlers and convicts, and to the native inhabitants of that country. In 1820 he was appointed to commence a Mission in the Friendly

Islands; he found an opportunity of proceeding to Tonga, or, as it is often called, Tonga-tabu, in June, 1822; and he remained on the island exposed to many privations, and to dangers and anxieties innumerable, until November, 1823, when he returned to New South Wales.

After an absence of nearly twenty-five years, he has again had an opportunity of visiting the Friendly Islands, now no longer idolatrous and uncivilized, but converted to the faith of Christ; and the interest of the Journal, now first published separate and entire, is greatly heightened by the remarkable contrast he witnessed in the character and state of the people when compared with their savage and Pagan condition. The account he gives of the remarkable power of Gospel truth among the miserable savages inhabiting the Feejee Islands is full of interest. The work is illustrated by a number of wood-cuts, and by a map of the Feejee and Friendly Islands in the South Pacific, which is pronounced by Mr. Hoole to be the most perfect one yet published, "having been corrected by Captain Buck, who has added the results of his own observations to the valuable information furnished by Commodore Wilkes, who surveyed the islands for the government of the United States of America." An Appendix gives notices of the political constitution, population, productions, manners, customs, and mythology of the people, and of the state of religion among them.

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(31.) MESSRS. LANE & SCOTT have issued a third edition of DR. DIXON'S "*Personal Narrative of a Tour through a part of the United States and Canada: with Notices of the History and Institutions of Methodism in America,*" containing the FIFTH PART, which was omitted in the former American editions. This omission was thought to be amply justified by the fact, that, out of the 106 pages which that Part contained, between 80 and 90 consisted of extracts from American documents. But additional reasons were not wanting. From Dr. Dixon's own statements, as well as from the whole tenor of his quotations, it is apparent that he was not in a position to write intelligently upon the subject. His reading has been confined, almost entirely, to one side of the question, and the result is as might have been expected. It appears that he had never seen even the *Journal* of the General Conference of 1844 when he wrote, and knew nothing of any documents bearing on the question, except such as the compilers of the "History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," chose to incorporate in that work!

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(32.) WE had intended to give a somewhat extended article on "*Memorials of Prison Life*, by Rev. JAMES B. FINLEY," (Cincinnati, Swormstedt & Power, 12mo., pp. 350,) but find ourselves reluctantly compelled to omit it. It must suffice now to say, that although the work professes to be little more than a simple narrative of facts, we have gathered from it as much light upon the true *principles* of prison discipline as from any single volume we have ever read. We commend it to our readers, moreover, as a book the interest of which never flags from the beginning to the end. (For sale by Lane & Scott.)

## Art. X.—MISCELLANIES.

[Under this title we purpose to publish, from time to time, short articles, either original, or selected from foreign journals, on topics of Biblical Literature and Theology. We shall also admit brief *letters*, from any who may be disposed to question statements of fact, doctrine, or interpretation found in the pages of this Journal.

### I.

### *On "the Second Sabbath after the First"*

[By J. Von Gumpach. From the Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1849.]

Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπείνασαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τίλλειν στάχυας καὶ ἐσθίειν.—Matt. xii, 1.

Καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων κ. τ. λ.—Mark ii, 23.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων κ. τ. λ.—Luke vi, 1.

It not unfrequently occurs, in the three first Gospels, that the sacred writers differ from each other as to the more or less concise terms which they individually employ to express the same common import; and that the one particularizes what is stated by the two others in a more general manner—a variance of which the passages submitted to the attention of our readers furnish a striking illustration. Whilst both St. Matthew and St. Mark relate the incident mentioned to have taken place on one of those Sabbath days on which at that time our Lord, accompanied by his disciples, used to take a walk through the corn-fields, St. Luke states it to have happened ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ. The meaning of this, evidently a technical term, which occurs in no other place, has from the days of the early Fathers been subject to various interpretations; numerous conjectures having been formed in regard to it, some of them remarkable for their peculiarity, none, however, for either a rational or a plausible character. The only point upon which the majority of, if not all, critics are agreed, is, the Greek word δευτερόπρωτος conveys generally the sense of "the first in reference to a second." In conformity with this opinion, Scaliger (*Emend. temp.*, p. 557) asserted our σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον to be the first Sabbath reckoned from the second day in Passover, (מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, Levit. xxiii, 11;) and Lightfoot (*ad Matt.* xii, 2) having adopted the same view, it derived much additional strength from his authority, and has since maintained itself, almost to the exclusion of every other hypothesis. By Van Til and Wetstein the σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον was assumed to be the first Sabbath of the second month, (Ijar;) and by Capellus and Rhenfeld the first Sabbath in the year from the date of its second epoch, the Jews commencing their ecclesiastical year with the month of Nisan, and their civil year with the month of Tishri. Others have ascribed to our expression the meaning of the first of two succeeding Sabbaths, or that of the first Sabbath in the second year of the sabbatical cyclus. Others again have proposed still different interpretations.

Whatever may be the relative merit of these various conjectures, they are not only unsupported by real argument, but, in our judgment, are moreover irreconcilable with the sacred text itself, inasmuch as they represent the Jewish year to include but one σάββ. δευτερ., whilst the words of the Evangelists most clearly imply that those festival days were of at least not unfrequent occurrence. In the former

case St. Luke ought to, and undoubtedly would, have written *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*.

The reason why every attempt at a natural and satisfactory explanation of the sentence under consideration has hitherto proved unsuccessful, would seem to us to be, that the term *δευτερόπρωτος* has, *à priori*, been taken to contain a chronological element, without any inquiry as to whether there be the very slightest ground for such an assumption. In our opinion there is not. Supposing even the *σάββ. δευτερ.* might be shown to correspond, in our parlance, to the first Sunday in a leap-year, or to the first or second Sunday after the Epiphany or after Trinity, what could possibly have been the object of the sacred writer in making mention of such a circumstance? The essential question was and is, whether the disciples of our Lord *did transgress the law at all;* not whether they did transgress it in a leap-year or in a common year, or on a first or second Sunday after Trinity. That question St. Luke negatives at the very outset of his narration; and yet upon its silent affirmation theologians and commentators ever have insisted, and still do insist.

According, namely, to the Jewish law, (Exod. xxi, 14; *Mishna*, *tr. Sabb.* vii, 1; *Sanhed.* vii, 8, &c.,) observed in all its rigour at the time of our Lord, the plucking and rubbing of ears of corn on the Sabbath, both as being a preparation of food and an unnecessary exercise of the body, undoubtedly constituted an offence punishable with death. But that the disciples had, at all events, not (as must be admitted by those who hold the *σάββ. δευτερ.* to be a Sabbath proper) rendered themselves culpable of so serious a transgression, is proved by the very nature of the charge brought against them, the Pharisees simply asking, "Why do ye that *which it is not permitted to do* on Sabbath-days?" True, the Authorized Version renders the words *ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν* of the text, "that *which it is not lawful to do*," but erroneously so, as will become apparent when it is remembered, that the Talmudic treatise on the Sabbath contains a long and tedious list of works prohibited and permitted to be done on that day, and to the latter class of which the subtile and casuistical question of the Pharisees evidently refers. If the occurrence had taken place on a Sabbath proper, the transgression of the disciples could have admitted of no doubt; and the Pharisees, having a legal accusation to prefer against them, would hardly, though met by the striking counter-question of our Lord, have evinced a forbearance not only in dissonance with their public character, but, moreover, with their public duty. St. Luke, therefore, as already intimated, rebuts their charge at once as a groundless imputation, by premising that the day of the incident was a Sabbath of second rank, on which the law freely and positively did permit the censured act, (Exod. xii, 16; *Mishna*, tr. Megilla, i, 8.)

Thus we take the simple meaning of *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* to be a "Sabbath of second rank," in assigning to *πρῶτος* the sense of "the highest or the best of its kind," in which it occurs in numerous passages of the New Testament, and translating the words *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ* of St. Luke literally, "And it came to pass on a second-rate Sabbath," or freely, "And it came to pass on one of the minor high-feastdays." Such a day is by the Talmudists called יום טוב, and its observances differed but little from those of the Sabbath proper, excepting that on the former the preparation of every kind of food was permitted, and that it was altogether not quite so rigorously kept as the day of Jehovah, (*Jer. Gem.* tr. *Jevam.*, viii, 4.)

The correctness of our view in regard to this much-discussed passage, imparting, as it does, to the latter a clear and forcible motive, and placing the imputed transgression of the disciples in its true light, is, we venture to think, so striking in itself as to require no further proof. Still we may as well here adduce what little evidence

remains in support of our interpretation. The Pharisees asking the disciples, "Why do ye that which it is not permitted to do ἐν τοῖς σάββασι?" the use of the plural form of σάββ. in this connexion seems to us to pointedly indicate that the Sabbath proper is not meant; for if so, the Pharisees could not but have said ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ. St. Matthew certainly has ἐν σαββάτῳ for ἐν τοῖς σάββασι; but this construction, so far from impairing, tends materially to strengthen our argument, because σάββατον, without the definite article, being, in the days of our Lord, a common term for high-feastday *and* Sabbath, (which may be satisfactorily proved from Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvi, 6, 2,) the use of the definite article, as a natural consequence, became indispensable whenever the Sabbath proper, *as distinguished from* a high-feastday, was to be expressed, (comp. St. Luke vi, 7.) St. Matthew, therefore, by evidently avoiding the definite article, shows that he was not speaking of the שבת. In conclusion, we may add that also the general terms of the Gospel narratives are highly unfavourable to the supposition of the related occurrence having taken place on a Sabbath, inasmuch as on that day it was unlawful for the Jews to go beyond a Sabbath-day's journey, (Acts i, 12,) a short distance of between five-eighths and three-fourths of an English mile, (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, xx, 8, 6; *Wars*, v, 2, 3,) from the confines of their habitation, or from the walls of Jerusalem, (*Gem.* tr. *Eruvin*, iv, 42.)

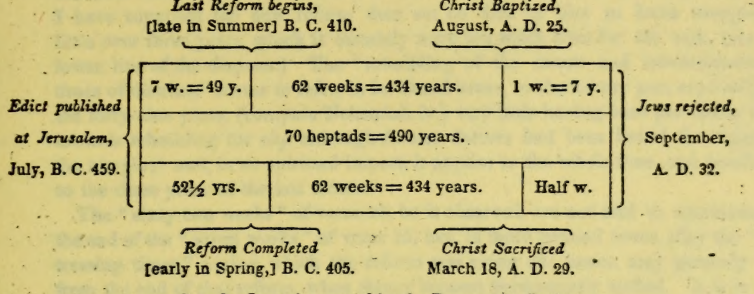
Among the strongest proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred writings of the New Testament are to be numbered the difficulties they present. In most cases, however, as in the present instance, those difficulties may be solved by viewing and attentively considering them in connexion with the leading feature of the narrative, of which they stand part, and by bringing to bear upon them a sufficient amount of that knowledge of the constitution at the period of Jewish life and society with which the Evangelists suppose their readers to be familiar. Not unfrequently, therefore, it may happen that the true import of some Scriptural passage appears to us obscure and difficult, merely because it was judged by the writer so self-evident as to require no explanation.

## II.

## *Identification of the Historical Periods comprised within the "Seventy Weeks" in Daniel* ix, 24–27.

SEVENTY heptads are decreed [to transpire] upon thy nation, and upon thy holy city, for [entirely] closing the [punishment of] sin, and for sealing up [the retributive sentence against their] offences, and for expiating guilt, and for bringing in [the state of] perpetual righteousness, and for sealing up [the verification of] vision and prophet, and for anointing Holy of Holies. And thou shalt know and consider, [that] from [the time of] a command occurring for returning and building [*i. e.*, for rebuilding] Jerusalem, till [the coming of] Messiah prince, [shall intervene] seven heptads, and sixty and two heptads; [its] street shall return and be built, [*i. e.*, shall be rebuilt,] and [its] fosse, and [that] in distress of the times. And after the sixty and two heptads Messiah shall be cut off, and nothing [shall be left] to him; and people of the coming prince shall destroy the city and the holy [building,] and his end [of fighting shall come] with [*or*, like] a flood, and until the end of warring [shall occur the] decreed desolations. And he shall establish a covenant toward many [persons during] one heptad, and [at the] middle of the heptad he shall cause to cease sacrifice and offering; and upon [the topmost] corner [of the temple shall be reared] abominations [*i. e.*, idolatrous images] of [the] desolator, and [that] till completion, and a decreed [one] shall pour out upon [the] desolator.

I have been unable to satisfy myself of the consistency of any interpretation of this remarkable prophecy that I have met with, and would therefore propose a new elucidation, in accordance with the preceding literal translation and the following diagram; in doing which I need not dwell upon the minor peculiarities of phraseology.


Last Reform begins,
[late in Summer] B. C. 410.
Christ Baptized,
August, A. D. 25.
Edict published at Jerusalem, July, B. C. 459.
7 w. = 49 y.
62 weeks = 434 years.
1 w. = 7 y.
70 heptads = 490 years.
52½ yrs.
62 weeks = 434 years.
Half w.
Jews rejected, September, A. D. 32.
Reform Completed
[early in Spring,] B. C. 405.
Christ Sacrificed
March 18, A. D. 29.

*Sequel.*—Jerusalem razed by the Romans, A. D. 70.

In verse 24 we have a general view of the last great period of the Jewish Church, (see the middle line in the *diagram.*) It was to embrace four hundred and ninety years, from their permanent release from Babylonian bondage, till the time when God would cast them finally off for their incorrigible unbelief.* Within this space Jehovah would fulfil what he had predicted, and accomplish all his designs respecting them under their special relation. The particulars noted in this cursory survey are, first, the conclusion of the then existing exile, (expressed in three variations, of which the last phrase, "expiating guilt," explains the two former, "closing the sin" and "sealing up offences;") next, the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, by ushering in the religious prosperity of Gospel times; and, lastly, as the essential feature, the consecration of the Messiah to his redeeming office.

The only "command" answering to that of verse 25, is that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, issued in the seventh year of his reign, and recorded in the seventh chapter of Ezra, as Prideaux has abundantly shown, and as most critics agree. At this time, also, more Jews returned to their home than at any other, and the literal as well as spiritual "rebuilding of Jerusalem" was prosecuted with unsurpassed vigour. The period here referred to extends "*till* the Messiah," (see the upper line of the *diagram;*) that is, as far as his public recognition as such by the Voice at his baptism, the "anointing" of the previous verse; and not to his *death,*—as is commonly supposed, but which is afterward referred to in very different language,—nor to his *birth,*—which would make the entire compass of the prophecy vary much from four hundred and ninety years. The period of this verse is divided into two portions of "seven heptads" and "sixty-two heptads," as if the "command" from which it dates were renewed at the end of the first portion; and this we find was the case. Ezra, under whom this reformation of the State and religion began, was succeeded in the work by Nehemiah, who, having occasion to return to Persia in the twenty-

* I lay no stress upon the circumstance that the Hebrew term here employed for "weeks," is not in the usual feminine form שָׁבֻעוֹת, but has the masculine termination of the plural שָׁבֻעִים; for this latter form also occurs elsewhere (as with Daniel himself, ch. x, 2, et al.) in the undeniable sense of a simple *hebdomad* of seven days. The sense of a cycle of seven *years* is here required by the tenor of the whole passage, which speaks of events not to be found within the compass of a year and a half.

fifth year after the commencement of the work, (Neh. xiii, 6,) returned "after certain days," and found that it had so far retrograded that he was obliged to institute it anew. The length of his stay at court is not given, but it must have been considerable to allow so great a backsliding among the lately reformed Jews. Prideaux contends that his return to Judea was after an absence of twenty-four years;* and I have supposed the new reform then set on foot by him to have occupied a little over three years, which is certainly none too much time for the task, (see the lower line of the *diagram.*) The "rebuilding of the streets and intrenchments in times of distress," seems to refer, in its literal sense, to the former part especially of the forty-nine years, (compare Nehemiah iv,) very little having been previously done towards rebuilding the *city*, although former decrees had been issued for repairing the temple;† and, in its spiritual import, it applies to the whole time, and peculiarly to the three years of the last reform.

The "sixty-two weeks" of verse 26, be it observed, are not said to commence at the end of the "seven weeks" of verse 25, but, in more general terms, after the "distressing times" during which the reform was going on; hence, they properly date from the end of that reform, when things became permanently settled. It is in consequence of a failure to notice this variation in the limits of the two periods of sixty-two weeks referred to by the prophet, (compare the middle portions of the upper and of the lower line in the *diagram,*) that critics have thrown the whole scheme of this prophecy into disorder, in applying to the same event such irreconcilable language as is used in describing some of its different elements. By the ravaging invasion of foreigners here foretold, is manifestly intended the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman troops, whose emperor's son, Titus, is here styled a "prince" in command of them. The same allusion is also clear from the latter part of the following verse. But this event must not be included within the seventy weeks: because, in the first place, the accomplishment would not sustain such a view,—from the decree. B. C. 459, to the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, being five hundred and twenty-eight years; secondly, the language of verse 24 does not require it,—as it is not embraced in the purposes for which the seventy weeks are there stated to be appointed to Jerusalem and its inhabitants; and, lastly, the Jews then no longer formed a link in the chain of ecclesiastical history in the Divine sense,—Christian believers having become the true descendants of Abraham. At the close of the verse we have the judgments with which God would afflict the Jews for cutting off the Messiah: these would be so severe, that the prophet (or, rather, the angel instructing him) cannot refrain from introducing them here, in connexion with that event, although he afterward adverts to them in their proper order. What these sufferings were, Josephus narrates with a minuteness that chills the blood, affording a wonderful coincidence with the prediction of Moses in Deut. xxviii, 15–68; they are here called a "flood," the well-known Scripture emblem of terrible political calamities, (as in Isa. viii, 7, 8; Dan. xi, 10, 22; Nah. i, 8.)

Verse 27 has given the greatest trouble to critics of any in the whole passage; and, indeed, the common theory, by which the seventy weeks are made to end with the crucifixion, is flatly contradicted by the cessation of the daily sacrificial offerings at

* See the arguments in his Connexion, sub anno 409. I place the whole prophecy a year earlier.

† Namely, by Cyrus, the Medo-Persian conqueror of the Babylonians, who thus put an end to the "seventy years' captivity," B. C. 536, as in Ezra i, 1; and by Darius Hystaspes,—the Ahasuerus of Esther and of Ezra iv, 6,—who renewed Cyrus's decree, rescinding its prohibition by his immediate predecessor Cambyses, B. C. 518.

the temple, "in the middle of the week." All attempts to crowd aside this point are in vain; for such an abolition could not be said to occur in any pertinent sense before the offering of the Great Sacrifice, especially as Jesus himself, during his ministry, always countenanced their celebration. Besides, the advocates of this scheme are obliged to make this last "week" encroach upon the preceding "sixty-two weeks," so as to include John the Baptist's ministry, in order to make out seven years for "confirming the covenant;" and when they have done this, they run counter to the previous explicit direction, which makes the first sixty-nine weeks come down "*to* the Messiah," and not end at John. By means of the double line of dates exhibited in the above *diagram*, all this is harmoniously adjusted; and at the same time the only satisfactory interpretation is retained, that after the true Atonement, these typical oblations ceased to have any meaning or efficacy, although before it they could not consistently be dispensed with, even by Christ and his Apostles.

The seventy weeks, therefore, were allotted to the Jews as their only season of favour or mercy as a Church, and we know that they were not immediately cast off upon their murder of Christ, (see Luke xxiv, 27; Acts iii, 12–26.) The gospel was specially directed to be first preached to them; and not only during our Saviour's personal ministry, but for several years afterward, the invitations of grace were confined to them. The first instance of a "turning to the Gentiles" proper, was the baptism of the Roman centurion Cornelius, during the fourth year after the resurrection of Christ. In this interval the Jewish people had shown their determined opposition to the New "Covenant," by imprisoning the Apostles, stoning Stephen to death, and officially proscribing Christianity through their Sanhedrim: soon after this martyrdom, occurred the conversion of Saul, who "was a chosen vessel to bear God's name to the Gentiles:" and about two years after this event, the door was thrown wide open for their admission into the covenant relation of the Church, instead of the Jews, by the vision of Peter and the conversion of Cornelius. Here we find a marked epoch, fixed by the finger of God in all the miraculous circumstances of the event, as well as by the formal apostolical decree, ratifying it, and obviously forming the great turning-point between the two dispensations. We find no evidence that "many" of the Jews embraced Christianity after this period, although they had been converted in great numbers on several occasions under the Apostles' preaching, not only in Judea, but also in Galilee, and even among the semi-Jewish inhabitants of Samaria; the Jews had now rejected Christ as a nation with a tested and incorrigible hatred, and having thus disowned their God, they were forsaken by him, and devoted to destruction, as the prophet intimates would be their retribution for that "decision," in which the four hundred and ninety years of this their second and last probation in the Promised Land would result. It is thus strictly true, that Christ personally and by his Apostles "established the covenant," which had formerly been made, and was now renewed, with *many* of the chosen people, for precisely seven years after his public appearance as a Teacher; in the very *middle* of which space, he superseded forever the sacrificial offerings of the Mosaic ritual by the one perfect and sufficient Offering of his own body on the cross.

In the latter part of this verse we have a graphic outline of the terrible catastrophe that should fall upon the Jews, in consequence of their rejection of the Messiah; a desolation that should not cease to cover them, but by the extinction of the oppressing nation; it forms an appendix to the main prophecy. Our Saviour's language leaves no doubt as to the application of this passage, in his memorable warning to his disciples, that when they should be about to "see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place," they should then "flee into the mountains," (Matt. xxiv, 15, 16; comp. xxiii, 36, 38,) in order

to save themselves from that awful "*consummation*" of ruin, which he also pointed out as the "determined" fate of that impenitent city, after it should have endured the "desolating" ravages of a siege unparalleled in rigour and suffering, besides being "left desolate" by the abandonment of their God. The destined period of fulfilment arrived, and Josephus, who witnessed it, tells us that the standards of the Roman army, who held sacred the shrined silver eagles that surmounted their banners, were actually placed, during the capture, in the temple, opposite the eastern gate, and there sacrificed to. Equally exact, if the view proposed above is correct, are all the specifications of this wonderful prophecy

In the preceding investigation, several chronological points have been partially assumed, which entire satisfaction with the results obtained would require to be fully proved. A minute investigation of the grounds on which all the dates involved rest, would occupy too much space for the present discussion; I shall, therefore, content myself with determining the two boundary dates of the entire period, trusting the intermediate ones to such incidental evidences of their correctness as may have been afforded in the foregoing elucidation, or may arise in connexion with the settlement proposed.* If these widely distant points can be fixed by definite data independently of each other, the correspondence of the *interval* will afford strong presumption that it is the true one, which will be heightened as the subdivisions fall naturally into their prescribed limits; and thus the above coincidence in the character of the *events*, will receive all the confirmation that the nature of the case admits.

1. *The date of the Edict.* I have supposed this to be from the time of its taking effect at Jerusalem, rather than from that of its nominal issue at Babylon; the difference, however,—being only four months,—will not seriously affect the argument. Ezra states, (chap. vii, 8,) that "he arrived at Jerusalem in the fifth month [*Ab*, our July—August] of the seventh year of the king" Artaxerxes. Ctesias, who had every opportunity to know, makes Artaxerxes to have reigned forty-two years, and Thucydides states that an Athenian embassy, sent to Ephesus in the winter that closed the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, was there met with the news of Artaxerxes' death, πυθόμενοι . . . Ἀρταξέρξην . . . νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα, (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν,) Bell. Pelop., iv, 50.) Now this war began in the spring of B. C. 431, as all allow, (Thuc. ii, 2,) and its seventh year expired with the spring of B. C. 424; consequently, Artaxerxes died in the winter introducing that year, and his reign began some time in B. C. 466. This latter historian also states that Themistocles, in his flight to Asia, having been driven by a storm into the Athenian fleet, at that time blockading Naxos, managed to get safely carried away to Ephesus, whence he despatched a letter of solicitation to Artaxerxes, then lately invested with royalty, νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα, (Bell. Pelop., i, 137.) The date of the conquest of that island is B. C. 466, which is, therefore, also that of the Persian king's accession. It is now necessary to fix the *season* of the year in which he became king. If Ctesias means that his reign lasted forty-two *full* years, or a little over rather than under that length, the accession must be dated prior to the beginning of B. C. 466; but it is more in accordance with the usual computation of reigns to give the number of *current* years, if nearly full, and this will bring the date of accession down to about the beginning of summer, B. C. 466. This result is also more in accordance with the simultaneous capture of Naxos, which can hardly

* On these chronological elements, see Browne's Ordo Sæclorum, pp. 202 and 96–107.

have occurred earlier in that year. I may add, that it likewise explains the length assigned to this reign (forty-one years) by Ptolemy, in his Astronomical Canon, although he has misled modern compilers of ancient history by beginning it in B. C. 465, having apparently himself fallen into some confusion, from silently annexing the short intermediate periods of anarchy, sometimes to the preceding, and at others to the ensuing reign. The "seventh year" of Artaxerxes, therefore, began about the summer of B. C. 460, and the "first [Hebrew] month" (Nisan) occurring within that twelvemonth, gives the following March—April of B. C. 459, as the time when Ezra received his commission to proceed to Jerusalem, for the purpose of executing the royal mandate.

2. *The date of the conversion of Cornelius.* The solution of this question will be the determination of the distance of this event from the time of our Saviour's Passion; the absolute date of this latter occurrence must, therefore, first be determined. This is ascertained to have taken place in A. D. 29, by a comparison of the duration of Christ's ministry with the historical data of Luke iii, 1–23; but the investigation is too long to be inserted here. (See Dr. Jarvis's Introduction to the History of the Church.) A ready mode of testing this conclusion is, by observing that this is the only one of the adjacent series of years, in which the calculated date of the equinoctial full moon coincides with that of the Friday of the crucifixion Passover, as any one may see—with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes—by computing the mean lunations and week-day back from the present time. This brings the date of Christ's baptism to A. D. 25; and the whole tenor of the Gospel narratives indicates that this took place in the latter part of summer. Other more definite criteria of the season cannot be specified here.

The chief chronological difficulties of the Acts occur in the arrangement of the events associated with Cornelius's conversion, and arise from the vague notes of time (or, rather, absence of any definite dates) by Luke, between the account of the Pentecostal effusion, (chap. ii, 1,) and the death of Herod Agrippa the elder, (chap. xii, 23;) indeed, but for the periods noted by Paul, in Gal. i, and ii, it would be utterly impossible to adjust minutely the dates of this portion of the history. As it is, the subject is almost abandoned by most chronologers and commentators as hopelessly obscure and uncertain; but there is no occasion for such despair. The death of Herod is ascertained (by the help of Josephus, Antiq. XIX, viii, 2) to have occurred in the early part of the year A. D. 44, between which time and the Pentecost of A. D. 29, is an interval of fifteen years, covered by the incidents contained in chapters ii–xi of the Acts. The visit of Paul, spoken of by him as his second to Jerusalem, (Gal. ii, 1,) is obviously the same with that narrated in Acts ii, 30, since there is no mention of any intervening visit; it was made in company with Barnabus, and the "revelation" (Gal. ii, 2) answers to the prediction of the famine by Agabus, (Acts xi, 28,) which caused the journey. Now it is certain that the date of this visit ("fourteen years after") is not reckoned from that of his former visit, (Gal. i, 18,) for then it would have occurred at least seventeen years (14+3) after his conversion, which would be two years more than the whole interval between this second visit and the Pentecost referred to; it is, therefore, reckoned from his *conversion*, which makes his journey to Damascus, on which he was converted, occur one year (15—14) after this Pentecost. This is corroborated by two ancient ecclesiastical traditions, one of which states that Paul was converted in the year after the Ascension, and the other refers the martyrdom of Stephen (which was so connected with Paul's persecuting journey to Damascus, as not to have preceded it many months) to the close of the same year in which Christ suffered.

Paul's first visit (Gal. i, 18) must naturally be reckoned in like manner from his

conversion, as it is mentioned to show the length of his stay in Damascus and its vicinity, and is put in contrast with his intentional avoidance of Jerusalem on his conversion, (ver. 17;) we have thus the date of this same visit in Acts ix, 26, fixed at A. D. 33, four years after the noted Pentecost. I need not here discuss the length nor precise time of the visit into Arabia, (Gal. i, 17,) nor the exact mode of adjusting this passage with Luke's account in the Acts; these points are capable of easy solution, and do not require the supposition of some intervening visit in either narrative. Neither need I stop to reconcile the mention of travels in Syria (Gal. i, 21) with the sea voyage direct from Cæsarea to Tarsus, (Acts ix, 30;) the visit to Jerusalem occupied only fifteen days, (Gal. i, 18,) and there is nothing here to disturb the above dates.

Most chronological schemes, blindly following the order of Acts ix and x, without taking into special consideration this interval of three years spent by Paul at Damascus, have placed the conversion of Cornelius after that apostle's return to Tarsus, the arrangers being apparently actuated by a desire to fill up the period of fifteen years, by sprinkling the events along as widely apart as possible, for the sake of uniform intervals. But several considerations present themselves to my mind, which cause me to think this arrangement erroneous. In the outset, the question arises on this supposition, What were the other apostles doing these three years? Was nothing going on at Jerusalem or in Judea worth recording? But this interval is not thus left a blank by the sacred historian. Luke says, (Acts ix, 31,) "Then had the churches rest," &c.; that is, as I understand it, during these three years, the persecution stirred up by Saul after the martyrdom of Stephen being arrested by the conversion of that enemy, the Christian societies generally enjoyed great quiet and prosperity. I cannot discover any pertinent cause for this remark, unless we suppose it to refer to the period succeeding this event. The same idea is carried by the mention of the travels of Peter "through all parts," (verse 32,) evidently during this season of outward peace, when his presence was no longer needed to sustain the Church at Jerusalem. It was during this tour that Peter was called to preach the Gospel to Cornelius; the year succeeding the conversion of Saul was probably spent by Peter in building up the society at the metropolis, his tour apparently occupied the summer of the year following; and in the third year Paul, on his visit to Jerusalem, finds Peter returned thither. This affords convenient time for all these occurrences, and connects them in their natural order. Lastly, under this view we can readily explain the plan of Luke's narrative in these chapters: after tracing the history of the Church, (specially under the conduct of Peter,) down to the persecution by Saul, he takes up the subject of this opponent's conversion, and does not quit him until he has left him in quiet at home—hence his omission of all reference to these three years, as being unsuitable to his design of continuity; he then returns to Peter, and narrates his doings in the interim. This parallel method of narration is proved by the resumption of Paul's history in chapter xi, 19, where Luke evidently goes back to the time of Stephen, in order to show what the dispersed evangelists had been accomplishing during the four years succeeding that martyrdom, and thus connect the preaching to the Gentiles with the latter part of that period, (ver. 20;) and this again prepares the way for the visit to Antioch of Paul, who had lately returned to Tarsus.

It is true, in this scheme there is made an interval of ten years between the establishment of the Church at Antioch and the visit of Paul to Jerusalem, about the time of Herod's death; but it is much better to place such an interval, during which no incident of striking moment occurred, after the Gospel had become in a measure rooted in the community, than to intersperse considerable periods of uninteresting

silence in its early planting, when matters which, had they transpired afterward, would be passed by as trivial, were of the greatest importance in the history. Intimations are given of the general prosperity of the cause, and there was no occasion to present the details of this period, until some remarkable event broke the even course of occurrences. Such an event was the visit of Paul, and especially the contemporaneous conduct and fate of Herod; and the latter account is accordingly introduced in the twelfth chapter by the phrase, Κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρόν, always indicative of some fresh occurrence after a period of comparative monotony and silence. Nor is this interval left entirely devoid of incident; it is in fact filled up by the account of the preparation for the famine. It was "during those days," that the prophet Agabus visited Antioch from Jerusalem; some time after his arrival, he predicted the famine, and it is plainly intimated that the fulfilment did not take place immediately, but several years afterward, "in the days of Claudius Cæsar." That emperor, therefore, was not reigning at the time of its utterance, and as the famine took place in the *fourth* year of his reign, (Josephus, Ant. XX. v, 2, compared with i, 2,) there is here an interval of at least four years silently occurring between two closely related incidents of this period. The "whole year," during which Paul preached at Antioch, (Acts xi, 26,) is reckoned from his call thither by Barnabas, but does not extend to his visit to Jerusalem; it only covers his first labours confined to the city itself, (after which he itinerated in the neighbouring regions of Syria, Gal. i, 21,) and extends merely to about the time of the arrival of Agabus.

We thus arrive at the conclusion, based upon internal evidence, that the admission of the Gentiles by the conversion of Cornelius occurred near the close of Peter's summer tour, in A. D. 32; we cannot be far from certainty in fixing it as happening in the month of September of that year.

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## Art. XI.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### Theological.

#### EUROPEAN.

We shall doubtless have hereafter to chronicle the regular publication of *Methodist books* in Germany. Already, under the direction of our missionary, Rev. L. S. Jacoby, an excellent beginning has been made. The books are issued by J. G. Heyse, of Bremen, a publisher of established character, whom we commend to any of our friends who may wish to purchase books in Europe. We have before us, in a neat 12mo. of 144 pages, "*Sammlung auserlesener Predigten von Johannes Wesley, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von W. Nast.* Erster Band." (Bremen. J. G. Heyse, 1850.) This first part contains ten sermons; and the work will be issued in successive parts. The *Hymn-book* has also been issued in a neat 18mo. volume. A number of *tracts*, very neatly printed in 12mo., have been published with Mr. Heyse's imprint; of which we have before us the following, viz: Des Flucher's Gebet; Der Letzte Tag; Meines Freundes Familie; Wass muss ich thun um selig zu werden?; Die Wiedergeburt, von J. W. Fletcher; Betest du mit deiner Familie?; Die wahre Religion; Sonntags-Entheiligung; Was bist du?; Der Sünder und der Erlöser; Der Methodismus, von J. Wesley; Gedenke des Sabbath-Tags; Besitzt die Methodisten-Kirche alle Eigenschaften der wahren Kirche Christi?; Die Glaubensartikel und allgemeinen Regeln der Bischöfl. Methodistenkirche; Lebendiges Christenthum; Der Wahre Christ. The selection is very judiciously made, in view of the state of religion in Germany.

We have just received the first volume of Jacobi's Compendious Church History, (Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte von J. L. Jacobi, a. o. Prof. d. Theol. a. d. Univ. zu

Berlin. Berlin, 8vo., pp. 405.) It has a brief introduction from Neander, in which the venerable historian remarks, that he has long wished to see a Compendium prepared on the basis of his Church History and of his Lectures, and adapted to the use of students. Such a Compendium, he says, is now offered in Jacobi's work, which proceeds from the same view of Christianity and History as that set forth in Neander's own works, and is suited both to the wants of students attending his lectures and also to the general study of theological readers. Nor is it, he proceeds, *merely* a Compendium of his work: Professor Jacobi was not the man for that: but it is a manly and independent working out of the subject on the general principles of Neander. This volume carries the history on to the time of Gregory the Great, (A. D. 590.) After a general introduction, Part I. gives the "History of the Church in the First Three Centuries," treating, first, of the Apostolic Age; secondly, of the period between the Apostolic Age and the end of the persecution by Dioclesian, (A. D. 312.) Part II. extends from the time of Constantine to Gregory the Great, (A. D. 312–590.) Under each of these periods the history is divided into the general heads of, The Relation of the Church to the World; The Development of the Church in its organization, government, &c.; The Christian Life and Christian Worship, and the History of Doctrine. Of course the matter must be greatly condensed: yet the style is readable and the compression is well done. We shall be glad to see the book translated—but should wish the references to be enlarged by citations of English writers, who are too much neglected by our German friends.

Among the multitude of books and pamphlets called forth by the agitation of the Wesleyan body in England, one of the most elaborate is, "*The Principles of Wesleyan Methodism, ascertained by Historical Analysis and defended by Scripture and Reason; an Essay adapted to the Present Times*, by JAMES H. RIGG, Wesleyan Minister," (London: Partridge & Oakey, 18mo., pp. 128.) The Essay is divided into two parts, in the first of which Mr. Rigg endeavours, by an analysis of the history of Wesleyan Methodism, to ascertain the fundamental elements of its polity; while in the second he attempts to justify that polity on the grounds both of Scripture and of reason. Both parts, of course, have a polemical aim against the so-called reformers: but the second is the most important and valuable, as it discusses those elementary questions which lie at the root of the connexional character of Methodism as distinct from Congregationalism. If the book is a fair exponent of the theory of the Conference party, it shows, unhappily, that political questions are wrapped up in the dispute to an extent greater than we had supposed. Mr. Rigg quotes with approbation, from another writer, the sentiment that "God has evidently designed Wesleyan Methodism to grapple with and surmount the evils of popular democracy;" and throughout the book he evidently sympathizes with that sentiment himself.

We continue our statements of the contents of the principal European Theological Journals.

The contents of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for April, 1850, are as follows: I. The Sphere of Sense, according to Aristotle; a contribution to Christian Apologetics, by D. Roth, of Schönthal:—II. On the Development of the Theory of Morals in the Reformed Church, by Dr. Schweitzer, of Zurich: a second article on the subject, carrying the history on from Amyraldus to Wolf. This series of articles will form, when completed, a valuable history of the Moral Philosophy of Germany:—III. The Route of the Israelites from Egypt to the Red Sea; a critical inquiry, by Professor Stickel, of Jena, with a map:—IV. On the Interpretation of Acts x, 35, 36, by E. Pfeiffer:—V. Exposition of Romans v, 6, seq., by J. A. Kunze:—VI. Solomon's Temple, an archæological Review of Bähr's "Salomonische Tempel:"—VIII. A Review of Nevins' "Mystical Presence," by Ebrard:—IX. Church and State (second article) by Dr. Schenkel. Ebrard's review of Nevin is a very favourable one throughout.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Kitto's) for April has the following articles: I. The Life and Writings of Justin Martyr. II. The Length of the Apostle Peter's Residence at Rome. (This is an extract from Mr. Gordon's forthcoming translation of Wieseler's Chronology of the Gospels and of the Apostolic Age. The conclusion at which Wieseler arrives is, that Peter came to Rome between the summer of A. D. 63 and the time of his martyrdom, A. D. 64, so that *the whole period of his labours there could not have extended to one complete year.*) III. The Ignatian Epistles,—a review of Cureton's "Corpus Ignatianum." IV. On

the Hebrew Poetry of the Middle Ages. V. Baptism for the Dead: an Inquiry into the meaning of 1 Cor. xv, 29. VI. First Lessons in Biblical Criticism. VII. Popular Biblical Lectures. VIII. On the Inspiration of the Authors of the Scriptures.

The *Biblical Review* (April, 1850) contains the following articles:—I. On the Evangelical Narrative of the Resurrection of Christ. (This is a specimen of a new Harmony of the Four Gospels, soon to be published by W. Stroud, M. D.) II. Conscience and Revelation; a Review of Newman on the "Soul, her Sorrows and Aspirations." III. Extracts from Lange's *Leben Jesu*, (very badly translated.) IV. A Reply, by Mr. Morell, to Dr. Alliott's Criticisms on his Philosophy of Religion. V. A Laudatory Review of Fletcher's History of Independency. VI. Theodore Parker's Natural Inspiration. VII. Morell's Philosophy of Religion, (second article,) by Dr. Alliott. VIII. Kant's View of the Moral Lesson conveyed in the Vindication of Job.

Dr. Samuel Davidson is preparing a new edition of his "Lectures on Biblical Criticism." The Publisher's Circular states that the whole work is to be rewritten, and a systematic view of the science accurately presented, according to the most recent investigations.

That *all* the skepticism of the present age has its roots in Germany is a notion sufficiently disproved by Parkerism in America, and by such books as Newman on the Soul, and Foxton's Popular Christianity, in England. Still more striking indications are furnished from time to time in the pages of the Westminster Review, which certainly would not give place to such theories were it not sure of the sympathy of many of its readers. We cite the following passages from a very able article on "The Church of England," in the April number. Speaking of future punishment, the writer says:—

"It requires, indeed, no great insight into character to discover, that any reality in this eternal curse and penalty has for some time ceased. In proposing to rescue men from it, the Church makes an offer which no one cares to accept. Have our lay readers ever practically met with a person—not under remorse for actual and heinous sin—who wanted to be delivered from eternal torment? If ever a man does really apprehend such a thing for himself, and wring his hands and fix his eye in wild despair, how do we deal with him? Do we praise the clearness of his moral diagnosis and the logic of his orthodoxy? do we refer him to the font for baptism, or the keys for absolution? No: we send him to the physician rather than the priest; we put cold sponges on his head, and bid his friends look after him. Nor does this doctrine any better bear application to the persons around us than to ourselves. If we sometimes act and speak by it, we never feel and rarely think by it."

Again, in reference to certain modes of presenting the Christian doctrine of atonement:—

"The forensic scheme of vicarious atonement is too probably at variance with the habitual moral sentiments of men, to command the old reverential assent; too manifestly conceived in the artificial style of legal fiction, to suit a people ever eager to ground themselves on some veracious reality. It is useless for the preacher to treat the repugnance of reason and affection to this doctrine, as the sign of a graceless heart. His hearers know better, and are fully conscious that the protest comes not from their lower passions, but from their highest discernment; from indignation that the dealings of the Infinite should be described in the language of debtor and creditor, and the universe, as the theatre of responsible existence, be degraded into the likeness of a bankruptcy-court. They feel, moreover, that to accept the offer of such a doctrine would be unworthy of a noble heart; for he who would not rather be damned than escape through the sufferings of innocence and sanctity is so far from the qualifications of a saint that he has not even the magnanimity of Milton's fiends. We are spared, however, the necessity of stating the objections which we know to be widely felt to this doctrine, as it appears in the Church formulas; for the following remarks, by an orthodox clergyman, present them with a force and clearness that leave nothing to be desired."

The reviewer then goes on to quote, with signal approbation, *Bushnell's* "God in Christ!" All this, like the German Rationalism, is to be met, and *can* only be successfully met, by thorough expositions of the truth of Christianity, and by thorough exhibitions of the *life* of Christianity in the members of the Church.

Rev. F. C. Cooke is preparing for publication (by Longmans & Co.) a Commentary on the Acts. The notes are intended for "readers and students of the Bible," and are meant to contain "the results of the most important works on the Acts that have appeared" in England and on the Continent, in a condensed and intelligible form.

Thenius' Commentary on the Book of Kings has appeared. It has an appendix treating of "Jerusalem before the Exile,—and its Temple," with three plates. This

volume forms the ninth part of the "Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zum Alten Testament," now publishing by Weidmann in Leipsig. The other volumes are, Hitzig on the Twelve Minor Prophets; Hirzel on Job; Hitzig on Jeremiah; Thenius on Samuel; Knobel on Isaiah; Berthean on Judges, Ruth, and Proverbs; Hitzig on Ecclesiastes and Ezekiel.

The second and third parts of Lange's "Christliche Dogmatik" are announced as in press at Heidelberg.

Mr. S. P. Tregelles has published, in a separate form, his "Inquiry into the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel." The following statement is from the Edinburgh Witness:—

"We are glad to learn that the University of St. Andrew's has conferred the degree of LL. D. on Mr. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. Mr. Tregelles has long been known to Biblical scholars as an indefatigable labourer in the field of textual criticism. He is the translator of the Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of Gesenius, published by the Messrs. Bagster. We are also indebted to his labours for an exceedingly able translation of the Book of Revelation from the ancient Greek text, every word of which is supported by the oldest MSS. now extant. But the work to which Mr. Tregelles has devoted himself for many years past is a new edition of the Greek text of the whole New Testament. In the preparation of this work no expense of time or labour has been spared; the oldest and best MSS. in this country and on the Continent have been collated; all that skill could devise and unwearied industry execute has been brought to bear upon this one point, 'to exhibit the text of the New Testament, as nearly as possible, in the very words in which it was written by holy men of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost.' With Dr. Tregelles for editor, and the Messrs. Bagster for publishers, we confidently expect in this forthcoming work a permanent addition to our sacred literature."

We have omitted to notice the death of Dr. *Otto Von Gerlach*, author of the Commentary on the New Testament, of which a review was given in our last volume. He died at Berlin, Oct. 24, 1849. He had held for a short time the honorary professorship of theology in the university of Berlin. His principal literary labour, beside the Commentary referred to, was an edition of the most important works of Luther, with historical and critical introductions, remarks, &c., which appeared in 1840–1848, in 24 volumes.

Among the books in theology and kindred topics lately announced in England are the following:—

Havernick's Introduction to the Pentateuch, in one volume. Translated by the Rev. Alexander Thompson, of the Glasgow Theological Academy. (Clark's Theological Library.) T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. 1 vol. 8vo.:—Hermann Venema's Inedited Institutes of Theology. Translated from the unpublished Manuscript, by the Rev. A. W. Brown, Edinburgh. Pp. 536, 8vo.:—A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles, from Thessalonians to Hebrews; in the form of Lectures. By John Bird, Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo., and 2 vols. 12mo.:—The Doctrine of a Future State, The Hulsean Lectures for 1849. By W. G. Humphry, B. D., Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London. 8vo.:—Christianity in Ceylon, its Introduction and Progress under the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and American Missions. With an Historical View of the Brahminical and Buddhist Superstitions. By Sir James Emerson Tennent. With Illustrations, post 8vo.:—Addresses and Charges, by Edward Stanley, D. D., late Bishop of Norwich, with a Memoir of his Life. By Rev. Arthur Penryhn Stanley, M. A. 8vo.:—A Letter to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishop of Exeter:—The Appeal of Gorham *v.* Bishop of Exeter. A revised and correct report of the Speech of Edward Badeley, Esq., before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 8vo.:—A Letter on the Present Crisis of the Church, addressed to Sir Walter Farquhar, by Walter Farquhar Hook, D. D., Vicar of Leeds. Post 8vo.:—Two Sermons on the Nonentity of Romish Saints, and Inanity of Roman Ordinances; by W. F. Hook, D. D., Vicar of Leeds. With a Preface. 8vo.:—Biblical Commentary on the Gospels; adapted especially for Preachers and Students. By Herman Olshausen, D. D. Translated from the German by Rev. Thomas Brown and Rev. John Gill. Vol. 3, pp. 568, 8vo.:—An Essay on the Office of the Intellect in Religion; with especial Reference to the Evidences of a Revelation, and the Proof of Christian Doctrine. By William Edward Scudamore. Pp. 304, 8vo.:—Daily Bible Illustrations; being Original Readings for a Year on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology, especially designed for the Family Circle. By Dr. Kitto. Antediluvians and Patriarchs, Jan. to March. Pp. 480, 12mo.:—The Method of the Divine Government, Physical

and Moral. By the Rev. James M'Cosh. Edinburgh, pp. 560, 8vo.:—Ten Years of the Church of Scotland, from 1833 to 1843; with Historical Retrospect from 1560. By J. Bryce. 2 vols., pp. 480, 8vo.:—Eastern Churches; containing Sketches of the Nestorian, Armenian, Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian Communities. Pp. 124, post 8vo.:—Thoughts on Rationalism, Revelation, and the Divine Authority of the Old Testament. To which is added, the State of Christianity in Germany, by Professor Quinet; translated from the French, by Dr. A. M'Caul. Pp. 166, fcp. 8vo.:—The Soul, its Nature and Destinies. By Rev. P. Thompson. Pp. 246, 12mo.:—The Province of the Intellect in Religion, deduced from our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, and considered with reference to Prevalent Errors. By Rev. J. Worsley. Book V. The Patriarchs. Pp. 276, 8vo.

Among the works in Theology and Biblical Literature recently announced on the Continent are the following:—

Abælardi Petri Opera hactenus seorsim edita nunc primum in unum collegit textum ad fidem librorum editorum scriptorumque recensuit notas, argumenta, indices adjecit Victor Cousin; adjuvantibus C. Jourdain et E. Despois. Vol. 1, 4to.

Allgemeines Volks-Bibellexicon oder allgemeinfassliche Erläuterung der heiligen Schrift durch Wort und Bild in alphabetischer Folge, besonders in Hinsicht auf die biblischen Alterthümer, Geographie, Naturgeschichte, Sitten und Gebräuche des Morgenlandes u. s. w. begründet von. A. G. Hoffman, ord. Prof. d. Theologie in Jena, fortgesetzt von Dr. Gust. Mor. Redslob, Prof. d. bibl. Philologie am akadem. Gymnasium in Hamburg. Mit mehr als 500 in den Text gedruckten Abbildungen. Leipzig, 2 vols., large 8vo., 1846–1849.

Des Johannes Wesley Leben und Wirken. Von Karl Chr. Glieb. Schmidt, Prof. in Naumburg. Halle, 1849; pp. 99, 8vo.

De ecclesiastica librorum aliorumque scriptorum in Belgio prohibitione disquisitio. Auctore A. Heymans. Bruxelles, 1849; pp. 411, 8vo.

Dictionnaire de la Bible, ou Concordance raisonnée des saintes Ecritures, contenant en plus de 4000 articles: la biographie sacrée; l'Histoire sainte; l'Archéologie biblique etc.; par J. Aug. Bost, pasteur. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1849.

Versuch einer Geschichte der biblischen Offenbarung als Einleitung in's alte u. neue Testament. Von Dr. Dan. Haneberg, Prof. Regensburg, Manz. 1850; pp. 779, 8vo.

Lebensgeschichte Jesu, mit einer Würdigung der verschied. Ansichten darüber und einer daraus gefolgerten Beurtheilung der röm u. evangel. Kirche, der deutsch-kathol. u. freien Gemeinden, des Sozialismus u. der Religion der Zukunft. Nürnberg, 1850; pp. 188, 12mo.

Macarii Ægyptii epistolæ, homiliarum loci, preces, ad fidem Vaticani, Vindobonensium, Berolinensis, aliorum codicum primus ed. Dr. H. Jos. Floss. Accedunt: I. De Macariorum Ægyptii et Alexandrini vitis quæstiones criticæ et historicæ. II. Acta Macariorum Aeg. et Alex. ad codd. mss. fidem partim recognita, partim primum edita. III. Tabula in lapide incisa. Coloniæ, 1850; pp. 324, 8vo.

Das Wort der Wahrheit. Oder: Populäre Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. Ein Buch für alles Volk von J. Fr. Wucherer. Nördlingen, 1850; pp. 435, 8vo.

## AMERICAN.

We mentioned in our last number that Professors Hackett and Edwards were preparing a Commentary on the Psalms, founded on Hengstenberg. We are now informed that the first volume of Professor Alexander's Commentary on the Psalms is shortly to be issued by Messrs. Baker & Scribner, and will be soon followed by the second.

Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, has for some time been preparing a work on the "Unity of the Races," portions of which have appeared in several Southern journals. The whole work is shortly to be issued by Mr. Putnam, under the title, "*The Unity of the Human Races* proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science; with a Review of the present position and theory of Professor Agassiz." The subject is one, at the present time especially, of commanding importance, and this work is designed to give a comprehensive view of the whole question, including its literature up to the present time, as will appear from the following table of contents: Preface, including, in reply to very recent objections, a critical review of Genesis, ch. 1 and 2;—chapter 1, the historical and doctrinal evidence of Scripture;—chapter 2, the historical and doctrinal evidence of Scripture, continued;—chapter 3, the former civilization of black races of men;—chapter 4, the same subject, continued;—chapter 5, the same subject, conti-

nued; chapter 6, origin of the varieties of the human species;—chapter 7, origin of the varieties of the human species, concluded;—chapter 8, presumptive arguments in favour of the unity of the human races;—chapter 9, the twofold character of the question. Scientific argument;—chapter 10, the nature and philosophy of species;—chapter 11, the unity of the races proved from the unity of their species;—chapter 12, the same subject, continued;—chapter 13, the unity of the races proved from their fertility, and the infertility of hybrids;—chapter 14, the unity of the races proved from the universality, nature, and connexion of languages;—chapter 15, unity of the races proved from the universality, nature, and connexion of languages, concluded;—chapter 16, the unity of the races sustained by the testimony of history and tradition;—chapter 17, the unity of the races proved from the religious character of all men, the adaptation of Christianity to all men, and the truth of the Mosaic records;—chapter 18, the unity of the races proved from experience, and from known changes which have occurred among the different races of men;—chapter 19, the unity of the human races proved from the insensible gradations of their varieties, and from their analogy to what takes place in other animals;—chapter 20, resumé of the argument for the unity of the human races, and objections considered;—chapter 21, the theory of a plurality of origin in the races of men unphilosophical;—chapter 22, the theory of a plurality of origin in the races of men uncharitable;—chapter 23, the theory of a plurality of origin in the races of men inexpedient, unchristian, and contrary to the necessary claims of the historical evidence of Scripture;—supplementary chapter, latest views of Professor Agassiz and his theory tested.

Messrs. Lane and Scott will shortly publish, "*The Present State, Prospects, and Responsibilities of the Methodist Episcopal Church; with an Appendix of Ecclesiastical Statistics:* by N. Bangs, D. D." Besides the general interest of the topics discussed in the course of the book, the statistical information given at the end will make it a permanently valuable book of reference.

The same publishers have in preparation a new edition of "*Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Labours of the Rev. John Smith, by Richard Treffry, Jun.*" This new edition has a very able and characteristic Introductory Essay by Rev. Dr. Dixon, which adds greatly to the value of the book. Mr. Smith's life is one of the most stirring biographies of preachers that the Methodist annals, so rich in this species of literature, have yet afforded. We bespeak the attention of our readers to this new edition.

Harless's *Christliche Ethik* has reached a fourth edition in Germany. We understand that Mr. Hoffman's translation is rapidly advancing: it will now, we suppose, be adapted to the fourth edition of the original, which is said to be much enlarged and improved.

## Classical and Miscellaneous.

### EUROPEAN.

William Wordsworth died at his dwelling, Rydal Mount, Westmoreland, on the 23d of April last, in the 81st year of his age. For sixty years—nay longer, for his earliest poem bears the date of 1788—he devoted his life to the art of poetry. Cherishing the same high sentiments as Milton in regard to the dignity of that noble art; and knowing, as that great bard expressed it, "what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things;" and feeling, in his inmost spirit, that consciousness of power which animates all who are endowed with the highest of intellectual gifts—"the vision and the faculty divine,"—he formed at an early period his determination to write something that might live; and, having adopted a theory of his own in regard both to the nature and objects of genuine poetry, he set himself manfully to exhibit the high truths which are the common property of humanity, in all the varied lights of imagination and fancy, yet in the simplest language of ordinary life. With a keen sense of the value of fame justly acquired, he well knew that fame is valueless, unless as the echo of the mind's own conscious self-approval; that the praise of men delights and soothes the spirit only when it confirms, and is responsive to, the voice of conscience within us; that, although in a thousand ways a man may fix the gaze of his fellows upon himself, and obtain by the sacrifice of principle a temporary triumph,—though the huzzas of the populace may be enthusiastic, and the shouts of applause

loud and universal,—though his eye may for a time be dazzled by the glare that surrounds him, and his ear stunned by the echoes of a world's tumultuous praise,—it does not reach his heart, it cannot satisfy his spirit, because it is not just in itself; and he feels that he is a deceiver, while he knows that they who praise him are deluded. Knowing all this, Wordsworth chose well the better part, and determined to forego all the pleasure and profit of an immediate reputation, with a certain confidence that in labouring for the cause of truth and religion he should not labour in vain, and that the products of his industry should endure.

For many years Wordsworth was far from being a *popular* poet. Indeed, the man who could discern the beauty and appreciate the high-souled sentiments of his earlier poems, was reduced to the alternative of keeping his opinions to himself, or of sharing with the poet the contempt and abuse of those who were either morally or intellectually incapable of relishing his simple illustrations of natural objects, or his sweet delineations of human feeling, as exhibited among the lowly inhabitants of his own hills, among "sheep-cotes, and hamlets, and peasants' mountain haunts." From the dictator of the world of letters, the terrible Jeffrey—whose frown was destruction to the hopes and aspirations of common men—to the humbler spirits of the Monthly Review, the critics made common cause against the innovator, as Wordsworth was styled; and every cur felt himself at liberty to echo the growlings of the great mastiff of the north, who thought himself, as others thought him, to have crushed one of the noblest of Wordsworth's productions, by an *ex cathedra*, "This will never do!"

It was a glorious spectacle! On the one hand were arrayed the literary authorities of the land, filled with all the prejudices of a false poetical taste, and all the great names embalmed in the hearts of the people of England; and on the other, the poet, almost alone, yet in the consciousness of his own power smiling upon the contest which his "adventurous song" had called into being; and still, in his retirement, nourishing his soul by communion with nature, with the mighty spirits of the past—(especially with Milton, with whose solitary soul-upliftings he could deeply sympathize)—and with

> "God—dread source,
> Prime, self-existing cause, and end of all
> That in the scale of being fill their place,
> Above our human region, or below,
> Set and sustained,"

and still, with unwavering faith in the holy impulses that urged him, pouring forth, in numerous and various verse, the solemn lessons of his pure philosophy—the self-study of a mighty mind, humbled by a sense of its own weakness, and elevated by a consciousness of its own dignity—and the flood of natural images, which, however insignificant in themselves, received a beauty and a glory from their association with the emotions of a heart which gave its own hues of joy or sadness to every object, thought, and incident. Slowly, but surely, was the triumph preparing which before his death gladdened the heart of the "old man eloquent;"—one by one were his adversaries subdued; and here and there were voices heard, faint at first and fearful, speaking his praise. But, in the lapse of years, their number grew, and their power; the mists of prejudice were gradually dispelled; the sweet yet powerful tones of the mountain poet awoke a sympathy and an echo in many a heart; and those faint voices swelled into a hymn of praise,—and now that he is gone, an almost universal chorus of homage to the majesty of his genius, and to the constancy of his religious devotion to his noble art, will rise from every hill and valley of his native land, and from all pure hearts in her towns and cities. Even on these "strange shores" there are multitudes to be found whose tastes have been exalted, and whose affections have been refined, by the unequalled strains of the

> "Mighty seer
> Who celebrates the truths for whose sweet sake
> We to ourselves and to our God are dear!"

A second series of *Coleridge's* "Friend" has been published in London, in three volumes 8vo., under the title of "*Essays on his own Times*," by S. T. Coleridge; edited by his daughter. It is made up mostly of his political contributions to the Post and Courier.

A complete edition of the Philosophical works of J. F. Herbart is announced for publication by Voss, of Leipzig. It will be completed in twelve volumes, 8vo., edited by Prof. Hartenstein, of Leipzig, and will be finished in about two years.

The tenacity with which old methods are adhered to in the English schools is remarkable. A striking proof of it is afforded by the preface to *Arnold's Elementary Greek Grammar*, in which the author deems it necessary to explain (as something new) Thiersch's method of forming the tenses of the

Greek verb, though that method has been in almost universal use in Germany and America for a number of years. It is somewhat more surprising that the old artificial and arbitrary method still holds its place in France. The *forty-eighth* edition of Burnouf's *Méthode pour étudier la Langue Grecque* has just appeared, (1850,) and though prepared by a man of admirable skill and learning, it still carries the pupil round the old circle of tense-formations. The same thing appears in Pessoneaux's *Nouvelle Grammaire Grecque, à l'usage de tous les établissements d'instruction publique*, (Paris, 1849,) which is a very neat and compact manual of 115 pages. The syntax is clear and logical; but the forms of words are exhibited in the old and unscientific way.

Among the works in general literature recently announced in England are the following:—

The Natural History of Man, by Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S.. 1 vol. 8vo.:—A Voyage to the Arctic Seas, in search of Friends with Sir John Franklin; by Robert A. Goodsir. Post 8vo:—The Personal Narrative of an Englishman Domesticated in Abyssinia; by Mansfield Parkyns, Esq. 8vo.:—Memoirs of the War of Independence in Hungary; by Gen. Klapka, late Secretary at War of the Hungarian Commonwealth, and Commandant of the Fortress of Komorn. 8vo.:—The New Cratylus. Contributions towards a more Accurate Knowledge of the Greek Language: by J. W. Donaldson, D. D., Head Master of King Edward's School, Bury St-Edmunds. Second edition, revised and considerably enlarged. 8vo.:—The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, in 3 vols., post 8vo., with portrait:—Woman in France during the 18th century; by Julia Kavanagh. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by order of the British government, in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, by Lieut. Col. Chesney, R. A., F. R. S., Commander of the Expedition; vols. 1 and 2, royal 8vo:—Mr. W. E. Baxter's Impressions of Central and Southern Europe: including Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and the Levant. 8vo.:—Mr. Thomas Forester and Lieut. M. S. Biddulph's Rambles among the Fields and Fords of Central and Western Norway, in 1848 and 1849. With map, woodcuts, and ten coloured plates. 8vo.:—London Literary Society in the days of Samuel Johnson. By William Weir. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—The Rev. R. Milman's Life of Tasso. 2 vols., post 8vo.:—Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady, comprising full and interesting details of the late Events in Hungary. By Theresa Pulszky. With an Historical Introduction, by Francis Pulszky, late Under-Secretary of State to Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. 2 vols. 8vo.

Among the works in classical and miscellaneous literature recently announced on the continent are the following:—

Collection des Auteurs Latins, avec la Traduction en Français, publiée sous la direction de M. Nisard:—Ammien Marcellin, Jornandés Frontin (Les Stratagèmes), Végèce, Modestus, avec la traduction en Français, publiés sous la direction de M. Nisard. Royal 8vo.

Connaissance des Temps ou des Mouvements célestes à l'usage des Astronomes et des Navigateurs pour l'an 1852. 8vo.

Religions et l'Antiquité, considérées principalement dans leurs formes symboliques et mythologiques. Par F. Creuzer. Traduit de l'Allemand, refondu en partie, complété et développé par J. D. Guigniault. 8 vo. 2 tom.

Degland (C. D.), Ornithologie Européenne, ou Catalogue analytique et raisonné des Oiseaux observés en Europe. 2 vols. 8vo.

D'Orbigny (A.), Cours Elémentaire de Paléontologie et de Géologie stratigraphiques. Vignettes gravées en relief et sur cuivre par M. E. Salle. 2 vols. 12mo.

Essai sur l'Histoire de la Critique chez les Grecs, suivi de la poétique d'Aristote et d'extraits de ses problèmes, avec traduction Française et commentaire. Par E. Egger. 8vo.

Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der v. Sr. M. dem Könige v. Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten u. 1842—1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftl. Expedition auf Befehl Sr. M. d. Königs hrsg. u. erläutert. Von C. R. Lepsius. Parts I. to IV., 40 plates, many coloured and tinted, folio (Berlin).

Bibliographie biographique, ou dictionnaire de 26,000 ouvrages, tant anciens que modernes, rélatifs à l'histoire de la vie publique et privée des hommes célèbres de tous les temps et de toutes les nations, depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à nos jours, etc. Par Ed. Marie Oettinger. Leipzic. pp. 788, 4to.

THE

# METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## ART I.—MORELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

*The Philosophy of Religion.* By J. D. MORELL, A. M., Author of the History of Modern Philosophy, &c. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway; Philadelphia, George S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut-street. 1849. 12mo., pp. 359.

### SECOND PAPER.

RESUMING our examination of Mr. Morell's book, we turn now to the author's views of Inspiration, embodied in the sixth chapter. These will be gathered from the following extracts:—

"Inspiration does not imply anything generically new in the actual processes of the human mind. It does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess; it indicates rather the elevation of the religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision, to a degree of intensity peculiar to the individuals thus highly favoured of God. We must regard the whole process of inspiration, accordingly, as being in no sense *mechanical*, but purely *dynamical*, involving, not a novel and supernatural faculty, but a faculty already enjoyed, elevated *supernaturally* to an extraordinary power and susceptibility: indicating, in fact, an inward nature so perfectly harmonized to the Divine; so freed from the distorting influences of prejudice, passion, and sin; so simply recipient of the Divine ideas circumambient around it; so responsive in all its strings to the breath of heaven,—that truth leaves an impress upon it which answers perfectly to its objective reality."—Pp. 148, 149.

"According to this view of the case, inspiration, *as an internal phenomenon*, is perfectly consistent with the natural laws of the human mind,—it is the higher potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man to some degree possesses. The supernatural element consists in the *extraordinary influences* employed to create these lofty intuitions, to bring the mind of the subject into perfect harmony with truth, and that, too, at a time when, under ordinary circumstances, such a state could not possibly have been enjoyed."—P. 159.

"We *cannot* infer that any one of these books was written by an *express* commission from God. We *cannot* infer that they are *verbally* inspired, any more than were the oral teachings of the Apostles. We *cannot* infer that they had any greater authority attached to them, than the general authority which was attached to the apostolic office. We *cannot* infer that they were regarded

by the early Christians as being the *Word of God* in any other sense than as being the productions of those who lived with Christ, were witnesses of his history, and were imbued with his spirit; as being, in a word, veritable representations of a religious life which they had derived by a special inspiration from heaven."—P. 171.

The plain meaning of all this is, that inspiration is identical with a high degree of sanctification; and that the man who writes with clear conceptions of spiritual things, is inspired. But it cannot be said of these writings that they are inspired, for inspiration is a phenomenon of the intuitional consciousness, and not the property of a writing. The Bible, therefore, is not inspired, and does not contain an infallible rule of faith and practice. This theory he maintains, in opposition to what he chooses to term the mechanical theory of inspiration. This he states to be, "that which supposes a special dictation of the actual words inscribed on the sacred page, distinct from the religious enlightenment of the writer."—P. 151.

The unfairness of this statement of the common notion is obvious at a glance. Does not Mr. Morell know that the theory of plenary inspiration, as held by most theologians, is not fairly stated in the definition, "a special dictation of the actual words inscribed on the sacred page?" Does he not know that the position, that the Holy Spirit so guarded the words of the inspired writers that they should not convey any error, differs from that which asserts a special dictation of every word as to an amanuensis? Does he not know that such special dictation is commonly limited to those parts of Scripture where such dictation was needful to guard from error? He has himself admitted (p. 176) that this is not precisely the theory held by the more moderate orthodox divines of the present day. Why, then, grapple with it? Why confound verbal inspiration with verbal dictation? Had he fairly stated the common view, most of his objections would have been answered by that simple statement. This will be perceived as we examine his objections to what he terms the mechanical theory.

His first objection to this theory is, that

"There is no *positive* evidence of such a verbal dictation having been granted. The supposition of its existence would demand a two-fold kind of inspiration, each kind entirely distinct from the other. The Apostles, it is admitted, were inspired to preach and teach *orally;* but we have the most positive evidence that this commission did not extend to their very words. Often they were involved in minor misconceptions; and sometimes they taught specific notions inconsistent with a pure spiritual Christianity, as Peter did when he was chided by Paul. The verbal scheme, therefore, demands the admission of *one* kind of inspiration having been given to the Apostles as men, thinkers, moral agents, and preachers; and another kind having been granted them as *writers.*"—P. 151.

This objection contains almost as many errors as sentences. The two-fold inspiration supposed, is solely in the nomenclature of the author. He first confounds inspiration with personal holiness, and then argues that verbal inspiration is inadmissible, because it would make a second kind. Undoubtedly, if spiritual enlightenment is one kind, we must admit another, or fail to include the very phenomena in question.

Again: it is not alleged by the verbal theory that the Apostles had one kind of inspiration as preachers, and another as writers. If, then, they had an inspiration as preachers to teach orally, what makes another kind needful for them as writers to teach scripturally? Why confound their spiritual enlightenment as men with their inspiration as teachers; and because the former was distinct from their inspiration as writers, assume that the latter was so likewise?

But we have "positive evidence that this commission did not extend to their very words." And what is this positive evidence? Why, forsooth, that they were "often involved in minor misconceptions." Suppose they were; the question is, Did they ever teach such misconceptions orally or in writing? If they did, our theory breaks down. What, then, is the proof? "They taught specific notions inconsistent with a pure spiritual Christianity, as Peter did when he was chided by Paul." Peter did no such thing. His error was one of action and not of teaching, and we have no proof that then or at any other time he taught any such notion. Peter the man, who was imperfectly sanctified, is confounded with Peter the Apostle, who was perfectly inspired to teach the doctrines of the gospel; and because he erred in the one capacity, he is charged with having erred in the other. And this is the positive evidence that their commission did not extend to their very words! It is with such bald sophistry that we are to set aside the positive statements of Christ himself: "When they shall lead you and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate, but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye, *for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost!*" Yet Mr. Morell has "positive evidence that their commission did not extend to their very words!"

The second objection is, the improbability

"That each writer should manifest his own modes of thought, his own temperament of mind, his own educational influences, his own peculiar phraseology; and yet, notwithstanding this, every word should have been dictated to him by the Holy Spirit."—P. 152.

This objection can lie only against the extreme theory of verbal dictation, and not the common view of verbal inspiration. When it

is stated that each writer was left to the free play of his own powers, with such an influence of the Holy Spirit as to secure him infallibly from error, the individuality of the writers appears in perfect accordance with their inspiration, and the objection falls to the ground. It was necessary that this individuality should be preserved to attain the object of revelation. Being made for men, it was necessary, by the laws of human sympathy, that it should be made through men. The same beautiful and tender regard to the yearning sympathies of our nature that induced the High-priest of our profession to be tempted in all points as we are, that we might, in coming to a throne of grace, commune with a human heart as well as a Divine nature, also led to the employment of human hearts and minds in conveying God's will and purposes to man in a revelation. But, to accomplish this, it was necessary that each writer should preserve his own individuality, while at the same time he was uttering through it the things which he was moved to utter by the Holy Ghost. In this, then, there is no sort of discrepancy.

His third objection is, that it

"Tends to *diminish* our view of the *moral* and *religious* qualifications of the writers, by elevating the mere mechanical influence into absolute supremacy."—P. 152.

It were sufficient to reply to this, that the question is, what is the fact? and not, what effect will that fact have on our estimate of the writers? But it will surprise those who hold this theory to be told that they have been undervaluing the sacred writers, by believing them commissioned to speak infallibly and authoritatively for God; and that their estimate of them would be raised, if they held that they had no other influence on their minds than that which they share not only with other Christians, but with all men of genius; and no influence which could preserve them from blunders in matters of fact, of opinion, or of reasoning. Surely Mr. Morell was sorely pressed when he invented this, which, if it has no other merit, has at least that of originality.

The fourth objection is declared to amount to "a moral demonstration," and is,—

"That even if we suppose the letter of the Scripture to have been actually dictated, yet that *alone* would never have served as a revelation of Christianity to mankind, or obviated the necessity of an appeal from the letter to the spirit of the whole system." "The letter of the Scripture has to be illuminated by the Spirit of Truth, before it affords to any one a full manifestation of Christianity in its essence and its power."—Pp. 152, 153.

This is the old averment in another form, that because the Bible is not a complete revelation, in its plenary sense, to an unconverted

man, therefore it is no revelation at all. Because a guide-book is of little or no use to a blind man, therefore, not only is it not a guide-book to those who can see, but there is no such thing as a guide-book possible! Such is this boasted moral demonstration. We do not claim for the Bible that it can compensate for the agency of the Holy Spirit. We hold that God must open our eyes to see wondrous things in his law; but we also hold that these wondrous things are there to be seen. The author admits that a human summary of faith and practice is highly important, and we cannot, for the life of us, see why the mere fact that it is human gives it such value as to make unnecessary and impossible one that is divine.

He then brings forward another view of the "mechanical theory," which is, after all, only the same opinion that he has already discussed, with some additions from his own fancy, and the introduction of another distinct question,—the Canon of Scripture. He thus sets forth this theory:—

"The idea is entertained by many, that a distinct commission to write was in every instance given to the sacred penman by God; that each book came forth with a specific impress of Deity upon it; and that the whole of the Canon of Scripture was gradually completed by *so many distinct and decisive acts of Divine ordination*. Now the evidence of this opinion we regard as totally defective, and can only ascribe its growth and progress in the Church to the influence of a low and mechanical view of the whole question of inspiration itself.—Let any one look through the whole of the books composing the Old and New Testaments, and consider how many can lay claim to any *distinct* commission,—and consequently how their inspiration can be at all defended *if it be made to rest upon this condition.*"—P. 155.

Here it will be remarked that he dexterously shifts the ground in his argument. He first states the question to be, whether the writers had any distinct commission to write these books; but the question he discusses is, whether their books, in all cases, record any such commission. These are totally different questions. He also takes advantage of the ambiguity of the word distinct. As he states it in the proposition, it means distinct to the writers themselves; as he discusses the proposition, it means distinct to us. These again are different questions, yet hopelessly confounded by Mr. Morell. His entire argument on this point is a recapitulation of the books, with an assertion in each case that they contain no distinct commission to write them. As well might he pore over a set of statutes, and reject them because each volume does not contain the certificate of election and legislative commission of each individual legislator.

Almost the only specific argument which he draws from the Scripture, evinces his usual lucklessness in dealing with the Bible. He asserts that Luke "distinctly professes to write from the testimony

of eye-witnesses, and to claim the confidence of Theophilus, for whom his two treatises were composed, *on this particular ground.*" —P. 157. Unfortunately for Mr. Morell's argument, Luke asserts the very opposite. He says that others wrote thus, but that he wrote because he had a perfect understanding of all things from the very first.

He then insensibly glides into the indirect discussion of the Canon of Scripture. This he does in the following assertions:—

"The light which history sheds upon the early period of the Christian Church, shows us that the writings which now compose the New Testament Canon were not at all regarded as express messages to them from God, independently of the conviction they had of the high integrity and spiritual development of the minds of the writers. They received them just as they received the oral teachings of the apostles and evangelists; they read them in the churches, to supply the place of *their* personal instructions; and there is abundant evidence that *many other writings* beside those which now form the New Testament were read with a similar reverence, and for a similar edification.—It was only gradually, as the pressure of heresy compelled it, that a certain number of writings were agreed upon by general consent as being *purely apostolic*, and designated by the term *homologoumena*, or agreed upon. But that much contention existed as to which should be acknowledged canonical, and which not, is seen from the fact that a number of the writings now received were long termed 'antilegomena,' or contested." "The canonicity of the New Testament Scriptures was decided upon solely on the ground of their presenting to the whole Church clear statements of apostolical Christianity. The idea of their being written by any special command of God, or verbal dictation of the Spirit, was an idea altogether foreign to the primitive Churches."—Pp. 157, 159.

These passages assert that the primitive Church did not regard the canonical Scriptures as written by any special inspiration, peculiar to themselves, and that they did not receive them as an infallible rule of faith and practice. Both of these assertions are made in the face of unquestioned facts. Surely, if Mr. Morell had not the patience to examine original authorities, or even to look through such works as Lardner's Credibility, or the Corpus Confessionum, he might at least have glanced at a little book, which we fear he holds in sovereign contempt, called Paley's Evidences. He would there have found sufficient evidence to prevent him from making such reckless and baseless assertions.

The primitive Church did regard the Scriptures as, in a sense peculiar to themselves, inspired by the Holy Ghost, and did appeal to them as an authoritative rule of faith and practice. In quoting them they call them, "the Divine Scripture; inspired of the Lord; given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; the oracles of the Lord; Divine fountains; fountains of the Divine fulness; the foundation and pillar of faith," &c., &c. They quoted them in controversy; cited them in preaching; commented on them in exposition; made cata-

logues of them; and by every possible means exhibited the high estimate placed upon them above all other writings. The very mysteries that such men as Origen and Chrysostom found even in the syllables of Scripture, prove the estimation in which they held them. Theophilus of Antioch says, "The like things are to be found in the prophets and the *Gospels*, because that all, being inspired, spoke by one and the same Spirit of God." Many testimonies to this effect could be cited; but we are really ashamed to quote authorities on the point to a Protestant. Those who wish to examine them for themselves, can consult Lardner's Credibility, or Paley's Evidences under this head; Daillé on the Fathers, book ii, ch. 2; Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, book ii, ch. iii, rule 14; Bingham's Antiquities, book xiv, ch. 3.

The very fact which he alleges to sustain his views, that there was much contention as to what works were to be regarded as canonical, proves the very opposite. Why so eager to determine their canonicity, except that canonicity was matter of high moment? Why, especially, should "the pressure of heresy" produce this settlement, if the Scriptures were not regarded as a rule of faith by which to determine what was heresy and what truth? Why term the apostolical writings *canonical*, unless they regarded them as a *canon*, a rule and standard of faith and practice? Was not their anxiety to be kept from fraudulent and spurious writings, proof that it was their apostolical or inspired origin, rather than their power to address the intuitional consciousness, which they deemed important? If a book embodied the religious life, what mattered it by whom it was written? Why, then, these keen contests about the apostolical origin of these books? Does Mr. Morell feel this question to be one of much importance? Does his philosophy make it of much importance? Does not this show that his theory and estimate of the Scriptures differ from that of the early Christians?

He objects further to the verbal theory, the defective morality of the Old Testament. This is an old stereotype of Infidelity and Socinianism, which will be found answered in detail in any respectable system of theology. We utterly deny the allegation. We grant that some things were both permitted and commanded in the Jewish Theocracy that are not in the New Testament, because of different circumstances and relations. But assuming these relations, and we find nothing that was not consistent with the essential principles of morality. Such were the expulsion of the Canaanites; the Levirate law; the permission of polygamy; the *lex-talionis*; the law of the avenger of blood; and similar arrangements in the Jewish history and polity. The moral relations were different, and hence the dif-

ference of the institutions grafted on those relations; and it has yet to be proved that in those relations the institutions were inconsistent with immutable morality. The general principles of morality are the same under both dispensations, and we defy Mr. Morell to show any *new principle* of morals revealed in the New Testament. As to the actual attainments in moral excellence made even by the saints of the Old Testament, this is another question, and one that does not touch that at issue. Their acts are recorded not for imitation or approval, but for instruction and warning. Had the ethical teachings of the Old Testament been as defective as Mr. Morell alleges, it is unaccountable that the great Teacher did not correct them. So far from this, when asked for a perfect rule of morals,—one so perfect that its obedience might secure eternal life,—he furnished precisely that which was taught in the Old Testament. And it is of this maligned law of the old covenant that he says not a jot or a tittle of it shall ever pass away. Let Mr. Morell beware, then, lest in his eagerness to maintain a theory, he may haply be found accusing Him who never spake of the Old Testament but in terms of the highest admiration and respect.

His only other objection is, the discrepancies that exist in the sacred records. This, again, is an old acquaintance whom we have met before in very bad company. He specifies but three cases.

The first case is, its discrepancies with scientific truths; and of these he only mentions geology. He surely knows that this is not admitted by a single advocate of plenary inspiration, or believed by many Christian geologists. The *facts* of geology are perfectly consistent with the Mosaic record, rightly interpreted. As for the hypotheses of world-builders and world-dreamers about the Natural History of Creation, brought forward to explain these facts, we have nothing as apologists to do with them. It will be time enough to settle the question of discrepancy when these hypotheses are shown to be facts, and not, as they yet are, mere fancies.

He next alludes to discrepancies in the statement of facts, which we will discuss as soon as he gives us some instance of them. He hints at but two, which he will find explained in any respectable commentary.

He then refers to discrepancies in reasoning, definitions, and other logical processes. The only instance of these he has specified is an unfortunate one for his argument. He says, page 167,—

"We know well that Peter reasoned very perversely about the circumcision, and that Paul at once vanquished him in argument."

Now, we do not know any such thing. We are not told that Peter

erred in reasoning about the circumcision, or that he reasoned at all, but simply that he erred in conduct, and for this was reproved by Paul. It might cast some doubt on Peter's inspiration, according to Mr. Morell's theory, but does not touch the theory of verbal inspiration, which does not maintain the infallibility of the men, but of their inspired writings. Yet this is the only instance of false reasoning which he has been able to produce. This luckless blunder, which appears twice in the same chapter, suggests painful thoughts as to our author's familiarity with the Scriptures, and the estimate which he places upon them.

Having seen the groundlessness of his objections to the verbal theory of inspiration, we shall now examine the one he offers in its place. It is, in a word, that inspiration is nothing but an elevation of the intuitional consciousness to perceive spiritual truths; that, therefore, it only applies to the writers of Scripture, and not to their writings; and that, so far from the Scriptures being inspired as an infallible rule of faith and practice, they actually contain many errors as to matters of fact and reasoning.

We object to this theory, that it is a mere speculation. It is not drawn from the records in question: it is not the result of an induction of facts describing the phenomena, but a mere speculation drawn from his psychology. It is the natural history of the camel elaborated from the interior consciousness.

But it does not even flow from that psychology. Grant all that he asserts as to the intuitional and logical consciousness, and the impossibility of inspiring the latter, does it follow that God cannot set forth a description of the intuitions of the former in an infallible form? If each man can do this in an imperfect mode for himself, why cannot God do it in a perfect? Then granting that inspiration cannot apply to the logical consciousness, his theory will not follow. A book may infallibly describe the workings of the intuitional faculty in the matter of religion, and thus be all we claim for it in asserting a verbal inspiration.

But we do not grant that inspiration is impossible to the logical faculty. Inspired reasoning is with him an absurdity. But this does not follow from his psychology. Cannot God suggest a train of reasoning to the human mind? Can He not so control that mind that it will come certainly to a right conclusion? Can He not, then, secure the record of this reasoning in terms that will be free from error? Surely all this is possible. But if so, this is verbal inspiration of a record describing the workings of the logical faculty. Not only is this possible, but God has actually done it. Is not the Decalogue an infallible utterance of God? But it contains reasoning.

Are not our Lord's discourses also infallible? They also contain reasoning. Either, then, we must admit that God can inspire the logical faculty, and so control the record of its workings that it shall be infallible; or we must assert that the Decalogue, and the teachings of our Lord, are liable to error. Mr. Morell may choose his horn of the dilemma,—on the one he loses his theory; on the other, his religion.

But not only is it not required by his psychology, it is even inconsistent with it, when pressed to its results. He tells us in chapter I., that the intuitional consciousness obtains materials from the logical, by means of which its intuitions are awakened; just as the perceptive consciousness does from the sensational, in order to attain to its perceptions. Now from this position it follows, not that the logical consciousness cannot be subjected to supernatural aid, but precisely the opposite. Suppose that the sensational power were deranged or imperfect, as, for example, in a blind man, his perceptions must be limited and distorted precisely in proportion to this defect. If now the perceptions are to be corrected, where must the remedy be applied? Manifestly not to the perceptive, but the sensational, consciousness. If, then, the parallelism exists which is asserted by our author's psychology, and the intuitional consciousness is dim or distorted in its conceptions, where must the remedy be applied? Manifestly, by this theory, to the logical consciousness. Let its conceptions be correct, and correct intuitions will follow; just as right perceptions ensue from healthy sensations. When, therefore, such a corrective is brought in play, as is assumed in inspiration, it follows that it must be applied to the logical consciousness, as the only means of reaching and awakening the intuitive. This fact, then, overturns his entire theory of inspiration, and lays the foundation for that which we claim to be the only true one.

Again: it does not meet the necessities of the case. Why do we need a revelation at all? Partly because of our depravity, and partly because of our ignorance. We are sinful, and need something to purify us; we are ignorant, and need something to enlighten us. What am I? Whence came I? Whither do I go? These are the great problems that press upon the human spirit, and demand a solution. And, deeper than these, then comes up the heavy consciousness of sin, and the spirit asks, How shall man be just before God? What answer will Mr. Morell give to such a spirit, on his theory of inspiration? Will he tell him to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ? He asks, Who is he? and what am I to believe concerning him? Is he a mere man, a simple teacher of ethics, who improved on Judaism, and died a martyr like Socrates? Or is he divine, the

Messiah of prophecy? If he refers him to the Bible, he at the same time tells him that it contains nothing more than the spiritual intuitions of its writers, mingled up with their own reasonings and opinions, many of which are erroneous. How, then, shall he discriminate between these two elements? His powers of intuition are weak and purblind: can they be relied on as a touchstone in so important a case? How shall he know that the same imperfection which attached to the logical conceptions of these men, does not also attach to their intuitions? How shall the ignorant and the poor, who compose the majority of the world, be profited by such a revelation? How shall they know what to believe, or what to do, with any satisfactory degree of certainty?

If it is replied, that this theory furnishes as valid a ground of certainty, and as perfect a guarantee of unity, as the other, we meet it with a simple and emphatic denial. Take the line of Christian writers who have maintained the verbal theory, and however they differ on minor points, in all essential doctrines they agree. The plan of salvation, and the essential theology taught by Irenæus, Augustine, and Chrysostom, are the same with those taught by Aquinas, Gottschalk, Luther, Pascal, and the Church of the present day. Can this be said of the teachings of philosophy for which we are asked to abandon the ancient basis of certitude? Scotus and Abelard denied the ground of their predecessors; Descartes theirs; Leibnitz, Wolf, Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, and others, each shouted the *eureka*, and proved that he alone had found the grand secret. Now comes Mr. Morell, in plumage plucked from Schleiermacher, and tells us that the whole world has been wrong on these points until now, and that here is wisdom. But may not this wisdom die with him? Have we any guarantee that this is the last *avatar?* May not some new hierophant mount the tripod, and prove that Mr. Morell is all wrong? Can we, then, be blamed if we prefer Siloa's brook, that flows with a soft and brimming tide that never fails, to these thunder-gust streamlets that alternately deluge and desert us?

Again: it is inconsistent with the facts of the case as represented by the inspired writers themselves. It is very remarkable that, in forming and discussing a theory of inspiration, our author should scarcely in a single instance refer to the account of the matter given by those who were the subjects of it; and in the references he does make, should evince a carelessness, if not an ignorance, that shows his low appreciation of this source of information. This course in any other investigation would be either denounced as unfair, or ridiculed as absurd. But if his theory is true, it will at least explain the facts, if it should not be drawn from them. Let us, then, bring it to this test.

He asserts that inspiration is limited to the intuitional consciousness, and in no case can apply to the operations of the logical understanding. Now, as one of the offices of that understanding is to arrange and detail historical facts, (see p. 63,) it follows that inspiration cannot in any proper sense be asserted of the historical portions of the Bible, or of the writers in receiving and recording them. What are some of the facts? 1 Cor. xi, 23: "I have *received of the Lord* that which also I delivered unto you." Was this a conception of the intuitional consciousness? No; an account of the Lord's supper. Here, then, was an historical narration received *directly* from God, or, in other words, inspired; received to be delivered, and delivered as received in words; for an historical narration can only be given in words; in a word, a verbal inspiration of the logical consciousness. How can this fact be crushed into Mr. Morell's theory? The Bible has many others of the same nature. When Moses received the description of the tabernacle, and the entire law, moral and ceremonial, were these intuitions? When Ezekiel received an account of the future temple, was that an intuition? When John received and recorded the visions of the Apocalypse, were these intuitions? When Peter, and Stephen, and Paul, received a knowledge of things beyond the sphere of human ken, were they intuitions? How can such facts as these, with which the Bible is full, be compressed into this theory?

He also asserts that inspiration can only belong to the man, and not to the writing which such a man may indite; nor can it be supposed to attach to the words in which an inspired man utters his inspiration. What are the facts? 2 Tim. iii, 16: "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Paul here asserts that the γραφή is θεόπνευστος, not the συγγραφεῖς; and, moreover, he asserts that it is profitable for *doctrine*, for *instruction*, and other uses, that fall solely within the scope of the logical understanding. Both these positions are in flat contradiction of Mr. Morell's theory. 1 Thess. ii, 13: "When ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God." What Paul meant by the word of God appears from chap. iv, 15–17, where he tells them, by "the word of the Lord," of the coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead. Here, then, is something revealed which was not a mere intuition, but a statement of facts coming within the cognizance of the logical understanding; and this statement is called the word of God. And lest this conclusion should be evaded, by saying that it refers only to the oral teachings of the Apostle, he urges the Thessalonians (2 Thess. ii, 15)

to stand fast in what they had been taught, "whether by word or our epistle;" thereby making his writings the "word of God," and an authoritative rule of faith and practice. In 2 Tim. ii, 9, Paul, alluding to his bonds, which prevented him from preaching, congratulates himself that "the word of God is not bound;" thus contrasting the word and the living teacher, and asserting the Divine character and independent power of the former. These passages prove unanswerably that Paul regarded the written word as inspired, divine, and authoritative, in direct contradiction to Mr. Morell's theory.

He also denies that inspiration can refer to words. Here, also, he contradicts the records themselves. We have seen that the promise of Christ expressly referred to the words of his disciples. That they regarded these words as important, appears from their anxiety about them, manifested in such passages as 2 Tim. i, 13, 14: "Hold fast the form of sound words—keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." Here was a *ὑποτύπωσις*, a formula of *words*, which was sacredly to be kept by the aid of the Holy Ghost. Why so important to keep the form of words, if there was no inspiration attached to the words composing that formula? 1 Tim. iv, 1: "The Spirit speaketh expressly." Is not this something like verbal inspiration? 1 Cor. ii, 13: "Which things also we speak, not in the *words* which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual;" or, rather, "explaining spiritual things in spiritual words," *πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες*. Here the words are stated to be inspired, in the same sense with the things set forth in them. 2 Pet. i, 21: "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The words of Scripture, then, were the direct result of the action of the Holy Ghost on the minds of the prophets, or, in other words, the subjects of inspiration. But, to put this beyond all question, the same Apostle asserts (1 Pet. i, 10–12) that the prophets searched into the meaning of the things testified to them by the Spirit, having it revealed to them that these things were not for themselves, but for the Church of later ages, to which they would be preached in the gospel, with the aid of the Holy Ghost. This text asserts that the prophets did not know the full significance of the terms they were directed to use, but were made the mere vehicles of transmission to us of language whose entire meaning was to be perceived only in later times. In such cases, at least, the very terms must have been dictated by the Spirit, or why were they not understood by the writers? These facts are totally subversive of the theory.

Another fact that will not square with it is, the remarkable freedom of these men from error. It is true that Mr. Morell darkly hints

at various errors into which they have fallen, but it is also true that he has not adduced a single case to establish the charge. Compare these writings with those of Aristotle or Pliny; and why are the former so free from the puerilities and false notions in philosophy that disfigure the latter? If it be alleged that the fact of their being written by men who were taught by Christ makes the difference, we can meet the evasion by an *experimentum crucis*. We have yet extant, in sufficient purity and genuineness for our present purpose, an Epistle of Barnabas, the companion of Paul, his peer in apostolic authority, and inspired to teach *orally* with the rest of the Apostles. This Epistle, like some of Paul's and Peter's, was addressed to the churches generally; and, if this theory be true, was inspired in the same sense with Paul's and Peter's. But when we come to compare them, the difference is amazing and unaccountable. It is full of puerilities, Rabbinical conceits, and errors, some of them not of the most delicate character. It adduces the fable of the Phœnix to prove the resurrection; and parades such monstrous tales as are found in Pliny's Natural History, to illustrate the Mosaic law of clean and unclean beasts, which is spiritualized in a most extraordinary manner. What makes this wide difference? Barnabas was not inferior to the other Apostles, either in knowledge or intellect, as this very Epistle proves. Why, then, did he fall into all the errors of his age, while they were exempt from them? According to the verbal theory, the fact is easily explained; according to our author's, it is absolutely inexplicable.

He also makes inspiration identical with elevated piety. It will follow, therefore, that every one who was inspired was eminently pious. What, then, will he do with the case of Balaam? He was inspired, for he uttered a prophecy, yet he loved the wages of iniquity? How will he explain the cases of the prophets of the Old Testament, who were grievously imperfect, if not wicked, such as the old prophet of Bethel? But, further, if inspiration is identical with piety, why are its effects limited to the time of the canonical writers? Was not the piety of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries equal to that of the first? Is not that of the present day equal to the type that prevailed in the days of David and Hezekiah? By our author's favourite theory of a progressive consciousness, it must be vastly superior. Why, then, did the one exhibit the phenomena of inspiration, whilst the other does not?

It is also no small objection to this theory, that it contradicts the almost universal consciousness of the Christian Church. According to our author's psychology, especially as he has developed it in his second lecture on the Philosophic Tendencies of the Age, this is a

most serious objection. The men of every age whose piety has been deepest and purest, who have known most of the Christian life within, and have manifested most of it without, have held to the theory of verbal inspiration. And it is the reception of the Bible on this theory that has accomplished all the great results of Christianity, on individuals and on the world. Can as much be said of the opposite theory? Are its supporters remarkable for their piety, or their reverence for the Bible? Has its reception given the Bible power over the heart? Is not the contrary the fact? Let the history of English and American Unitarianism and German Neology furnish the answer.

But, if possible, a more serious objection is, that it not only confounds inspiration with piety on the one hand, but confounds it on the other with genius. This is expressly admitted on page 173. Now, according to the axiom that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, it will follow that genius is identical with piety. Why, then, Plato should not have been more pious, and his writings more perfectly inspired, than those of Amos or Jude, does not appear; for he certainly had a larger development of the intuitional consciousness.

Without dwelling further on his theory of inspiration, which we have shown to be utterly untenable, we turn to his chapter on Christian Theology. In this chapter he leaves the intuitional, and enters upon the logical, sphere of the question. There are many things in this and the following chapters which we would like to notice, did our limits permit; but the length to which we have already been drawn, imposes on us the necessity of but a brief and cursory notice. He discusses first the nature of theology as distinguished from religion, and makes the distinction between them to be identical with that between the intuitional and logical consciousness. We here see again the strange apprehension that he manifests to coming in contact with the Bible. Theology, with him, is not a formal statement of truth taken from the word of God, but a reduction of spiritual intuitions into a logical system, which is progressive with the progressive development of the intuitional consciousness. The necessity for it arises only from the imperfection of our powers of intuition. Here, again, we must differ from him most seriously.

He states that the necessary conditions of a theology are but two,—

"A religious nature, awakened by the development of the Christian life; and the application of logical reflection to the elements of Divine truth, which that life spontaneously presents." "The existence of the Scriptures, *as such*, was not *essential* to the rise and maintenance of Christian theology at all."

Here, again, we have the old sophism of confounding the sub-

jective and the objective, and arguing from the conditions of the one to the non-existence of the other. We grant that Christian theology, as a subjective fact, cannot exist properly in the history of an individual or a community where there is no piety; but it does not follow from this admission that it cannot exist, as an objective fact, in a formal, logical statement of truth. Has Schleiermacher's theology, which our author has copied so closely, no existence apart from the minds that receive it? Undoubtedly it has. If, then, this may be true of a human theology, why may it not of a divine?

We object, also, to his statement of the source from which the materials of theology are to be drawn, and the fact that gives rise to a necessity for its existence. He says that the source of its materials is the intuitional consciousness; that its function is simply to classify these intuitions; and that the necessity for its existence is solely because of the imperfection of this power. For the refutation of these positions, we appeal to the whole history of Christian theology, and the consciousness of every theologian. And we are sure that we are but stating the clear testimony of both when we say, that its materials are drawn from the Bible; that it is a classification of the facts and statements of the Bible, precisely as every other science is a classification of the facts that lie within its field; that in its construction both the logical and intuitional consciousness are brought in play; and that its necessity arises from the form in which God has revealed himself to man, having scattered the elements of theology through successive revelations contained in the Bible, precisely as he has scattered the facts of botany, geology, or any other science that has ever been constructed; and that theology is as strictly an inductive science as any that exists, its object being to draw out into scientific form the theology already revealed in the Bible. These points we have not space to argue, nor do we think they need any laboured argument. However Mr. Morell or his German friends may get their theology, we affirm that, right or wrong, the fact is indisputable, that Protestant theologians obtain their theology from the Bible. They may misinterpret the Bible, just as the astronomers may misinterpret some facts in the stars; but in each case the process is the same,—a classification of facts that have an independent, objective existence, exterior to himself.

His theory of the progressive character of theology, corresponding to the progressive advance of the intuitional consciousness of the Church, we also object to most earnestly. It is not a progressive comprehension of the materials of theology already existing, which we might admit; but an actual increase of the materials themselves, which we most emphatically deny. We can see no important dif-

ference between this and Mr. Newman's theory of development, with the single exception that Mr. Newman furnishes a stable ground on which the mind may rest, although it be a false one; whilst Mr. Morell leaves us to the shifting phantasmagoria of human reason. What the legitimate tendency of this system is, may be seen in the case of O. A. Brownson, who, wearied with this everlasting chase of phantoms, and having repudiated the sure word of prophecy, threw himself blindly into the arms of the Romish Church. Such we believe will be the result of the theory in many minds. Where it does not drive into sheer infidelity, it will force into Romanism. It agrees with Popery in repudiating the Bible as a sole rule of faith and practice, and it furnishes no such ground of certitude as Popery proposes in its stead. The result can be easily foreseen, for men would rather anchor in the sand than drift, chartless and rudderless, on the trackless waters.

We are also pained with his mode of alluding to the fundamental doctrines of Christian theology. One of these is, the sinfulness of man. According to a man's view of this doctrine will be his estimate of Christ and his theory of religion. This is a standing fact in human nature, and one that cannot be omitted in a philosophy of religion. We have, then, a right to demand of Mr. Morell what he thinks on this great question, and where it stands in his philosophy. But the gingerly mode in which he touches it, shows either that he is unwilling to avow his sentiments in the face of the Demigorgon of German philosophy, or that he has no distinct sentiments to avow. The clearest utterance he has given of himself is in such a sentence as the following:—

> "This perfect state of the intuitional consciousness has been disturbed; at any rate, it does not naturally exist."—P. 182.

The only meaning we can gather from this is, some people think that man has fallen and is corrupt, and hence needs a religion; this may or may not be; my philosophy cares nothing about that; at any rate, his intuitional consciousness is not perfect. And is this all? The philosophy of Paul, and we say it with reverence, the philosophy of Jesus Christ, uttered no such Delphic responses as this. With them the fundamental fact in religion was, that man is lost, that he is dead in trespasses and sins; and on this great fact was based the necessity for all those processes and acts, objective and subjective, that we include under the terms religion, revelation, Christianity, and theology.

He next discusses the conditions, the method, and the development of Christian theology, in which are several points which we

reluctantly pass by. He concludes with stating the uses of Christian theology, in which he forcibly shows its importance. We ask, if it be thus useful, is it not important that it be true? This importance does not of course depend on its origin, but its nature. If, then, God saw it to be thus useful to us, is it not likely that he would furnish us with it? If man can construct such a system for himself, why cannot God, who gave him his faculties, do the same thing? What advantage has it in being human, and therefore imperfect in its origin? Has it any other than that it gives human speculation free range to construct its castles of cloud according to caprice? If, as he admits, page 204, a theology "may appeal to *every element* in the nature of man," were it not surprising if such an agency should be left to the bungling construction of every builder of theories? If these things are so, we have swept away his fundamental positions of the impossibility and the uselessness of a revealed theology.

The chapter on the analysis of popular theology has the same radical errors with the one just noticed. His analysis extracts from it three elements; the historical facts, the intuitional perceptions, and the logical distribution and construction of the system, page 211. His eagerness to limit the teachings of the Bible to mere historical statements has led his analysis astray. It is a matter of universal experience and observation, that popular theology finds in the Bible something more than mere historical facts; that it discovers also doctrinal teachings, and that the office of the logical understanding is to classify these doctrinal teachings as well as the historical facts. His excessive eagerness has led him to the employment of language that grates harshly on our ears. For example, in speaking of the death of Christ, page 43, he says: "As a fact of sense, this is no more than the murder of any innocent man that ever lived." The only meaning that we can gather from this singular statement is, that to one who had no theory of redemption in which this death held position as a great agency, it had no more significancy than the death of Socrates. Had the Roman centurion any such theory, when, in looking at this "fact of sense," he exclaimed, "Truly this man was the Son of God?" If Mr. Morell means to deny the miraculous attendants of the death of Christ, why not openly do so, instead of accomplishing the same end by an indirection? If not, why use language that implies this denial?

He also exhibits his usual lucklessness in referring to the Scriptures when, on page 220, he puts the beautiful words of our Lord, "God so loved the world," &c., into the mouth of the apostle John. This ignorance or carelessness about the Bible, whichever it may be, ex-

cites the most painful emotions, when appearing in one who comes to persuade us to give up the Bible for the shadowy dreamings of the intuitional consciousness. We cannot but think that if he knew more of the Bible, and studied it more, he would think better of it.

The chapter on Fellowship has much in it which we would like to discuss, did our limits permit. Take, for example, the following, page 232: "The essential idea of Christian fellowship is concentrated in the hallowed unanimity of religious *feeling*, created by the common experience of that new and Divine *life* which was first awakened in man by Christ and his apostles. Wherever this Divine *consciousness* is so developed in the heart as to predominate over the modes of thinking and feeling common to the unchristianized world and the unsanctified mind, there is a member of Christ's spiritual kingdom." A man then becomes a Christian by a predominance of the Divine consciousness over his unsanctified mind. We had thought that he became a Christian by believing on the Lord Jesus Christ; that as soon as he had thus believed he was justified; and that the work of sanctification was a subsequent and distinct matter. Thus at least Paul teaches, but he had not the advantage of studying Schleiermacher, or seeing the light of modern philosophy.

Again he tells us, page 232: "The design of Christian fellowship is threefold, namely, to develope, to preserve, and to propagate the Christian life." Much of this, we had thought, was the work of the Holy Spirit, but in reading this book we have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost.

He then discusses the outward bond of unity in Christian fellowship, in which he protests against all formulas of faith as a bond of fellowship. There is nothing in this chapter which may not be found as ably put in the attacks of Unitarians on creeds that did not allow them to enjoy the emoluments of orthodoxy, while indulging the luxury of heterodoxy; and in the writings of Alexander Campbell. The result of this sort of religious sentimentalism may be seen in the patched and piebald condition of Unitarianism and Campbellism, in this country, if Mr. Morell has never seen it in England. He differs from them, however, in his doctrine of the organic life of the Church, in which his teachings might be adopted almost *verbatim* by the stanchest Puseyite. So strangely do opposite errors meet, when they leave the centre of truth.

The chapter on Certitude occupies a very important position in our author's theory, touching as it does the foundation on which all philosophy rests. In his Lectures on the Philosophical Tendencies of the Age, he makes this the principle of classification, by which he arranges all existing systems of philosophy. It is therefore a

central point in his theory, being simply the ground of certainty that man has for his religious belief. It resolves itself very easily and obviously into a discussion of the rule of faith. He admits but three kinds of certitude,—logical, intuitional, and a mixture of the two. All statements resting on testimony can amount only to a higher or lower probability. This position is not a little startling; for, we ask, suppose the testimony be certainly that of God himself,—and surely it cannot be denied that this, at least, is possible,—do the truths thus declared amount only to a probability? This is a point that demanded the most explicit discussion, for it lies at the very foundation of the Christian system; yet Mr. Morell dismisses it with a mere passing remark;—a remark, however, that throws a doubt over the whole subject of apologetic Christianity.

He then discusses the ground of certitude assumed by Rationalism and Traditionalism, to which we have nothing special to object. His remarks here are only a condensation of his lectures on Individualism and Traditionalism, in his work on the Philosophical Tendencies of the Age. But when he takes up the theory that rests it on the letter of the Bible, we have very much to object; much more than we have room to express. His entire argument is an evasion of the real question at issue, coupled with an ingenious play upon the phrase, "letter of the Bible." The question in discussion is, can we rest our belief on the dictum of the Bible, when clearly ascertained, as a sure foundation of faith? This he meets by the old Jesuitical trick of parading the difficulties of determining what is the word of God, and what it means, and that to ascertain its meaning we must appeal to our logical faculties. He therefore sagely concludes that our final appeal is to reason, and that thus this theory coincides with the fundamental principle of Rationalism. This paltry sophism is really unworthy such a mind as our author's. Surely it is one thing to appeal to reason in the interpretation of a document, and quite another to appeal to reason for the truth of the statements thus interpreted. The former is the theory he attempts to combat, the latter the theory of Rationalism. Take for example the case of a will. It may be a very difficult thing to authenticate that will, difficult to interpret it when authenticated, and necessary to argue conflicting interpretations, and appeal to reason in support of the true one; but on what do we rest the rights created under the testament? Not on our interpretation; not on our reason; but on the authority of the instrument itself,—an authority derived from the fact that it utters the will of the testator. A lawyer who would object to the binding character of a will, because, in settling the meaning of it, it was necessary to appeal to reason, would be laughed to

scorn. The process is precisely analogous to that used in the interpretation of the Bible. Yet this form of the question has been as completely evaded by Mr. Morell as it has been by the adroit polemics of the Church of Rome, when discussing the same point in settling the rule of faith.

The substitute he proposes for the word of God, is contained in the following most satisfactory and intelligible words: "The highest appeal for the truth of our theological sentiments must be the catholic expression of the religious consciousness of purified humanity in its eternal progress heavenward." In the name of darkness, what does this mean? We must then believe what the catholic consciousness of purified humanity believes. But what does it believe? And how and where has it uttered this belief? We cannot escape the answer of the honest Milesian in such a case, who, when asked what he believed, replied, "What the Church believed." "But what does the Church believe?" "What I believe." "And what do you both believe?" "We both believe alike." We can really make nothing more satisfactory of this theory of certitude. And we are very certain that if Mr. Morell were to bring his philosophy to this chosen tribunal, the verdict must be one of absolute condemnation, he himself being the witness.

The next chapter is on the significancy of the Past. This he finds in a struggle of reason against authority, first by means of the Aristotelian philosophy, then the Baconian; and now, with a higher philosophy than either, he hopes to see the struggle ended in the triumph of the higher reason. All that we can gather from this is, that the Bible, as an authoritative rule of faith, is to be swept away; that the Baconian philosophy is to be flung to the moles and the bats; and that we are to build the mighty structure of Christianity on the huge cloud-mountain of Teutonic philosophy. And this is the millennium of the Philosophy of Religion! To us the significancy of the Past is widely different. The Church of God is built upon a rock, set forth in the revealed word of the Most High. Against this rock wave after wave have dashed in the past, each covering it with spray, and threatening to ingulf it in ruin; but when the waves had rolled sullenly back, the rock was there still. And now, though there dashes against it a billow with a prouder crest and a wilder foam than any that preceded it, yet when that billow has spent its fury, and returned all shivered and broken to the deep, the rock will still stand, unscathed and unshaken, the beacon of the world.

The concluding chapter, on the relation of philosophy to theology, contains but little that has not been previously discussed, and we hence pass it without any further notice.

When in April, 1848, it was reported that one hundred thousand men were to meet on Kensington Common, and march to the House of Commons, demanding a redress of their grievances, no small alarm was diffused throughout all England. The danger was unseen and undefined, and men were filled with a secret dread. But when the day arrived, and this vast army dwindled into a few dyspeptic looking radicals, who slunk away from their own shadow, the whole affair was extinguished in laughter, as a "muscipular abortion." It was with something of the same dread that we anticipated the onset of this new philosophy. It loomed so gigantically through the mist, and defied the armies of Israel with so Goliathan an air, that we trembled for the ark of God. But the giant has come forth from the mist, and we find that we have been terrified at a shadow. It is the same old champion, who has been met and conquered a hundred times, and who only appears in new armour and with a new name. We therefore breathe more freely, and may go on with our appropriate work. This satisfaction is the more complete, because of the medium through which the attack is made. Although this work has not impressed us with an exalted estimate of Mr. Morell's logical abilities, yet, together with his preceding books, it shows him to be a fair expounder of the Teutonic philosophy. He has stripped it of its robe, its mask, and its buskins; and enabled us to grapple with it hand to hand: but in disrobing, he has disenchanted it. Unless it is something mightier than this, we have little to fear from it more than from any previous form of error, and philosophy, falsely so called. It will be a nine-days' wonder, and then pass away into oblivion. True, it may do much harm during its time, but will produce no such changes in the opinions of the Christian world as its friends hope or its enemies fear.

We wish to raise no senseless clamour against Mr. Morell or his book, nor excite any *odium theologicum*. But as he has spoken without scruple of the most sacred and cherished articles of our faith, we have but dealt in equal frankness with him. We believe Mr. Morell to be a sincere and earnest man, one who reverences Christianity, and really desires its advancement, but we also believe that for this very reason his influence may be the more pernicious; for in attempting to make a compromise with the enemies of truth, he has compromised truth itself; and in abandoning what he deemed mere antiquated outposts to the foe, he has surrendered the very citadel.

## Art. II.—THE RACES OF MEN AND THEIR RAMIFICATIONS, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST RESULTS OF ETHNOLOGY.

[Translated from the German of Dr. G. L. Kriegk.]

[The science of Ethnology is one of such absorbing interest, and is at present attracting so large a share of the attention of cultivated men, in all nations, that we are sure our readers will be gratified with the following exposition of the *results* of the science, so far as they are yet developed. The Essay gives, in a condensed and popular form, a sketch of the progress of the science, of its scope, and of its present condition,—all worked out from the original sources in a scholarly and comprehensive way. The substance of many and costly volumes is thus brought into the compass of a few pages.]

We cannot speak of popular stocks, or of the single groups that nations form, according to their affinities, without at the same time thinking of the division of our kind into *races of men.* The latter are, so to speak, the foundation of the former; and modern Ethnology, (or the science of the Origin of Nations,) as will hereafter appear, took its rise, not from the recognition of *popular* races,* but from that of *human* races. Before speaking of the latter, it will be proper, by way of introduction, to present one general consideration, that must be always ruling and decisive in our Ethnological studies.

The distinctions between races regard not only the *physical* nature, but the intellectual also: nay, the expression of the latter, which is *language*, is the chief indication by which, of late, the families of men and their branches have been distinguished. The duality of human nature is, in fact, the essential characteristic of our species. It places so vast a gulf between us and the brutes, that, in virtue of it, man is to be looked on rather as standing beyond the animal kingdom than at the head of it. The study of mankind, then, as an aggregate of beings, falling into various groups, is not a department of zoology, but forms a special science, Ethnology. Aristotle has said, that, even when we consider man without regard to his higher destinies, the spiritual power dwelling in him forms his chief distinguishing attribute; for (he goes on to say) while animals live only by virtue of their unconscious impulses, and according to simple laws of nature, man, even for his outward existence, and under all circumstances, makes use of reason. Indeed, we find manifestations of intellectual power among all people, however low their place in the scale of development. We know of no tribe that has not ideas, an articulate speech, clothing, weapons, the art of making fire, and, when there are

* That is, as existing in political relations.

animals fit for the purpose, domesticated animals; no single one of which attributes has yet been discovered among beasts. Rudolph Wagner rightly says, that it is illogical to count man in the animal world; for we thus forsake the principle lying at the foundation of all classification of natural objects, which are arranged according to purely immaterial respects, into organic and inorganic, and the first of these again into plants and animals. Holding fast this principle in Natural History, we shall appoint man his place, not according to his mere physical similarities to single animals, but according to the great element and fundamental condition of his life—his spiritual nature. He forms, consequently, a separate division of the first rank in the animated world.

Let us now pass to the proper subject of our essay. There exist among men certain hereditary differences, by which they may be separated into a number of main groups, and these again into smaller divisions. The first are called *human races*, or *stocks;* the latter, *popular* or *national stocks;* and the subdivisions of these last, *national branches*. In this way mankind would be constituted of several leading classes, composed, like the great divisions of the animal world, of species and sub-species. But such a systematic classification is impossible, at least for the present; and that for two reasons. In the first place, the affinities of most nations are by no means as yet scientifically investigated; and, secondly, there are transitions in humanity, which make a definite limitation of human and popular races impossible, though, for the sake of system, they have sometimes been disregarded. We will offer a few instances of these transitions, intentionally selected from a race most strikingly marked out from the rest. The Caffres of South Africa have some of the prominent marks of the negro race, such as woolly hair and thick lips; but their foreheads are higher, and their colour passes into a brown. The Hottentots are of a still lighter complexion; their features approach those of the Chinese and other Mongolian people; and their hair, though woolly, like that of the negro, is not so soft, and, instead of uniformly covering the head, grows in separate tufts. The Mandingoes of Senegambia have the colour and hair of the negro, but surpass him in beauty of form and features, and are noted for an intellectual activity, an inquisitiveness, a vigour and industry, that incline one to think them allied to the civilized whites, rather than to the usually gross and sensual negro stocks. Finally, the Fulahs in Senegambia, who also possess a higher degree of intellect, vivacity, and self-respect than is customary with negro tribes, have not a proper black colour, are but partially woolly-haired, and, in structure of body and features, are distinct from the negroes. Yet

neither in Africa nor elsewhere is there a people to which we could suppose them related.

After what has been said, it will occasion no surprise to our readers to be told that there is great diversity of views among the learned concerning the relationships of nations. It will also be easy to see that, for a long time to come, an accurate adjustment, and a consequent rational classification of the kindred nations, must remain impossible. Meantime, the science of Ethnology has been approximating to this result more certainly and rapidly in our days than ever before, aided, on the one hand, by the extensive and careful observations of travellers, for the last forty years, upon the differences among nations, and, on the other, by the advancing study of languages. In the first of these departments, the English, French, and Germans, but especially the English, deserve the greatest praise, as, on the other hand, philology is the pride of the German learned world.

What science has been able to do toward a classification of mankind, so far as it will serve our purpose, shall be given in the following survey.

Blumenbach, the first who attempted a really scientific arrangement, looked merely to physical distinctions. He divided mankind into *five races:* the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, Malay, and American. Speaking generally, these five races may be said to answer to the five great divisions of the earth, although some of them extend into several of these divisions. Since this classification is frequently mentioned, a more particular account of the individual races becomes requisite.

Under the *Caucasian race* Blumenbach brought all the Europeans, except the so-called Finnish nations, of which the Magyars and Laplanders are best known, and all the North Africans, as well as the inhabitants of the south-western part of Asia, bounded on the east by the river Obi, the Caspian Sea, and the mouths of the Ganges. The characteristics of this race are, a colour more or less white, red cheeks, and a form of skull and features that makes them the fairest portion of mankind. He gave this race the name of Caucasian, because the Georgians, who belong to it, and pass for the handsomest of all people, dwell at the southern base of the Caucasus, and because he believed the home of the first men to be in that region. The last notion is, however, erroneous; for history does not know a single example of a people of early antiquity, originally native in or about the Caucasus, that has emigrated from there; nor do any national myths indicate anything of the sort. But if, like the old Greeks, we extend the application of the word Caucasus to a mount-

ain range on the north-western boundary of India, the designation Caucasian becomes less unfitting, because we thus indicate the tendency of the Indians, the outmost eastern people of this stock, toward Europe, the dwelling-place of its western members, and because the region lying between the two ranges may have been its original seat.

The *Mongolian* race comprises the remaining, or Eastern Asiatics, excepting the Malays, on the peninsula of Malacca, the Finns of Europe, and the Esquimaux of North America. The members of this race have generally a yellowish complexion, straight black hair, flat faces, with cheek-bones projecting laterally, and contracted eye-lids. Its name is taken from one of the nations belonging to it.

The *Ethiopian* or *Negro* race includes all the Africans, except those of North Africa. The name Ethiopian was given by the Greeks to the dark-coloured people living in the southernmost parts of the then known world. The usual characters are a dark complexion, curly hair, projecting jaws, thick lips, and flat noses.

The *American* race comprehends all the Aborigines of America, save the Esquimaux. We understand by the Aborigines of a land those who, so far as history can testify, have always lived in it. The men of this race, also called Indians, have mostly a dull, rusty copper colour, and broad, but not flat faces, marked with prominent features.

The *Malay* race includes the inhabitants of the Peninsula of Malacca, of the Sunda Isles, of the Moluccas, of the Philippine and Marianne Islands, as well as the New-Hollanders, and the natives of all the islands which with New-Holland form the fifth grand division of the globe. Most of the members of this race speak the Malay, or a cognate language, and hence its name. The physical characteristics are, a brown colour, thick black hair, a broad nose, and large mouth.

Blumenbach held that none of these five races was clearly separated from the rest; but that, by single intermediate stocks, they gradually passed into each other. He maintained that the Caucasian was the main race, which had degenerated on one side into the Mongolian, and on the other into the Ethiopian; and that the American and Malay were the connecting links—the first between the Caucasians and the Mongolians, the latter between the Caucasians and the Negroes.

CUVIER made a new classification, which is generally preferred to that of the German professor, and is more frequently quoted. Cuvier arranged mankind in three races, not recognizing as distinct races the last two of the five just mentioned, which Blumenbach treated as only intermediate members. Cuvier made two important

advances in Ethnology. He divided each race into a number of popular stocks, composed of the nations most closely allied to each other; and, secondly, he founded his division not merely on physical distinctions, but had regard to the intellectual and moral character of people, as displayed in their history, and to the affinities and variations of their languages. His three human races are the Caucasian, or White; the Mongolian, or Yellow; and the Ethiopian, or Negro. The subdivisions of each of the above races we will not here introduce, because they have since been more accurately defined.

Cuvier's *Caucasian* race, whose original locality he also erroneously considered to be the Caucasus, comprehends the nations of Europe and North Africa, as well as those of Western and Southwestern Asia; that is, besides the Europeans, the Berbers, Moors, Egyptians, Abyssinians, and the other tribes of North Africa; the Arabians, Jews, Phenicians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Georgians, and other dwellers about the Caucasus; the Turkish tribes, the Armenians, Parthians, and Persians. A sufficiently accurate boundary of this race in Asia is described by the river Irtisch, in Siberia, and a line drawn from the Caspian Sea, along the river Oxus to the Himalaya range, and on to the Bay of Bengal. The leading characteristics of this race are the oval form of the face—the hair and complexion are not uniform—and the fact that to it belong those civilized nations who, in all periods of history, have exerted the greatest influence in the world by their extensive dominion.

The *Mongolian* race includes the Japanese and all the Asiatics living between the eastern boundary of the Caucasians and the ocean, with the exception of the Malays. They are marked by yellow skins, prominent cheek bones, flat faces, small oblique eyes, straight black hair, and a thin beard, and by this peculiarity, that the culture which the most civilized of the Mongolian nations, as the Chinese, have attained to, is not progressive. They are, with slight exceptions, followers of the religion of Buddah or of Fo.

The *Ethiopian* race occupies the countries of Central and Southern Africa. Its main characters are the black skin, woolly hair, compressed skull, flat nose, projecting jaw bones, thick lips, and the unusually low degree of mental culture.

Cuvier thought that all people not mentioned under one of these three races, either from our want of historical accounts, or from our imperfect knowledge of their physical nature and their languages, could neither be counted as belonging to one of these, nor as forming a race of themselves. The American nations had no physical peculiarities sufficiently definite and universal to mark them as a distinct race; in the blackness of their hair, and in their thinness or want of

beard, they resembled the Mongolian; but the European form of the nose and the large eye brought them nearer to the Caucasian type. Nor in their language was any certain affinity with other stocks discernible. So in regard to the Esquimaux, Lappes, and Samoiedes, of the Arctic countries, Cuvier could not decide whether they belonged to the Caucasian or Mongolian race. It is the same with the Malays and the inhabitants of the fifth division of the globe, of whom Cuvier thinks that the Negritos or Papuas, in New-Guinea, New-Britain, and other islands, and the kindred New-Hollanders, approach nearly to the Negroes, while the rest seem to bear a similarity to each of the other two races.

The following are the most important of the other classifications:—

The French naturalist, LACEPEDE, made five human races, differing somewhat from those of Blumenbach and Cuvier, and somewhat differently entitled: The *Caucasian*, or, as he also termed it, the *Arabo-European*, answering to Cuvier's of the same name; the *Hyperborean*, originating from a mingling of the Caucasians and Mongolians, and including the Arctic nations of the earth; namely, the Esquimaux of America, and the Ostiaks, the Samoiedes, and the Lappes; the *Mongolian*, to which, besides the stocks of Cuvier, he adds all the Malays and all the inhabitants of Oceanica; the *Ethiopian* and the *American*. The last two correspond to the races of the same name in Blumenbach's arrangement.

BORY ST. VINCENT, another learned Frenchman, divided men into fifteen classes: the *Japetic* nations, so named from *Japetos*, the mythic ancestor of the Greeks, one of the most important people of that group, embracing all the Caucasians of Cuvier, except the two next following: the *Hindoos* of East India; the *Arabians*, with those nearest allied to them, as the Jews; the *Scythians*, who form a part of Cuvier's Mongolians; the *Chinese*; the *Hyperboreans*; the *Neptunians*, or Malays; the *Australians*, New-Hollanders; the *Melanians*, Negritos; the *Columbians*, Indians of North America; the *Americans*, comprising the remaining American tribes, except the *Patagonians*; the *Ethiopians*; the *Kafirs*, and the *Hottentots*.

It still remains to present the classification of the Englishman, PRICHARD, who has lately treated the subject with extreme particularity, and whose great work, the Natural History of Man, has been translated into German.* This learned investigator, fully believing

* The "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," *the* great work of Prichard, is doubtless here intended. For a very interesting and valuable article on Ethnology, based on Prichard's writings, see No. 178 of the Edinburgh Review. —*Trans.*

in an original unity of our kind, divides it, according to differences in bodily form and structure, into seven main varieties. The first is composed of those nations which he denominates *Indo-Atlantic*, or *Iranian*, because they inhabit between India and the Atlantic Ocean, and because he supposes that the country lying south and east of the Caspian Sea, which has borne the name of Iran from ancient times, was their original locality. They answer to the Caucasian race of Cuvier, and are distinguished from the other races by a certain common physical structure, of which the ancient Greeks furnished the highest type, where the oval face, without prominent cheek-bones, is the most marked characteristic. The colour varies from white through all shades down to almost black. The second variety is the *Turanian*, so named from Turan, a country lying north and east of Iran, and inhabited since the remotest historical periods by a portion of these people. These are the Mongolians of Cuvier; their characteristic, the lateral projection of the cheek-bones, making the face broad and angular. The third variety is made up of the *American* nations, omitting the Esquimaux. Prichard was unable to discover any universal characteristic for these, though the high cheek-bones and large eye-sockets are common to most of them. The fourth class comprises only the *Hottentots*, who bear a strong physical likeness to the Kalmucks, one of the Turanian branches, and mainly differing from them by their woolly hair. The fifth division includes the *Negroes*, marked by their black colour, woolly hair, and the forward prominence of their cheek and jaw-bones. The sixth embraces the black and woolly-haired natives of some islands of the South Sea and of Southeastern Asia. They are called *Negritos*, or *Papuas*, and are as yet little known. The seventh comprises the *Alforas*, a smooth-haired, dark-brown people, of whom little is known, inhabiting the interior of the Moluccas, and other South Asiatic and Australian islands, and various other inhabitants of Australia and the South Sea.

Let us now turn to the *popular stocks* and their branches. We make at the outset a division of five human races; subdividing, however, not as Blumenbach has done, but in accordance with results that science has since furnished.

### I. The Caucasian Race.

In the Caucasian race the following popular stocks can be discriminated:—the Indo-Germanic, the American, the Iberian, the Illyrian, the Thracian, the Etruscan, the Semitic, the Finnish, the Turkish, the Caucasian group, and the North African. Of these

the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic have maintained the highest rank among men in civilization, and played the most important part in history.

### (I.) *The Indo-Germanic Stock.*

The *Indo-Germanic* stock takes its name from its two leading branches. It is also called the *Indo-European*, because it has spread from India to the utmost west of Europe. Many, however, name it, from its two purely Asiatic branches, the *Indo-Persian*, which term is otherwise employed to designate merely those two branches. Others still derive its name, *Japetic*, from Japetos, the mythic ancestor of the Greeks, because they were the most cultivated people of this stock. Its numbers at the present day are rated at over three hundred and sixty millions. It is the most extended of all the popular stocks, and occupies all that portion of the earth stretching from the mouths of the Ganges in India, through Central and Lesser Asia and Europe, to the Atlantic Ocean. Besides this, all the Christian inhabitants of European descent in America, and in the Asiatic, African, and Australian colonies, belong to it. In Europe, only the nations of the Finnish stock, to be spoken of hereafter, the Basques in Spain, the Albanians, the Wallachians, the Turks, the so-called Tartars in Russia, and the Jews, are not of the Indo-Germanic stock. It parts into six branches: the Indian, the Persian, the Greco-Latin, the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Lithau-Sclavonic, and contains, moreover, a mixed group termed the Mongolian branch.

1. *The Indian branch.* The most important people of this branch are the *Hindoos* in India, numbering about one hundred and ten millions, who may be partly subdivided into some particular tribes, as the *Mahrattas*, the *Rajapoots*, the *Sicks* or *Seikhs*, and the *Kashmirs*. The name of *Hindoos* is not native, but derived from one of the two great rivers of India, and given to them by the ancient Persians. Besides the Hindoos, a small isolated tribe on the Hindu-Kush Mountains, the *Kafirs* or *Siah-Posh*, famous for their irreconcilable hostility to the surrounding Mahometans, belong, according to Alexander Burns, the English traveller, to the Indian branch. A third Indian people are the *Gipsies*. It is only by means of modern comparative philology that the true origin of this hitherto enigmatical people has been discovered. They first appeared in the south of Europe at the close of the fourteenth century, and thence gradually spread through all parts of the continent. Their language shows them to be an Indian people; but what occasioned their migration from India, and when it took place, have re-

mained equally unknown. They call themselves Kola or Kalo, Mellele, Roma, and Suite. The first two of these names signify black,—in opposition to the whites or Europeans; the meaning of the last two is not known. The Europeans have given the Gipsies various names, without, however, being able to account for the origin of them all. By the Germans they are called Zigeuner; among the Poles, Cygan; in Italy, Zingano; in France, Bohemians, referring to Bohemia, the first Christian country of Europe in which they appeared; by the English, Gipsies,—as if Egyptians; by the Spaniards, Gitanos,—probably with the same notion; by the Transylvanians, Pharao-nepek,—that is, Pharao-people, likewise referring to Egypt; with the modern Greeks, Egyptians and Athingans,—the last term signifying heathen or heretics; in the Netherlands, *Heidener*, heathen; &c.

It is worth mentioning, that in parts of India, especially the Dekhan, are some rude tribes,—the Tudas, the Coolies, the Bhils, Gonds, and others,—who are held in contempt by the Hindoos, and are evidently not of the Indian branch, nor even of the Indo-Germanic stock. They cannot, however, be placed under any other stock, nor is it certain that they belong to the Caucasian race.

2. *The Persian branch*, denominated also the *Medo-Persian*, *Arian*, or *Iranian*, from the various ancient and modern names of the countries in which the nations belonging to this branch have dwelt. To it belong the ancient *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, dwelling in what is now Bucharia; the *Alans* inhabiting in the Caucasus, and appearing in European history at the time of the migration of nations; and most probably the *Chaldeans*. Its existing nations are the *Tajiks* or modern Persians, and the *Bucharians*, the *Parsees* or *Guebres*, in Persia and India; the *Koords* in Persia, Turkish Koordistan, and some parts of Mesopotamia, Syria, and eastern Asia Minor; the *Afghans*—who call themselves Pushtauch, and are termed Pataus by the Indians—in Afghanistan, between India and Persia; the *Baluchi*, south of the last mentioned; lastly, the *Opetines*,—one of the warlike mountain tribes of the Central Caucasus, terming themselves Ir or Iron, and supposed by some of the learned to be the posterity of the Alans.

Many add to this branch the *Scythians* or Sarmatians, those equestrian nomads occupying the regions whose limits are loosely defined by the Aral, Caspian, and Black seas, and the lower Danube, and all designated as above by the Romans. These tribes, severally named *Massagetæ*, *Skolotes*, *Roxolani*, *Tazyges*, *Budins*, etc., were collectively denominated *Sakes* by the ancient Persians. The reason why we connect these long since vanished nations with the

Persian branch, is to be found in some analogies between their religion, manners, and extant proper names, with what we know of the ancient Medes and Persians. Some do not recognize these analogies, or consider them either as accidental, or arising from mere contiguity to the Persians. Such, therefore, refer these tribes to the Lithau-Sclavonic branch; or, which has the best air of probability, consider the words Scythians, Sarmatians, and Sakes, as collective names under which, without respect to relationship and descent, the ancients comprised all the nomads on the north-eastern boundaries of the Asia of their day. So that under those names, not only nations which were allied to the Persians, but those of the Finnish and part of the Turkish branch, are to be understood; but it is thought that it can be decided of hardly any of the expressly mentioned nations of the Scythians to which of these branches they belonged. Many, indeed, have, though erroneously, treated the Scythians or Sarmatians as simply of the Turkish branch; and the word Scythian is therefore sometimes employed as the collective title of Turkish nations. It is worth remarking, that many think Scythians to be the same word as *Tschudes*, which in the Lapp language signifies enemies, but formerly designated among the Russians all Finnish people, and at the present day the oldest non-Russian inhabitants of Russia.

It is likewise unsettled where to place another ancient people,—the *Parthians*,—who possessed south-east of the modern Persian province of Masanderan. They founded a great kingdom about 240–250 B. C., which existed four hundred years. Since it is most probable that they spoke the Pehlir tongue,—which, however, is not proper Persian; and since they are frequently called Scythians by the ancients,—but the Scythian words known to us meet no explanation in the Pehlir language; their descent is uncertain, and not to be settled with our present means of knowledge. Most hold the Parthians to be a people of the Persian branch; others, one of the Turkish nations.

3. *The Greco-Latin branch* is also entitled the *Pelasgian*, because in the writings of the ancient Greeks the oldest inhabitants of Greece are denominated Pelasgi. It was probably one of the first branches of the Indo-Germanic stock that migrated from Asia to Europe. Among the nations of antiquity it comprises the Greeks, or, as they termed themselves, the Hellenes, the Romans, and most of the other ancient people of middle and southern Italy,—as the Latins, the Samnites, and Umbrians. There is no pure remnant of this branch among the modern Italians, who belong to the mixed nations in Europe forming the Romanic branch. The ancient Greeks,

in the first centuries of the middle ages, became so mingled with Sclavonic emigrants, that none but the modern Greeks of the Grecian islands, and of a few districts of Turkey and Greece, can be looked upon as their pure descendants: the remainder are a Sclavo-Greek compound. Some even go so far as to treat all the modern Greeks, except the Fanariotes and a few others, as such a compound, in which the Sclavonic element greatly predominates, and therefore number them among the Sclavonic nations.

4. *The Celtic or Gallic branch* is thought to be the second oldest of the Indo-Germanic stock that entered Europe. The *Celts* or *Gauls* forced their way into modern France and the British islands, where they settled. But from the first-named land separate hordes wandered, at various times, toward all quarters of the world. Their bounds in Gaul were the British Channel and the North Sea, the Bay of Biscay and the Garonne, the Mediterranean—from which they were at first separated by Iberian tribes—and the Alps, the Jura, and the Rhine,—which river ran between them and the Germans. On the British islands there is no trace of an anterior population. The Celtic branch parts into two main groups, the Cymri and the Gael. The *Cymri* were the *Gauls*, strictly so called, who possessed from the Garonne to the Ardennes, the Marne, and the Seine; the *Belgæ*, whose country extended north-east of the Gauls to the Lower Rhine and the North Sea; and the *Britons*, who inhabited England and the south of Scotland. Each of these nations was split into a number of tribes. Many consider the Belgæ a mixture of Celts and Germans; others think them a pure German people. Both suppositions are improbable, for all extant Belgic proper names undoubtedly are of the Celtic language. A mingling with Germans could be assumed only in regard to the smaller eastern portion of the Belgæ. The *Gælic* nations were the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, the ancestors of the modern Scotch Highlanders, and the *Scots*, the ancestors of the Irish,—a part of whom passed over to Scotland, subdued the Picts, and gave their name to the northern part of Great Britain.

The migrations of the Celtic nations from Gaul were confined mainly to the Gauls proper; for the Belgæ moved nowhere except to England, where some of them dispossessed the Britons of the south-eastern extremity of the island. The Gauls play a part in the earliest history of Europe similar to that of the Germans at the time of the great migration of nations. Five hundred years before Christ, Gallic hordes had settled in the extreme west of the Pyrenean peninsula. Four hundred years before the Christian era, numerous Gallic bands broke into Italy, drove the Ligurians, Etrurians, and Umbrians of upper Italy southward, and took possession of the ter-

ritory lying between the Alps, the Apennines, and Ancona. Here, forming little tribes under the names of *Senones*, *Boii*, *Insubres*, *Lingones*, *Cenomani*, and *Salassi*, they at first lived independent, and made occasional inroads into central Italy, but were finally subdued by the Romans. Because of their occupying upper Italy it was called Cisalpine Gaul.

It was probably about the same time when these bands were moving southward, that other numerous hordes of the same people were wandering toward the east. They first settled in the Alps and in south Germany as far as the Danube, which became the boundary between them and the Germans, until at a much later period the Gauls were mostly driven out or destroyed. The tribes of this district were the *Helvetians*, who occupied the greater part of modern Switzerland, and at one time spread beyond the Rhine and Lake Constance to the upper Danube and towards the Main; the *Rhætians*, a mountain tribe between the Helvetians and the river Lech; the *Vindelicians*, bounding on the Rhætians, and inhabiting the plain between the Lech, Danube, and Jura; the *Norici*, between the upper Drave and the Danube, in modern Carniola, Carinthia, and the Salzburg district; the *Boii*, of the same name as a tribe in Italy, and inhabiting north-east of the Norici, about the Platten-see, for a time possessing a region still called after them Bohemia, (*Boierheim*, that is, home of the *Boii*,) from which they were expelled by the Marcomanni; finally, the *Carni*, between the Norici and the Bay of Trieste.

Other Gauls settled south-east of the Alpine range, of whom the *Scordici* around the Danube, Save, and Dwina made themselves famous. About 300 B. C., some bands established themselves in Thrace, where they founded a kingdom, and whence, in the year 280, they made an inroad into Macedonia and Greece. Some centuries afterwards a portion of these Thracian Gauls passed over to Asia Minor, giving their name to Galatia, where the Gallic tongue was still spoken after the birth of Christ.

Such are the most important ancient nations of the Celtic or Gallic branch, which, as we have just seen, played a great part in Europe, spread far and wide by migration, and—differing from the Germanic nations—turned back in its wanderings towards Asia, whence, like all other European people, it originally came.

Notwithstanding the former great extension of the Celtic branch, it has, with slight exceptions, disappeared. Almost all the Celtic nations have either been exterminated or become blended with their conquerors. It is only in the west of England, the north of Scotland, in Ireland, Bretagne, and a small Alpine district, that some Celtic remnants have been preserved. A few valleys of the Grisons

still contain an unmixed posterity of the Rhætians, called *Romanes* and *Ladines*, but they lost their original language during the Roman dominion, and now speak the Churwelsch or Rhæto-roman, a language of Latin derivation. Remains of the Cymrian branch are to be found in Wales and Cornwall in England, who call themselves *Cymri* or *Brython*, of whom the Welsh still retain to a certain extent the speech of their fathers, and also in lower Bretagne, who style themselves *Bretonet* or Brezonet, and likewise speak a Celtic idiom. The Scotch Highlanders and the Irish are the sole relics of the Gaelic group. The *Irish*, who term themselves *Gaoidhil*, but whose usual name comes from the oldest one of their islands, Ierne or Hibernia, are not all pure Celts. The eastern, northern, and central parts, as well as the cities of Ireland, contain a population which is mostly of the same origin as the modern English, or has accepted the English language. The Highland Scotch, who style themselves *Gael*, and also *Albanach*, from Alb or Albain, their ancient name for Scotland, are still pure Celts, and still speak their hereditary language, although the Scotch-English more and more crowds out the Gaelic.

These remains of this once wide-spread branch, who indicate their Celtic descent by their speech, cannot amount to more than four and a half millions; including all, however, whose origin is unquestioned, they may be rated at nine millions.

5. *The Germanic Branch*, which figures so largely in the history of humanity, and to which the German nation belongs, came in all probability next after the Celtic migration from Asia into Europe. As was the Greco-Latin in antiquity, so is this in the middle and modern ages, for the west of Europe the most important branch of the Indo-Germanic stock. Scandinavian scholars often speak of the Germanic branch as the *Gothic*, and designate by the word Germanic simply the Non-Scandinavian nations of this branch, the reason for which will appear in our further treatment of this group.

The name *Germani* was probably not vernacular, but given by the Romans, as it often happens that a people are differently denominated by themselves and by strangers. The word was formerly supposed to be of native origin, and derived either from *Wirre*, (*Verirrung*, confusion,) the *guerre* of the French, or from *Wehre* or *Ger*, a spear; so that German signifies warrior. But the etymological laws of the language so entirely forbid all these derivations that they are no longer accepted by any German linguist. It has been maintained that the term was perhaps the native appellation for the collective German nations, in some way allied to the old names Erman, Herman, Ireman, or Irmin, and written by the Romans as we

now find it in the Latin. But, as has been intimated, there can be little doubt of its Roman origin, though, on this assumption, we are still unable to discern its accurate meaning. Some hold that the Latin *Germanus*, in that one of its various significations answering to our word countryman, was applied to the Germans because, as will presently be shown, they had styled themselves by a collective title admitting this sense. Others think that the same Latin word was applied to the Germans with the sense of brothers, either because the Romans would thus indicate the relationship which they observed among the German nations known to them, or because the honorary title of brothers, that is, allies, which they at first gave to those tribes that were friendly to them, was finally extended to all. With us the word is known only by the educated classes, and is usually employed in a broader sense than the word *Deutsche*, namely, to designate all the nations of the Germanic branch, Hollanders, Danes, and others. In a more restricted signification it is synonymous with *Deutsche*, but is so used only by the poets.*

The word *Deutsche* is without doubt of German origin. It was either originally used barely when the language of the Germans was in question; and in that case may be derived from the old *diutan*, to point out, to make intelligible,—thus distinguishing those who spoke the same tongue from foreigners; or, which is most likely, it comes from the Gothic *thiuda*, people,—and therefore signifies those of the same nation, countrymen, or the whole Germanic people, in distinction from the single tribes of which it was composed, and which had their particular names. All other explanations of the word *Deutsche* have been relinquished. The Germanic branch is also sometimes termed the *Teutonic*, and Teutonia is poetically written for Germany. This arises from the Romans having sometimes designated all the Germans by the name of a single tribe, the *Teutones*, the sound of which they may have confounded with *Deutsche*. It can be safely assumed that *Deutsche* is not derived from this name.

At the earliest epoch accessible to our investigations we find the Germanic people between the North Sea and the Baltic, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Vistula, and in Scandinavia. They already were divided into two main stems, which were separated by the Baltic, and are still widely separated by their difference of language. These are the *German* stem upon the main land, and the *Scandi-*

* It is hardly necessary to say that *Deutsche*, which, to prevent a little confusion, I have not translated in this passage of the text, is the proper appellation of the inhabitants of Germany, and to be translated *Germans*, our *Dutch* answering to their *Holländer* and *Niederländer*.—Trans.

*navian*, or northern, beyond the Baltic. The German stem itself had three main divisions, and the Germanic branch therefore at that distant period consisted of four stems, three of which were more closely allied to each other than to the fourth, or Scandinavian. The ancient Germans, Tacitus informs us, were aware of this distinction, and, in accordance with what we so frequently observe among rude people, represented it in a myth. Turico, so the saga ran, the most honoured of the gods, had a son named Mann, and from his three sons descended the three great divisions of the Germanic tribes this side the Baltic, who were named from their progenitors *Hermiones*, *Ingævones*, and *Istævones*.

The Hermiones dwelt in the mountainous or southern and central part of Germany, and westward to the mouths of the Rhine; the Ingævones on the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea, as far as the Oder; the Istævones south and east of these last, between the Vistula and the Elbe. These three stems are often called the High German, (Hermiones,) the Low German, (Ingævones,) and the Gothic, (Istævones;) each was made up of several tribes. To the Gothic, for example, belonged the Guttones, or Goths, the Gepidæ, the Burgundians, and others; to the Low Germans, the Cimbri, the Teutons, the Saxons, the Angles, the Jütes, and the Frisians; to the High German, the Quadi, the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Catti, Sigambri, Ubii, Batavi, Cherusci, and others.

This distinctness of stems was not maintained; but on occasion of the great migrations, which began a few ages after the birth of Christ, and have so powerfully affected modern Europe, the allied nations separated from each other, and formed connexions with those of various descent and more distant relationship. But few of the old tribes, like the Frisians, remained in their own country. With the change of locality, and consequent rise of new nations, many of the above-mentioned names disappear, and new ones, of Alemans, Franks, Hessians, Thuringians, Bavarians, take their places. Indeed, the Gothic stem is entirely lost. It moved mostly to Spain, mingled with the non-Germanic nations there, and passed, with them, into the Romanic group of nations.

To treat in full of this modification of the Germanic branch, which is intimately connected with the history of the modern European States, would carry us beyond the limits of our cursory review of races. It will be enough to observe, in general, that those Germanic nations which, like the Goths, mingled with predominating foreign elements, are no longer reckoned under the Germanic, but under the so-called Roman popular branch; that the Germanic branch, at the present day, numbers at least sixty millions, and consists of seven

nations. The greatest of these is the German people, speaking the proper German language, and estimated at above fifty millions. They hold the largest part of Germany, and are found in Hungary, Transylvania, Russia, Schleswig, France, Switzerland, and North America. In Italy there are some small and very ancient settlements of Germans, who preserve their mother-tongue to the present hour. They are the Communes of Monte Rosa, in the Sardinian territory, the so-called *Sette Comune*, who live on the Upper Brenta, surrounded by Italians, and the *Tredeci Comuni* in the neighbourhood of Verona. The six other Germanic nations are the *Hollanders*, including the Flemings in Holland and Belgium; the *English*, who, as well as the Hollanders, have transmarine colonies, presenting the national manners and language, but with whom subordinate Scandinavian, Celtic, and some French elements are mingled; the *Danes;* the *Norwegians*, *Icelanders*, and *Swedes*.*

The four last-named people form one of the two original stems, to wit, the Northern, or Scandinavian. As has been already said, this stem is less nearly allied to the nations of the other Germanic stem than they are to each other, and least of all to the Gothic division, although the Scandinavians were long considered as branching from the Goths. This error arose from one of the Scandinavian tribes bearing the name of Gauts, whence, in Sweden, we still find the name Gothland, who were confounded with the Goths.

6. *The Roman Branch* comprises those mixed peoples who speak languages of Latin origin, excepting the Wallachians, in south-western Europe, who belong to the Thracian branch, and the small Celtic remnant in the Grisons, already spoken of. The nations of the Roman branch are the results of the great transformation that Europe underwent in the time of the popular migrations, and one of their main elements is the Germanic. On this account they are added, as a sort of subdivision, or collateral branch, to the aggregate of the Germanic nations. They are the Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.

The modern Italians spring from a most complex mingling of races, which varies in its components in different quarters of Italy. Although this country is separated from the rest of Europe by high mountains, it was, like India, in a similar situation, frequently visited by rapacious strangers, and, therefore, like that Asian land, has received many strangers into its population; but the original inhabit-

* The error in enumeration that allows but about ten millions to the six lesser Germanic nations, and their *colonized descendants*, is too palpably gross to have been committed by Dr. Kriegk. Every intelligent reader can make a sufficiently accurate correction of what is doubtless a printer's mistake.—*Trans.*

ants united with the intruders, which was not the case in the Indian peninsula, and have, in the course of time, undergone various changes. After the irruption of the Celts into Italy, the settling of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and of the Greeks in Sicily and Lower Italy, that is, after the earliest known immigrations into these already populated districts, there followed, in the irruption of the Northern Barbarians, the Ostrogoths of the Gothic-German stem, and the Longobards of the High-German stem, into Upper and Central Italy. Still afterward, the Arabians penetrated into Lower Italy and Sicily. Finally, in the middle ages, the Normans, or Romanized Germans, came from Normandy, and a small number of Albanians were added in modern times.

From the blending of the Aborigines of Italy, who were partly of the Greco-Latin branch, partly of the Etrurian, Ligurian, and Illyrian tribes, with the different foreigners just enumerated, there resulted the modern Italians. But the mingling has not been uniform throughout Italy, and its people may be divided into the following classes: The *Lombards*, embracing not merely the inhabitants of Austrian Lombardy, but the population of all Northern Italy, as far as Piedmont and the southern boundaries of Modena, Parma, and Romagna; we find the Celtic and Germanic elements predominant in this class: the *Genoese*, among whom we may consider the old Ligurian as the ruling element: the *Mountaineers*, from the Genoese territory to South Italy, probably the purest descendants of the original Italians: the *Tuscans*, with a large Etruscan component: the *Romans* of the western Papal States, of whom that portion, in the city of Rome, called *Trasteverini*, pass for the least corrupted relic of the old Romans, and have been lately thought to bear a marked resemblance to the busts of the early native Roman Emperors: the *South Italians*, made up from a combination of the Aborigines with Hellenes, Normans, and a few Arabians: then we have the *Sicilians*, mainly descendants of the Hellenic and Arabian colonists: and, finally, the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, displaying leading traits of no one nation; for, until a late period, both islands were the object of the successive attacks and dominations of the ancient Greeks, the Phenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Greeks of the Middle Ages, Arabians, Pisans, Genoese, and Arragonese.

The *Spanish* and *Portuguese*—from whom we must exclude the Basques, who are not a Roman people—are, like others of the Roman branch, mixed nations. The primary bases, so to speak, of both are the Iberians, who may be esteemed the Aborigines of the Pyrenean peninsula, and will be more particularly spoken of hereafter; some Celts, and a few Carthaginians and Romans. The Germanic Visi-

goths and Suevi, and the Arabians, entered at a later date. The combination varies in different districts. The Arabian element is most apparent in the south, the old Germanic and Iberian are most universal. The varieties observable in the national character of the Spanish and Portuguese, however, are not to be wholly referred to variety in race, but rather to the variety in constitutions and political life prevailing through their entire history, in the Middle Ages and in modern times. The division into Arragonese, Castilians, etc., does not arise from early distinction of origin, but from the development of political events.

The Spaniards have spread very numerously out of Europe. They are found in the few Spanish places of Barbary; they compose the population of the Canary Isles—with a trifling admixture from the now extinct Aboriginal Guanches—and, to a great extent, that of the Antilles. The greater part of the white population in Central and South America, and a small portion of that of the Philippine Isles, are of Spanish extraction. The Azores and the Island of Madeira are wholly peopled by Portuguese, who also compose the majority of the white inhabitants of Brazil, and are found in the Cape de Verde Islands, in the colonies of Eastern Asia, and at various points on the east and west coasts of Central and Southern Africa, where, however, they have not remained pure.

Of the progenitors of the French, the Celts are those who earliest dwelt in France; but Iberian tribes had also settled in the south-west at an early date. To these Aborigines of modern France came first the Grecian colonists, on the southern coast, whose number was very small. The first change that the Celts and Iberians underwent was caused by their subjection to the Romans. The incorporation of the old inhabitants with the Romans was most complete in the south, and was apparent there the longest. As a result of the migration of the Northern nations, there was added to these combined elements a third, the Germanic. Germans having crowded out or exterminated most of the natives there, took possession of the left bank of the Rhine, a part of Belgium, and certain districts in the northern and south-eastern quarters of France; the Visigoths took a position in the south-west. The most important of these immigrating German nations was the Burgundians, and a part of that union of German tribes calling themselves Franks. The former of these settled in south-western Switzerland and in the adjoining French territory, as far as the Cevennes and the Vosges, where they gradually became Romanized, and lost their distinct nationality, though their name is preserved to the present day. A numerous body of Franks permanently settled in the North of France, after-

ward subjected the other nations of Gaul, and founded the great kingdom which received the name of France, and gave its citizens the name of Frenchmen. Some centuries later, Normans, or Northmen, from Norway, entered the country still called, after them, Normandy, where, like the Burgundians in the East, their nationality passed into the Roman character.

The immigrated German nations mingled with the inhabitants whom they found in possession, and who were themselves, for the most part, of mingled Celtic and Roman descent; and the French nation, therefore, with the exception of the Basques, the Celtic remnant in Bretagne, and the pure Germans in Alsace and Lorraine, is compounded of three main elements. But, as was previously the case with the Romans, so, in combining with the Germans, there was a difference between the North and South. A line drawn on the south side of the Lower and Middle Loire to Lyons, and thence along the Upper Rhone to Lake Geneva, divides the land in two parts, in the southern of which the Roman-Celtic, in the northern the Germanic element is predominant.

7. The *Lithau-Sclavonic* branch is usually supposed to be the last branch of the Indo-Germanic stock that entered Europe. Many term it the *Sarmatian* branch, on the supposition which, as was said above, is probably erroneous, that the Greeks designated the Lithau-Sclavic nations by this appellation. Others term it the *Wendish*, or *Windish* branch, because Wends, or Windes, was the name among the ancient Germans for all the Sclavic nations—a name still so applied by the people in some parts of Germany, who join the prefix *Windisch* to many places once inhabited by Sclaves; e. g., *Windisch-Gratz*. At the time of its first appearance in history, this branch stretched eastward of the Germans, from the Pregel and the Vistula to the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, and out beyond the Waldai range into Russia. At the present day, the people of this branch are dispersed over the Russian empire and a part of Turkey and Germany, and their places are from the Adriatic to Kamschatka, and from the Balkan to the Baltic and White Sea. There are Sclavic colonies even on the North-west coast of America. Our earliest historical knowledge presents this race in two main divisions,—the Lithuanian and the Sclavonic. Its aggregate numbers amount to something over eighty millions, of which about two millions belong to the Lithuanian division.

The Lithuanians, at the earliest known period, dwelt on the Baltic coast, from the south side of the Gulf of Finland to the river Pregel. They gave up the northern portion of this region at a later epoch to some people of the Finnish stock, and extended more to the west

and south. The Lithuanian group afterward spread from the lower Vistula, the Narew, the Bug, and the Pripcaet marshes, to the Beresina and the northern branch of the lower Duna, that is, over modern East Prussia, a part of West Prussia, slightly into Great Poland, over Lithuania, Courland, and a part of Livonia. The Lithuanian nations appear to have called themselves *Gethes*, who are not to be confounded with the Thracian *Getæ*, nor the Germanic Goths. By the old Germans they were termed *Aistes*, afterward corrupted to *Esthes*, whence the name of Esthonia, and a people who dwell there of the *Finnish* branch.

Five nations formed the Lithuanian group, the Lettes, the Cures, the Lithuanians proper, the Jazvinges, and the Prussians. The *Lettes* lived north of the lower Duna; their descendants compose the majority of the popular mass in Courland and Livonia, and a small proportion of that of Esthonia and modern Lithuania—they call themselves Latweets. A few thousand Lattes, but styling themselves Cures, live on the Curische Nehrung,* in East Prussia. The possessions of the ancient *Cures*, whose pure descendants are still to be found in small numbers in Courland, formerly extended from the northern part of this country to the Memel and the Curische Haff. The *Lithuanians* held from the Memel and the vicinity of the Pripcät marshes to the Beresina and the Duna. Some tribes of them are said to have been named Samogites and Semigalls, and to have given to a Lithuanian district the name of Samogitia, and to a tract in Courland that of Semgall. The posterity of the Lithuanians live partly in East Prussia, partly in Lithuania. The *Jazvinges* were the southernmost of the Lithuanian nations, and resided about the Pripcät marshes in Lithuania. The ancient *Pruses*, or *Borusses*, whose name of *Prussians* has, within the last one hundred and fifty years, spread over a large part of North Germany, inhabited between the Vistula and Memel; from single tribes of them, as some think, have names been taken for certain parts of East Prussia—as Ermeland from the Ermes, and Samland from the Sambites. This nation exchanged its native speech more than a century and a half since for the German.

The *Sclavonic* division of the Lithau-Sclavic branch is also often called the *Wendish*, or *Windish* group. It is sometimes called the Servian group, because the ancient Sclavic nations gave themselves the collective appellation of Servians, which has been preserved as the special name for two of them. The term Sclaves, by which all of this division are commonly designated at the present day in Eu-

* A low district of sea-coast in Courland.

rope, was also one of their own early names, and is still applied under different forms to different portions of them—as the Slavonians, Slowaks, &c.

The region bounded by the Carpathian Mountains, the Don, the Upper Wolga, and the right side of the Oder, in which, however, were some nations of another stock, was the oldest known dwelling-place of the Sclavic nations. They inhabited therefore south of the Lithuanians, and east of the Germanic people, between whom and them the Vistula was for a long time the boundary. At the present day they compose the larger part of the population of the Russian empire, and besides, including only the pure Sclaves, dwell in some provinces of Prussia, in the kingdom of Saxony, in the State of Cracow, in extensive districts of the Austrian empire, and in the north of European Turkey. Their number is estimated at about 78,500,000, of whom some 53,500,000 are in Russia, not quite 17,000,000 in Austria, something more than 2,000,000 in Prussia, about 6,000,000 in Turkey, 130,000 in Cracow, and 60,000 in Saxony.

According to historical accounts, the Sclavonic people were already separated into two great divisions or stems, early in the Christian era; and as to their language, they so remain to the present day. These stems were called in ancient times the Sclavi and the Antes. We now usually name them from their dwelling-places and their leading nations; calling the first mentioned, the Bohemian-Polish, or the North-Western; and the second, the Russ-Servian, Russ-Illyrian, or South-Eastern, that is, possessing the southern and eastern parts of the Sclavonic territory.

The *Sclavi*, also called the *North-Western*, or *Bohemian-Polish*, are made up of the following nations: The *Moravians* in Moravia, the *Slowaks* on the Carpathian Mountains and in Hungary generally. The *Tschechs*, or *Bohemians*, since the withdrawal of the Germanic *Marco*-Manni, have possessed Bohemia. The *Lechs*, or *Poles*, inhabit Poland, the old Polish provinces of Russia, where, however, they have mingled with Lithuanians; Upper Silesia, where they are called Wasserpoles; Cracow, Galicia, especially its western half, and parts of east and west Prussia. The *Pomeranians* and *Rugians* took possession of Pomerania and the isle of Rugen after the departure of the Germans, but became Germanized at a later date, so that but a small remnant, pure in descent and language, the *Rapubians*, remain. The *Wends* proper, also termed *Servians*, or *Sorabians*, settled about the Middle Elbe, and spread westward to the Saxon Saale, which separated them from the Thuringians. They

were composed of several small tribes, the *Dalemincians*, the *Milicians*, and the *Lusatians*, and, with the exception of a few Lusatians, became Germanized. Several Sclavic tribes, not important enough to be cited, established themselves in the Mark Brandenburgh. These, too, like most Sclaves in North Germany, were Germanized by colonizations. Those in the old Mark longest maintained themselves as Sclaves; for in the little city of Westrow, religious services were conducted in their language so lately as 1751. After the Germans withdrew from the Baltic country, the *Wiltzes* took possession of the coast between Pomerania and the river Warnow; next to them, and extending westward to the Trave, were the *Obotrites*; and after them, toward the Eider, were the *Wagrians*, the most western of the Sclavic nations. All these nations mingled with the Germans, and became gradually Germanized.

The second division of the Sclaves, anciently called Antes, contains the following people: The *Russians* are divided into two classes; the *Grand-Russians*, living mainly in Northern and Middle Russia, and the *Less*, or *Malo-Russians*, inhabiting the southern part of the country, and including the *Cossacks* proper, and the *Red Russians*, (*Rusniaks*, or *Ruthenes*.) The last-named portion of the *Malo-Russians* possess Wolhynia, East Galicia, and Northern Hungary. The *Bulgarians*, though they speak a Sclavonic dialect, belong as much to the Turkish stock as to the Sclavonic branch of the Indo-Germanic, for they sprang from a union of Sclaves with the old Turkish Bulgarians, whose name they have inherited. The *Illyrian* Sclaves compose the majority of the population of what the ancient Romans called Illyria, a more extensive territory than what now goes by that name. They consist of the following tribes: the *Chorwats*, or *Croats*, in Croatia; the *Windes*, or *Slowenes*, in Littorale, Carinthia, Carniola, Steiermark, and part of Croatia, and of the Servian people; namely, the *Servierns*, or *Raizes*, in Servia and Hungary; the *Bosnians*, the *Herzogevines*, the *Montegrines*, the *Morlacks*, in Dalmatia; the *Dalmatians*, the *Ragusans*, and *Sclavonians*.

In the first half of the middle ages the Greeks, as was said above, united largely with the Sclaves, and many think that the Sclavic element preponderates in that people. The Sclaves, who mingled with the Greeks, came from each of the two main stems. It remains to add, that in a few places of Germany, for instance in Fulda, the Lower Harz, and on the upper Maine and the Reduits, there were, in the earlier times of the middle ages, small colonies of Sclavic origin, but all traces of them have long since vanished.

### (II.) *The Armenian Stock.*

The *Armenian stock* consist of Armenians only, whose relationship to the other members of the Caucasian race is not yet clearly understood, and is therefore allowed for the present to stand by itself. The modern Armenians call themselves Haikan, and are estimated at about nine millions. They possess Armenia, lost their independence centuries ago, are subject to the Turks, the Russians, and the Persians. Many of them reside in the Levant for the sake of commerce.

### (III.) *The Iberian Stock.*

The *Iberian stock* was the aboriginal population of the Pyrenean Peninsula, thence named by the ancients Iberia. Iberians also dwelt in the south of France, and formed a part of the population of the large Italian islands at an early period. The most noteworthy Iberian nations of antiquity were the *Lusitanians* in the north-west of the Peninsula, the *Cantabrians* in the north, the *Vascones* in modern Guipiscoa and Navarre, and the *Celtiberians* in central Spain, who were, perhaps, descendants of Celts and Iberians.

The Iberians disappeared with the great influx of other nations; but a single remnant has been preserved, the *Basques*, who term themselves Euskaldunaks, and number some 650,000 souls in Biscaya, Navarre, and on the French side of the Western Pyrenees. The hypothesis of their Iberian descent rests on the circumstance that many old Iberian names of places have an explanation solely in the Basque language, which displays no affinity with any other tongue known to us.* From the similarity of the words Vascones and Basques, and from the fact that the home of the Vascones was in the land of the Basques, it is concluded that the latter are the posterity of the former. Many, without any good reason, have taken the Cantabrians for the ancestors of the Basques, but the Cantabrians lived to the west of the Basque country.

The ancients tell us distinctly that Iberian nations formerly dwelt in the south-west of France, and on part of its southern coast, and in Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. Some old Italian local names would seem, by their relation to the Basque tongue, to be vestiges of this stock, although no mention is made of its existence in Italy by any ancient writer. There were, however, a people in upper Italy—the *Ligurians*—whose stock cannot be discovered. It is plainly

* *Borrow*, in his work on the Gipsies, says the Basque is a Tartar dialect. *Prichard* thinks it shows more resemblance to the native American idioms than to any other.—*Trans.*

stated in ancient writings that they were neither Celtic nor Iberian, and we can as little refer them to any other origin. We have introduced them here, simply because they have no place in association with other people, and yet cannot be looked upon as an independent stock.

(IV.) *The Illyrian Stock.*

The Illyrian stock anciently possessed north-east of the Adriatic Sea, holding all its eastern shores and about its northern bays down to the mouth of the Po, and spreading landwards to the Save and the Hungarian Danube. Its most important nations were the *Taulautians*, the *Liburnians*, and *Istrians*, who dwelt on the east side of the Adriatic, one of them giving its name to the Peninsula of Istria; then the *Heneti* or *Veneti* on the west side; the *Dardani* in the interior of Illyria; and the *Pannonians*, whose proper home answers to modern Bosnia, but who, about the commencement of the Christian era, were forced by the Romans to migrate into Hungary. The Romans borrowed from these last the name of the province which they established on the right side of the Hungarian Danube, and therefore Pannonia is still the poetical name for Hungary.

All the Illyrian nations have disappeared, with the single exception of the *Skipetari*, whom the Christians term *Albanians*, and the Turks *Arnaouts*. They were till the thirteenth century a small pastoral people, dwelling in a part of Albania; but they then began to make incursions into neighbouring districts, in the next century greatly extended their conquests, and in the fifteenth century were reduced by the Osmans. The Albanians at the present day are half of them Christians and half Mahometans. They dwell in Albania, in Thessaly, and other parts of western Turkey, and in the kingdom of Greece, where they are said to be the majority of the population, almost exclusively possessing Attica, Bœotia, and the islands Hydra and Spezzia. At different times since the fifteenth century, Albanians, fleeing from the Turks, have passed over to places in Calabria and Sicily. Many of them serve as soldiers in the Levant. Their whole number amounts to something over a million. Their Illyrian descent, which is almost unanimously acknowledged, is thought to be proved by their language.

(V.) *The Thracian Stock.*

The *Thracian stock* was east of the Illyrian and north of the Greeks. It extended to the Danube, to the Ægean and the Black seas, and southward into Thessaly. Some centuries before the birth of Christ, it spread beyond the Danube into Wallachia and Hungary. According to the ancient Greeks, some of the people of Asia Minor

belonged to it,—to wit, the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, and *Bithynians*,—although these were so early and closely connected with other Asiatic nations, that their Thracian origin seems doubtful. To the Thracian nations in Europe there belonged, among others, the *Thracians* proper and the *Odrysæ*, both living in Thrace; the *Getæ* in Wallachia; the *Tribali* in Servia; the *Moesians*, north of the Thracians, from whom the Romans took the name of Moesia for the territories of modern Servia and Bulgaria; the *Dacians*, on the left bank of the Danube, in Hungary and Transylvania, from whom the Romans took the name of Dacia for Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the south-eastern part of Hungary. Many consider the ancient *Macedonians* as Thracians, while others count them among the Greeks, and still others look upon them as a mixed race of Greeks and Thracian or Illyrian people.

The Thracian nations have gone down in the storm of time, for few lands have undergone greater changes of population in the course of their history than Thrace. Only a mixed people—made up from Roman colonists, Sclaves, Roxolani, and other nations—preserves anything of the Thracian element among the modern nations of the earth. They are the Wallachians, who style themselves *Rumunje* or *Rumanje*, (i. e., Romans,) and are to be found in Wallachia, Moldavia, and in various districts of Hungary, Transylvania, Turkey, and Greece. There is but a slight trace of the old Thracian in their language, not sufficient, in connexion with the Thracian proper names, to decide whether the Thracian nations were so intimately allied as to form a single popular stock.

### (VI.) *The Etruscan Stock.*

The stock of the ancient Etruscans, who called themselves Rasenæ, is entirely unknown in its relations to other stocks. The Etruscans are supposed to have been allied to an ancient race inhabiting some Alpine valleys in eastern Lombardy, who bore the name of Rhætians, but are not to be confounded with the Celtic people of the same name. But neither this statement, left us by the ancients, nor the remains of their language, at all explain their affinity to the Caucasian family.

### (VII.) *The Semitic Stock.*

The *Semitic* or *Aramæan* stock takes its first appellation from Shem, the Biblical ancestor of the Jews; its second from the word Aram, the name by which the Jews designated Syria in its greatest extent, that is, the region from the Isthmus of Suez, the eastern boundary of Arabia and the Mediterranean Sea, to Mount Taurus

and Mesopotamia,—for this was an important part of the possessions of the Semitic stock. It is also sometimes styled the *Syro-Arabian.* The *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, and *Carthaginians*, were of this stock. To these are commonly added the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Chaldeans*; but the latest results of glottology, though unable to prove definitely any other descent, contradict this notion. It is quite probable that the Chaldeans belong to the Persian branch of the Indo-Germanic stock. The ancient *Egyptians* are usually enumerated among the Semitic nations; but some, judging from the language of their descendants, the modern Copts, think them entirely distinct. Many hold that the ancient Egyptians and their posterity are of the so-called Ethiopian branch of the Caucasian race. (See No. XI.) Finally, still others are of the opinion that they sprang from a union of some Caucasian stock with negroes, and are consequently a sort of mulattoes. Examination of the Egyptian mummies tends to overthrow this hypothesis, at least so far as regards a part of the ancient Egyptians; and it may be assumed as certain, that at least the higher orders of the Egyptians were of the pure Caucasian race.

The present Semitic nations,—besides the Copts, already noticed, who dwell in Egypt, and are of the Christian faith,—are as follows: The most powerful are the *Arabians.* They are no longer confined to Arabia, but have spread to other quarters of Asia, and in North Africa to the coasts of the Atlantic. They were formerly numerous in Spain, especially in the southern provinces, and make one of the elements from which the present Spanish people originated. The Spanish Arabians were formerly called Moors, and their recognizable posterity are still denominated *Moriscos*, *Maranes*, or *Modejares*. The country people of Malta may be considered as an Arabian race. The name *Saracens*, which the Arabians sometimes bear in Europe, probably signifies Eastern men. *Bedouins*, i. e., inhabitants of the desert, is not a national appellation, but distinguishes a class,—or those Arabians who lead a nomadic life, in opposition to the dwellers in towns, who in Egypt are termed *Felahs*, and elsewhere *Haddesi;* this distinction, however, may have its source in an ancient separation into two main stems. The *Moors* proper, who possess Barbary, are a mixed race of Arabian immigrants, of the old Numidians, and of the Carthaginian, Greek, and Roman colonists. (See No. XI.) The Bedouin Arabs of Barbary employ the word *Moors* to denote the inhabitants of towns, who are almost entirely the descendants of the various former possessors of the land. The Abyssinians are mostly a Semitic people: those who are not, are mainly of the Ethiopian branch of the Cauca-

sian race, which is mentioned under No. XI. The *Nestorian* Christians, otherwise termed *Chaldeans*, and living in Kurdistan, and the *Maronites*, the *Druses*, and some other small tribes in Syria, belong to the Semitic stock. Lastly, we must add the *Jews*, one of the purest of the Semitic nations, and, indeed, the most distinctly preserved of any so ancient people; and who, just on that account, have undergone such slight physical changes in different quarters of the earth. Some thousand families of Jews reside in Palestine; their whole number on the globe amounts to between three and four millions.

### (VIII.) *The Finnish Stock.*

The Finnish stock appears at the earliest epoch of its history in the north-east of Europe, and in the adjoining districts of Asia. The Ural Mountains are thought to be its original locality. The name of *Finns*, which is also appropriated to one of the nations of this stock, seems to have originated with the Germans. Among some of the Finnish nations the names *Suome*, *Same*, and *Suomelassed*, serve as the collective title of all. The Russians, as was remarked in the description of the Persian branch of the Indo-Germanic stock, gave to all the Finnish people the appellation of *Tchudes*. This stock is also termed the *Uralian*, from its original seat, and the *Agrian*, from one of its branches. It is sometimes spoken of as the *Iotunian*, because the Scandinavians use the contemptuous word *Iotuns* to denote those of the Finnish race dwelling in their country.*

This stock has four main divisions or branches. The first is that of the *North-western*, likewise termed, because of the extensive influence upon them of Germanic dominion and culture, the *Germanic Finns*. To it belong the following nations:—the *Lappes*, in the northern parts of Norway and Sweden, and in the adjoining Russian territory, who denominate themselves Same or Suome; the *Lieffs*, from whom Livonia takes its name, but of whom only a few remain pure there and in Courland; the *Finns*, who are half Germanized, and compose the greater share of the population of Finland, to whom are to be added the *Karelians* and *Ingrians* in Karelia, Ingermanland, and the province of Olenz; finally, the *Esthes*, who possess the most of Esthonia and adjoining part of Livonia. These last are called by the old original designation of the Lithau-Sclavonic people; they style themselves, however, Suomelassed. The second or *Permic* branch of the Finnish stock consists of the *Permians* in the

* As *Ugrians* is but a form of the word *Ogres*, with all its bad meanings; so *Iotuns* signified monsters or enemies.—*Trans.*

Russian government of Perm; of the *Syrjænens*, who dwell in the same and in the provinces of Wologda and Tobolsk, and are in fact one people with the Permians, and bear in common with them the name of Comi; and, finally, of the *Wotiaks*, in the provinces of Wojatka and Orenburg. The third or *Wolgan* branch comprises but two tribes,—the *Tcheremisses*, in the provinces of Kasan and Simbrisk, and the *Morduines*, to whom belong the *Moktschans*, in the governments of Wischnei, Novgorod, Pensa, and Kasan. The fourth branch is the *Ugrian* or *Ugorian*, and includes the Woguls, the Ostiaks, the Teptiares, and the Magyars. The *Woguls* dwell in the provinces of Perm and Tobolsk. The *Ostiaks* live on the Siberian rivers Obi and Irtisch, and, in distinction from the Siberian tribes, to whom the same name is wrongly applied, are usually termed the *Obian-Ostiaks*. The word Ostiaks is of Turkish origin, and signifies strangers. The *Teptiares*, in the government of Orenburg, are of mixed Turkish and Finnish descent. The most important of all the Finnish people are the *Magyars*, or *Madschars*, who are also the only ones who have preserved their independence. They were called *Ugrians* by the Sclaves, whence has arisen the name of Hungary. The Magyars, who originally dwelt on and about the Ural Mountains, migrated thence in the ninth century toward the mouth of the Danube, and from there to the land which, together with some other races, they still inhabit. They amount to about four millions: the whole number of the Finnish nations is estimated at seven and a half millions.

### (IX.) *The Turkish Stock.*

The Turkish stock, which now extends from the Adriatic Sea to the River Lena, in Siberia, originally inhabited a part of the Altai range. It is frequently called the *Tatar* Stock. This term deserves a particular explanation, because it is frequently misapplied. The word *Tatar* is originally, and in its only correct use, the name of a single Mongolian people, located north of the Chinese Empire, in the In-Schan Mountains. The formidable name of *Tatars* became known throughout Asia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, through the conquests of the Mongol Genghis-Khan, whose mother was of this nation, and whose army was mainly drawn from it. From this fact arose the custom among the Asiatics of calling all the nations, which were united by his conquests into one great empire, *Tatars*. In this way, not only the Tatars and Mongols, but the Turks, the Tibetans, the Tungusians, and other nations, received this appellation. When the Mongols, under Genghis-Khan's sons and grandsons, entered Europe, the name of *Tatars*, in this

wider sense, was spread to one quarter of the globe. But in Europe it was spoken and written *Tartars*, because these fearful, devastating hordes, as if sons of hell, were associated with Tartarus and the lower world. Since that time all the Asiatic nations inhabiting from the Wolga to China and Japan, and from Thibet to the Northern Ocean, have been termed Tartars, or Tatars; and to these extensive regions, now wholly, now in part, the name of Tatary has been given. At the present day most of the Turkish race, dwelling in Russia, are usually so called. The reason is this: there are in southern Russia Turkish people who, in the thirteenth century, were, together with the Russians, brought in subjection to the Tatars and Mongols, and remained longer than the Russians in that state. The ruling families of the kingdoms formed by them, such as Kasan, Astrachan, and Crimea, were always of Mongolian or Tatar descent, while the inhabitants were Turkish, and spoke the Turkish language. So the subjects were called Tatars from their rulers, although they never so styled themselves. This appellation remained after the overthrow of those rulers, and in popular use, all the Turks of European Russia, of Siberia, and Asia, are termed Tatars. Thus much in regard to this name, erroneously applied to the Turkish stock. Equally erroneous is the term *Scythian*, as we have shown above when treating of the Indo-Germanic Persian branch.

*Hiung-nu*, which was formerly confounded with *Huns* by European scholars, appears in Chinese writings as the earliest collective name of the Turkish stock. Under it the Turkish nations, early in the Christian era, play a part in Chinese history, which ends with their being driven out toward the west. On the disappearance of this name from the ancient historical works, that of *Turks*, or, as it stands in Chinese writings, *Thu-kiu*, for the first time presents itself. It denoted, at the outset, only a small Turkish horde, who lived by the Altai range, and founded a short-lived kingdom by conquest. In Central and Western Asia it became the usual collective name of the whole, and from it the great plain between the Caspian Sea and the Altai and Belurtag, for many ages the abode of people of this stock, takes the name of Turkistan. In former times in Eastern Asia the Turkish people were called *Hoei-he* and *Ouigours*.

Before speaking of the modern Turkish stock, it is necessary to say something of several of its ancient nations, who played a part in the earlier history of Europe, but have since, for the most part, perished. In the closing periods of ancient history, and in the Middle Ages, there appeared, in the north-west of Asia and the south-east of Europe, a number of nations whose origin is not ascertained; but who, in all probability, either belonged to a Turkish stock, or were a

mixed race from Turkish, Finnish, and Mongolian stocks. They were the Huns, the Bulgarians, the Avares, the Chasars, the Petschenegs, the Uses, the Komanians, and the Szecklers; of the last two only are any remains extant. The *Huns*, who were so renowned under their king Attila, penetrating into France and Central Italy, were not, as was formerly supposed, of the Mongolian stock, but were most probably a mingled race from Turkish and Finnish stocks. In modern Hungary, which, during the reign of Attila, was the centre of their empire, they yielded, after the death of that king, to the surrounding nations which they had formerly subdued, and were lost among them. A small remnant withdrew to the northern shores of the Black Sea, but is there entirely lost sight of. In the same regions in which the last of the Huns vanish from history, there afterward appeared the Bulgarians, who were probably a reviving remnant of them. The Bulgarians undertook many devastating campaigns into the provinces of what is now Turkey in Europe, and in the seventeenth century settled down in the country named from them Bulgaria. Here they mingled with the conquered inhabitants, who were mostly of Sclavonic blood, and adopted their language. The modern Bulgarians, therefore, are a mixed race.

Another Turkish people, the *Avares*, likewise made themselves famous in the early centuries of the Middle Ages by their destructive inroads. They came from about the Caspian Sea, and, after ravaging the south-east of Europe, finally rested in Hungary, where, at the close of the eighth century, they were subjected by Charlemagne. They soon after disappear under the exterminating attacks of the neighbouring Sclavonic nations. The *Chasars* appeared in the seventh century, on the north side of the Black Sea, and spread to the Lower Dnieper and into Central Russia, in the commencement of the eleventh century; but were subjected by other Turkish and by Sclavonic nations, and were lost among them. Another predatory tribe of this stock, the *Petschenegs*, or *Petschenares*, dwelt, about this time, westward of the Lower Dnieper, which, at the close of the eleventh century, was dispersed or exterminated by the Byzantine Greeks.

The *Uses* are a Turkish tribe, first known as dwelling in the rear of the Chasars, about the river Ural and as far as the Wolga; then advancing into the territory of the Chasars, they cease to be mentioned after the eleventh century. But as, at the same time, the *Kumans* are first spoken of, and in the same region, the two must pass for the same people. These Kumans, called by the Poles and Russians Polonzers, disappear in their turn, at least in name, from southern Russia. Their posterity, however, still reside in Hungary,

where they had made inroads so early as the end of the eleventh, but where they probably did not settle till the thirteenth century, when they were crowded forward by the advancing Mongols. The Hungarian Kumans possess the small provinces on the right and left of the Theiss, called Great and Little Kumania. They have adopted the Magyar tongue and manners. A portion of them are named *Jazyges;* but must not be confounded with the Scythian people of the same name. The word signifies Archers, and is applied to the people because of the weapons they once used. The *Szecklers* (i. e., in the Hungarian language, the Boundary Guards) live in Transylvania; their origin is not definitely ascertained, but is probably Turkish; like the Kumans, they have become wholly Hungarian in their national character.

The ancestors of the present West Asiatic Turkish people consisted, about the tenth century, of two main stems, the *Oghuses* and the *Seljukians.* In the thirteenth century there sprang from the first of these stems a third, that of the *Osmans.* The Uses, Kumans, and Petschenegs, mentioned above, were probably of the stem of the Oghuses, who originally possessed Turkistan, and are the first of the Turkish nations that accepted the Mahometan religion. On this occasion they changed their name to *Turkomans,* which signifies Turks of the Faith, in opposition to the then unconverted Turks. They afterward migrated, and their posterity, partly in their old home, partly in Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Western Asia, still bear the name of Turkomans. The *Seljukians* originally inhabited a part of Great Bokhara, but migrated, in the eleventh century, to Khorasan, where they founded a mighty empire, and extended their dominion to Syria and the West of Asia Minor. In the thirteenth century they yielded to the Mongoles, and afterward to the Osmans, who took possession of their country. The *Osmans* are descended from the Turkmans, and were at first a nomadic horde, who made conquest of a small territory in Asia Minor, and named themselves Osmanli, from their leader, Osman. In the same century in which he lived, they became masters of Asia Minor, and, some fifty years later, overthrew the throne of the Grecian Empire, and made Constantinople the capital of their great possessions. They are still called Osmans, or Osmanli, and apply the name Turks as a term of contempt to the related nomadic hordes in Turkistan and elsewhere, who are still in a barbarous state. The Osmans close the long series of migrations from Asia into Europe.

Besides the Turkomans, Szecklers, and Hungarian Kumans, the following Turkish people of our day deserve mention: the *Usbecks* mostly live in Turkistan; a part of them are subject to China. The Turk-

ish tribes, specially styled *Tatars* by the Russians, are the *Tatars of Kasan*, the *Crim-Tatars* in Tauria, and the *Nogays* north-west of the Caspian Sea: the *Bashkirs* dwell in the provinces of Perm and Olenburg; the *Tschawaschi*, between Kasan and Siberia, speak Turkish, but are probably a Finnish tribe, with a mixture of Turks: the *Mestcheriaks*, of whom the same remark regarding descent and language holds good, live in the province of Olenburg: the *Chumyks* inhabit the northern slope of the Caucasus, the *Basians* the interior of those mountains, the *Truchmans* the east side of the Caspian Sea, the *Karakalpaks* the shores of this and the Aral Sea: the *Kirghis*, who figure in ancient Chinese history under the name of *Hakas*, are now divided into two hostile stems, the *Kara-Kirghis*, or *Burutes*, possessing the north-western territory of China, and the *Kirghi-Kassaks*, who style themselves simply *Kassaks*, and nomadize on the steppes north and east of the Aral Sea. Both nations are probably mixed races, the *Burutes* with Kalmucks, and the *Kassaks* with the Indo-Germanic stock. The *Telesses*, *Teleutes*, or *Telingutes*, termed by the Russians, *Telentian Tatars* and *White Kalmucks*, live in the Siberian province of Tomsk. They speak a Turkish dialect, but are, for the most part, either of Mongolian or Finnish origin. Lastly, the *Yakouts*, who dwell on the Lena, are the northernmost Turkish people.

### (X.) *The Caucasian Group.*

The group of Caucasian nations, that is, all those people dwelling in and about the Caucasus, who are arranged under none of the other stocks. These tribes are by no means so closely allied that they form together one popular stock. They are here united in one group, because too little is known of them to speak of their several descents and affinities with distinction. The origin of the Ossetes from the Persian branch, and of the tribes of the Turkish stock, is alone ascertained. The rest are usually classed into the Lesghian, Abchassian, Kistian, and Georgian sub-groups.

The *Abchassians* or *Abassians* dwell in the north-western districts of the Caucasian chain, and comprehend the *Tcherkesses* or *Circassians*, who term themselves Adigi, and the *Kabardines*. The *Kisti* or *Mizjeghi* inhabit the northern side of the middle Caucasus, and comprise the *Tschetschengi*, the *Inguschi* or *Galgai*, and the *Karabulaks*. The *Lesghi* are the inhabitants of the eastern region of the Caucasus, and consist of the *Avares*, (not the last Turkish people of that name,*) the *Kasi-Kumuck*, the *Akuschinzes*, and the *Kuralzes*. The *Georgians* or *Grusians* are in the southern

* Prichard says, "supposed to be the remains" of that people.—*Trans.*

tracts of the Caucasus: they are the *Georgians*, also termed *Grusians* and *Kart'uhli*, in Guristan and Imeretia, the *Mingrelians* in Mingrelia and Guriel, the *Soani* in some valleys of the south-western Caucasus, and the *Lazians* in the Turkish Paschalik of Trebisond.

### (XI.) *The North African Stock.*

The aborigines of the Atlas range, and of North Africa generally, are still less known than the Caucasian group, as to what regards their affinities to each other and to the other popular stocks. Nations lived along the whole coast of the Mediterranean who were not of the Negro race, and stood in much nearer relationship to the European and Asiatic families than to the blacks of Central Africa. But neither the accounts that have reached us from antiquity, nor what modern travellers have gathered concerning the present inhabitants of Northern Africa, enable us to decide how closely these people are connected with each other or with the Asiatic and European nations.

History tells us of some nations that entered this extensive region —of the Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, the Germanic Vandals, the Jews, Arabians, and Turks. Before these, of whom, with the exception of the three last, there remains no vestige, there were people whose posterity still exist there. In their languages, which are, however, but slightly understood, a general distinction appears between the eastern and western aborigines. The dialects spoken between Fezzan and the Atlantic seem to be related among themselves, and also those spoken east of Fezzan. But, on account of the difference between these two sets of dialects, many suppose two most ancient varying stocks of the Caucasian race in North Africa. Others, overlooking this difference, consider them all of one stock; and yet others hold the least probable opinion, that they are a mixture of Semitic Caucasians with the Negroes.

The most important native people of North Africa mentioned by the ancients are the Egyptians; their western neighbours, the *Lybians;* the *Numidians*, possessing modern Barbary, in the east; the *Mauritanians*, in the west; and the *Gætuli*, south of the two last mentioned.

The modern North Africans, excepting those who, like the Arabians, can be shown to have immigrated, and to belong to some known stock, may be parted into two main divisions,—the eastern and western. Whether they are of the same stock, or are to be reckoned as two branches of the Caucasian race, the present state of our knowledge does not permit us to decide. They are the Atlas

tribes and the so-called Ethiopian stock. The *Atlas* tribes, or the *Atlantic* stock of the Caucasian race, are the ancient Numidians, Mauritanians, and Gætuli: the most prominent are the *Berbers*, consisting of many tribes, a rude and mostly Mohammedan people, living in the Atlas Mountains. They were first called Berbers by the Arabians, who, in the seventh century, conquered their country, which has since been called Barbary. They do not themselves apply this name to their country, nor have they any common term for their differently named tribes. Those in Morocco are called *Amazigh;* but those in South Morocco, the *Shuluh;* the majority in Algiers and Tunis, *Kabyles;* in the province of Constantine, the *Zuaves;* and so on.

A second Atlantic people are the *Moors*,—those inhabitants of towns in Barbary who are of the Mohammedan faith and not of pure Arabian or Turkish descent. They are a mixed race speaking Arabic, springing from the ancient Carthaginian and Roman colonists, the Arabians, (especially those exiled from Spain,) and the Berbers. It is worthy of notice, that in our histories the pure Arabians are often incorrectly spoken of as Moors, as are also the predatory tribes in the west of the great desert, who are probably Berbers. The inhabitants of the Canary Isles, who were nearly exterminated by the Spaniards in the fifteenth century, were probably a third Atlantic people. The small remnant of survivors became fused with the Spanish settlers: they are known to us under the name of *Guanches*, which was proper only to the natives of Teneriffe. They were fond of freedom, passionate for military glory, and somewhat raised above the lowest political condition. To the above list we may add most of the inhabitants of the oases in the western quarter of the great African desert, namely, the *Tuaryks*, who live in the oases towards Fezzan, and east of that province in the oasis of Sivah.

The eastern families of North Africa are of the Ethiopian or Nubian stock, which includes part of the *Abyssinians*. Many reckon the old *Egyptians* and their descendants, the *Copts*, within it. To it belong the *Nouba* or *Nubians*, who term themselves Barâbra, and live partly in the valley of the Nile; partly, together with Arabians and Negroes, make up the population of Kordofan, and are found in eastern Nubia and the east of Upper Egypt: their most noteworthy tribes are the *Bishari*, *Adarebs*, and *Abadeh*.

### II. The Mongolian Race.

From want of satisfactory historical accounts, and of sufficient knowledge of their languages, we find even more difficulty in distin-

guishing the Mongolians according to their affinities into stocks and branches, than we did in a similar distribution of the Caucasians. Any division can only be looked upon as a temporary arrangement approximating to truth. We divide the nations of the Mongolian race into five leading groups, which we call, indeed, popular stocks, but without a certainty that their members bear such relationship to each other as the classification would intimate. These groups are, the Mongolian stock proper, the Chino-Japanese, the Tungusian, the Siberian, and the Indo-Chinese or Farther-Indian.

### (I.) *The Mongolian Stock.*

The Mongolian stock is also called the *Tatar*, because the Tatars are a portion of the Mongols. This is a real group, whose members are allied among themselves, but its numbers are not large,—only a few millions. Its original locality is the north-eastern part of Mongolia, the central district of the tract lying between the peninsula of Corea and Lake Baikal. It spread thence westward, became, under Genghis-Khan and his sons, a nation of conquerors, and now inhabits from the western boundary of Mantchuria to the Steppes of the Kirghis,—one tribe lives on the Wolga.

The Mongolian stock is composed of the Mongoles, the Burates, and the Eluths. The *Mongoles* are sometimes called *Tatars*, though but part of them are such. They are subject to the Chinese, and live in the east of Mongolia; a small portion of them, dwelling about the river Selenga, belong to the Russian empire. There are two nations of them,—the *Khalkas Mongols* to the north, and the *Tsachar* or *Border Mongoles* on the south, of the desert of Gobi. The *Burates* or *Buriates* live about Lake Baikal, and are nomads, like the Mongoles proper. The *Eluths* are the most widely spread of the Mongolians. A portion of them live south-west of the *Kalkas Mongoles*, in western Mongolia, and as far as the steppes of the Kirghises. They part into four stems, bearing the names of *Dschoungars* or *Songarians*, *Tourgots*, *Khochots*, and *Tubetes*. There were formerly many Eluths in Russia, spreading to the Wolga; but in 1771 several hundred thousands suddenly returned to the Chinese empire. Those who remain in Russia are termed *Kalmucks*, numbering only a hundred and fifty thousand. They are mostly in the nomadic state, and live partly on the middle and lower Wolga, partly on the northern slope of the Caucasus, partly in the territory of the Don Kossacks, partly in southern Siberia towards Songaria. There are other tribes in Russia that are wrongly styled Kalmucks, as the so-called *Mountain Kalmucks*, who are probably a mixture of Turks, Samoiedes, and Kalmucks.

### (II.) *The Chinese Stock.*

The Chinese stock embraces the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Tibetans. The original unity of this stock cannot be proved. Its members display only certain general similarities. The *Chinese* have risen far above the other Mongolian nations. They are the largest in number of all the people in the Chinese empire, and amount to more than three hundred and fifty millions. They are not confined to this empire, but have settled in great numbers without its limits, in Hither and Farther India, Java, Borneo and Celebes, Manilla, and other parts of South-eastern Asia.

The *Japanese* are in language related to no other people, but are nevertheless most probably of one stock with the Chinese. They received their first culture, and many improving influences afterward, from China. They are a very numerous people on the various islands of their empire, but least numerous on the northern islands. The inhabitants of the *Leoo Keoo* Islands, who pay tribute to the Chinese and Japanese, are probably a mixture from these two nations.

The *Kouans* or *Kaoli*, who are to a certain extent independent of China and Japan, are quite unknown to us as regards their affinity to the two preceding nations,—perhaps originally a distinct people, they have at a later date mingled with them and the Mantchoos.

The *Tibetans*, who also appear under the name of Tangutes, dwell in Tibet, on the north side of the Himalaya, in Butan, and partly in Nepal, where they are termed *Bhota*, *Bhotiya*, and *Newari*. There are Tibetans in China,—an aboriginal Tibetan people, called *Miao* or *Miastsen*,—scattered through some of the southern provinces, for the most part entirely uncivilized, and partly still independent.

### (III.) *The Tungusian Stock.*

The *Tungusian* stock comprises two nations, allied by language and physical characteristics,—the *Mantchoos* and the *Tunguses* proper,—and extends from the Yellow and Japan seas and the sea of Okhotsk beyond Lake Baihal and to the Icy Sea. The Mantchoos live in Mantchuria, and a few of them in China proper, where, in 1644, a Mantchoo raised himself to the imperial throne, which is still occupied by his posterity. They were formerly named the *Tschur-tschi* or *Niutschi*, but in 1642 they began to call themselves Mantchoos, about the derivation of which appellation the learned differ. The *Mantchoos* who entered China are called *Old*, those re-

maining in Mantchuria *New Mantchoos*. *Tunguses* is the title of all the tribes of that stock not subject to the Chinese emperor: they are uncivilized nomads, dwelling in Russian Siberia. We distinguish three branches of them:—the *Tunguses* proper, who nomadize from the Yenisei to the north-western limits of Mantchuria; the *Olenians*, about the river Lena; and the *Lamutes*, on the coasts of the Okhotsk Sea.

(IV.) *The Siberian Stock.*

We include in the Siberian stock a number of uncivilized tribes inhabiting the north and east of Siberia and the coasts of the Icy Sea. They should not properly be considered as of one stock, but merely as a number of tribes, all belonging to Northern Asia, and displaying a certain general similarity in their mode of life and in their low social condition. The *Samoiedes*, whose original abode was the region of the upper Yenisei and the Sayansk Mountains, from an actual popular stock, composed of the *Soiotes*, in the mountains just named; the *Ostiaks*, (this name, it will be remembered, properly belongs to a Finnish people,) of Naryna and Tomsk; the *Samoiedes* proper; and others. The *Samoiedes*, so termed by the Russians, bear various special appellations among themselves, and live in two separate groups,—one on the coasts of the Icy Sea from the Yenisei to the White Sea; the other, from the Upper Yenisei southward to the Chinese Empire. The *Yeniseans* or *Ostiaks* of the *Yenisei* are another Siberian group, dwelling about the Yenisei between the two Samoiede groups. The *Koriaks*, in North Kamtschatka, form, with some other tribes there, a distinct group, who are perhaps allied to the polar tribes of America. The *Yakaghiri* are between the rivers Jana and Covima, on the shores of the Icy Sea. The *Kamtschadales*, or, as they term themselves, *Itelmans*, are in the peninsula of the same name; the *Kurilians* or *Ainos*, on the Kurilian Islands, Tarakai, and the Japanese island of Jesso.

(V.) *Siberian-American.*

To the Polar people, to which the foregoing group belongs, may be added some others, partly in the extreme north-east of Siberia, partly in America, who are of the Mongolian race, and who, though their affinities are not yet definitely ascertained, may be included under the name of *Siberian-American* nations. Among them are the *Esquimaux* in North America, the *Tchugatschi* in Russian America, the *Aleutians* on the islands of that name, and the *Tchutchi* in the north-eastern extremity of Siberia.

### (VI.) *Indo-Chinese.*

The *Farther-Indian*, or *Indo-Chinese* nations, form a group related by language and physical characters, whose numbers are estimated at from twenty-two to twenty-three millions. But many of them are hardly known to us, and the languages of some of them are known to be very different from those of the rest. We have, however, reasons for believing that, with the exception of the Malays and Negritos, they belong to the Mongolian race, and are sure that this is the case with the following most important nations of them: The *Anamese*, who are the *Tongkinese*, and the Kio-katchin, or, as they are termed in Europe, the *Cochin-Chinese*. The *Siamese*, called *Schans* by the Birmans, comprise the *Siamese* proper, who style themselves *T'hay*, or the Free, and the *Laos*, (*Loi*, *Lowa*, and *Lolo*,) who dwell in parts of Anam, Siam, Birmah, and South-eastern China, to whom also probably belong the *Pei-i*, or *Loktai*, and the *Pa-pe*, on the southern limits of China and Ava. In physical character, culture, and manners, the *Kambojans*, or *Khomen*, belong to the Siamese branch; but they speak a dialect of the Anamese. The *Birmans*, or *Barmans*, who style themselves Wranma, form a third branch that embraces the *Arakanese*, or *Rukheng*. A fourth branch is that of the *Peguans*, calling themselves *Mon*. Those tribes of Farther-India, almost or entirely unknown, whose position in the classification of the Indo-Chinese nations cannot be fixed, are the *Kariang* in Siam and Birmah; the Ka, or Panong, in Siam; the Tschong in its southern mountains, the Moi in the interior of Cochin-China, the Kassi in Assam, and many others.

### III. The Negro Race.

The *Negro race*, or, more correctly, the *Native African race*, has the least historical significance of all the races; for its members, with few exceptions, have displayed no mental development, and, consequently, have exerted no influence upon the current of events with the other nations of the earth. There is, however, a difference in this respect among the African negroes. In the countries lying south-west of the great African desert, the inhabitants were converted centuries since to Mohammedanism. They have made such advances in trades, commerce, and mental cultivation, that they are now broadly distinguished from the negroes farther south, who are still perfect savages. They have, meanwhile, remained for the most part a prey to the despotism that has always ruled among negro nations, and are far distant from the degree of civilization to which

some Asiatics of the same faith have raised themselves. Indeed, early in the middle ages some of the Mohammedan Asiatic nations were the most enlightened of the human race. From this point of view, the negro race is too unimportant to require a statement of its several nations. The following general observations will suffice: The Greeks and Romans named all the nations of Central Africa, Ethiopians; a term often applied in modern times to the whole native African race. But this word is not rightly so employed; for the ancients did not consider it synonymous with negroes, but extended it to the nations on the river Indus, applying it to all the inhabitants of the torrid south, though more particularly to the Central Africans. The case is quite similar with the word *Moors*, which originally denoted the Mauritanians, of what is now Barbary. It was transferred by the Europeans of the middle ages to those Arabians who settled in North Africa, and afterwards in Spain; then was applied to all Mohammedan heathen people of the south, till finally it was fixed upon the negroes.

The natives of Middle and Southern Africa are not all negroes. The main families are distinguished from each other by the hair, the colour of the skin, and other physcical characters, as follows: The *Hottentots*, in the southern extremity of Africa; the *Caffres* and *Bechuans*, directly north of them; and between these and the Sahara, the *negro* nations. But even of the latter, not all are strictly negroes; the *Felahs*, or *Fellatahs*, for example, who, by their complexion, which is bronze rather than black; by their speech, which is not related to any negro tongue, and by their mental characters, are decidedly distinguished from the surrounding negro people.

### IV. The American Race.

The American race being, so far as we know, from the earliest period of history up to the time of the discovery of its country, entirely disconnected from the rest of humanity, has had even less to do with the course of the great events of the world than the African. But notwithstanding its isolation, a degree of cultivation was developed among some of its members, which raises them far above the negro race; and in many quarters of the western hemisphere, vestiges appear in evidence that the predecessors of many now savage stocks occupied a much higher position than their degraded posterity. The foremost of those civilized Indians were the ancient *Peruvians*, and the *Toltecas* and *Aztecs* in Mexico. The American race comprises an astonishingly large number of nations, a particular mention of which is forbidden by the nature of this synopsis. They

are allied by certain similarities; but we are not to understand by this, that definite physical attributes are common to all, but that, in spite of their variety, some general characters connect several stems together, which again have some general affinities to other like groups; and that such similarities are found between nations widely removed from each other.

### V. The Malayan Race

Is another of those families of nations whose influence has been slight upon the general development of humanity; but it is not, like the Americans, separated by great distance from the rest of mankind, and, consequently, not withdrawn like them from the influence of others. Its habitation is, on its north-west side, not far from India, one of the oldest nurseries of civilization; and the early adoption of the *Kavi* (Karvis) as a sacred tongue in the island of Java, shows that the Malays then had early received a rich portion of the spiritual prosperity developed in India. A portion of the Malay nations have long enjoyed a degree of civilization and a distinct literature; and notwithstanding the barbarous character of many of them, have displayed an enterprising activity, especially in naval matters, that is widely removed from the persistent uniform stupidity of most of the negro nations.

The Malay race is divided into two main groups—the *Malays*, in the stricter sense of the word, and the *Polynesians*, or *Oceanicans*. The Malays inhabit the Peninsula of Malacca, the Philippine Isles, Java, Sumatra, and the other islands between the Philippines; New-Holland and the Straits of Malacca, and the island of Madagascar. They have been islanders from ancient times, for the only continental possession of the race, Malacca, was first colonized from the south-eastern Asiatic Archipelago. The Malays proper form the more civilized portion of the race. The second group, known in England as the *Polynesians*, or people of Oceanica, includes the inhabitants of all those islands scattered from the Philippine to the Sandwich-islands, to New-Zealand and Easter-Island, excepting the blacks found on some of them. These many tribes, some of whom, like the Otaheitans and New-Zealanders, have become well known in Europe, were, previous to their acquaintance with Europeans, ignorant of writing, and consequently uncivilized; but they had an aptness to learn, an adroitness, and some cultivation in their religious and political life, which, notwithstanding many inhuman customs, set them above most of the negro, and many of the American nations.

The *Haraforas*, or *Alforas*, calling themselves Eudamens, in the

mountainous parts of the Moluccas, Borneo, Celebes, and some other islands, are of the Polynesian group. They are in a savage state, below others of the Malay stock. Their colour is a dark brown, approaching to black; their hair not woolly, their appearance the least favourable of any of this race.

Far different from the Malay nations are the *Negritos, Austral-Negroes,* or *Papuas,* sometimes included with the Alforas, under the name of *Melanesians,* (black islanders.) This people received the name of *Negritos,* as if little negroes, from the Spaniards; that of *Austral-Negroes* from European scholars. *Papuas,* which, in the Malay tongue, signifies crisp-haired, is their title among the Malays. They inhabit the secluded parts of the Philippine and other islands, and of Malacca, where they are also styled *Semang,* and live in New-Guinea, New-Britain, New-Ireland, and some of the New Hebrides. This extremely degraded people are black and woolly-haired, but in respect of these and other characters, are very different from the African negroes. Their dialects are but slightly known; but are said to bear some analogy to the Malayan idioms. The New-Hollanders and the people of Van Diemen's Land, probably the lowest in the human scale, are kindred to the Papuas. The affinity between these and the Malayan, or any other human race, cannot as yet be explained.

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## Art. III.—JOHN CALVIN.

1. *The Life and Times of John Calvin, the great Reformer. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D. D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin.* By Henry Stebbing, D. D., F. R. S. Two volumes, 8vo. London, 1849.
2. *History of the Life, Works, and Doctrines of John Calvin, from the French of J. M. V. Audin, Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.* Translated by John M'Gill. 8vo. Baltimore.
3. *The Life of John Calvin; compiled from authentic Sources, and particularly from his Correspondence.* By Thomas H. Dyer. 8 vo. London, 1850.

Until recently a complete biography of Calvin has not been written. Correct and detailed information relative to the life and the labours of the great French reformer was not within reach of the student; but in its stead sketches and partial memoirs, panegyrics and one-sided views, coloured by partisan feeling and sectarian prejudice.

His friend Beza gave the world an outline of his life, as did also his associate, Farel. Senebier sketched its general outlines, and Mignet, following the track of his predecessors, produced a volume essentially defective. The lamented M'Crie collected materials, and commenced a history of the Reformer's life, but died, leaving the work unfinished. Bretschneider has written a short, perhaps, until the present time, the best memoir; and some forty years ago a volume, founded mainly on the work of Beza, was compiled by Waterman, a countryman of our own, and published by subscription at Boston. In biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias; in histories of the Reformation, as well as in the lives of the other great reformers, we have also meagre sketches, for the most part defective and inaccurate.

Dr. Henry's volumes, named at the head of this article, are the result of what may be truly called Germanic patience and industry. Twenty years were spent in their preparation. An immense amount of facts is brought to light. They are not put together in an attractive style; and, throughout the work, the author's doctrinal predilections and intense admiration of his subject drive him into special pleading, and render him rather an apologist than a biographer. His translator, so far as we can judge, although having to deal with "a style occasionally painfully harsh, abrupt, and perplexed," has done his work well. In his prefatory remarks he disavows sympathy with the sentiments of his author in some strong points in the character of Calvin; and tells us, "that it is chiefly on account of its *historical* value that he has desired to make this work known to English readers." It is right to add, also, that Dr. Stebbing does not place Henry's work fully before the public. Probably from utter weariness of the German's prolixity, he omits the larger portion of the "Notes" and nearly all the Appendices. These form nearly one-third of the original work. They consist of letters and documents which the English reader is to suppose confirm statements in the text. They would have added to the bulk, and consequently to the cost of his volumes, as well as to his labour in translation. To the mass of readers they are not of essential importance; but those who are unwilling to take for granted inferences and deductions drawn by an avowed admirer, have a right to be dissatisfied with their omission. It is the testimony of one who has examined these documents in Henry's original volumes, that they do not always bear out the statements in the text.

Of a very different character is the volume translated from the French of Monsieur Audin. Himself a Papist, he gives us the Roman Catholic view of the Reformation and the early Reformers.

His style is lively and piquant. He has no apologies to offer. He revels, with manifest delight, on everything objectionable in the career of Calvin; and where he cannot blame, with jesuitical cunning he damns with faint praise. He claims to be a perfectly unbiased biographer, and desires "to merit the eulogy of an impartial historian." In the preparation of his work he has consulted, he assures us, more than a thousand volumes. The celebrated Society of Jesuits at Rome rendered him great assistance, and a member of that fraternity revised all that part of his volume which "trenches upon dogma." His work evinces great research. He has stumbled upon original documents overlooked by Henry, and gives us,—he says, entire,—an epistle of Calvin to Farel, which he found among the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Paris, the existence of which was previously a matter of dispute. On any material point in the life of the Genevan Reformer it would be difficult to sustain the charge of direct falsehood against his Romish biographer. His statements are founded on facts; nay, in many instances they *are* facts; but so highly coloured, so draped with witticisms and sneers, as to lead the reader astray, and thus to accomplish the writer's object far more effectually than could have been done by direct falsification.

Yet another "Life of Calvin" is before us. It is from the pen of Thomas H. Dyer, in a goodly octavo, of between five and six hundred pages. Acknowledging his indebtedness to preceding biographers, and especially to the voluminous labours of Henry, Mr. Dyer has done the Church and the world good service by his manifest impartiality. He has no previously-formed theory of his own to sustain; no creed to uphold at all hazards. He aims to place his subject before the reader as he really was. He neither conceals his virtues nor exaggerates his faults. With the blind admirers of the Genevan Reformer Mr. Dyer's book will not be popular; and the Roman Catholics, as in duty bound, will prefer the caricature of Monsieur Audin. Mr. Dyer is, evidently, not a Calvinist. From his pages we are at a loss to gather an answer to the question—what is he? Nor is it of much consequence. We are of those who heed rather what is said, than who says it? At the same time, we could have wished a little more evidence of sympathy with spiritual religion in the biographer of an eminent reformer. This trait in the character of the writer does not, however, vitiate his claim to honesty of purpose and fidelity in the narration of facts.

Since commencing this article, we perceive that the Harpers have issued an edition of Mr. Dyer's work. We predict for it a wide circulation, and, as the natural result, a juster appreciation of Calvin

as a scholar, a theologian, and a reformer. To these three phases of his character, without attempting anything like a biographical sketch, we purpose to devote a few pages.

Originally destined for the Church by his father, John Cauvin, for that was his name, received the benefit of early instruction at the Collége des Capettes, at Noyau, the place of his nativity. Thence he was transferred, at the age of fourteen, to the High School of Paris; from which, when properly qualified, he removed to the Collége Montaigu. In all these literary institutions he soon surpassed his fellow-students. In the languages, and in the classes of dialectics, he left them far behind. So also at the College of Orleans, whither he went for the purpose of studying law, he was remarkable for diligence in the pursuit of knowledge. He was abstemious, and spent at his books hours that should have been devoted to sleep. By these means he acquired, says Beza, his vast and exact learning, and prepared for himself much bodily suffering and an early death.

When but twelve years of age his father obtained for him an office pertaining to the ceremonials of Romish worship in the *Chapelle de la Gésine;* the small emoluments arising from which assisted to defray the expenses of his education. In his eighteenth year, contrary to all rule, for he was not in orders, he was made curate of Marteville, which parish he afterward exchanged for that of Pont l'Evêque. It is supposed that he never was ordained, although he had received "the tonsure," a ceremonial preliminary to priestly orders. The circumstances connected with his conversion were very different from those of Luther. The German passed through a terrible ordeal, the earthquake, the fire, and the whirlwind. The still small voice arrested Calvin. A copy of the Bible, the translation, as is supposed, of his relative, Robert Olivetanus, fell into his hands. He perused its pages with earnestness, became convinced of the errors of Romanism, and resigned his benefice.* He represents himself, says Mr. Dyer, as "having been converted by a sudden call, like the new birth of the Methodists." For this rather singular statement we are referred to the Reformer's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms. It did not suit the convenience of the biographer to explain wherein "the new birth of the Methodists" differs from that preached by Christ to Nicodemus; nor does he question the fact that Calvin, at this time, really passed from death unto life, and became "a new creature."

* So says Henry. Dyer says: "He *sold* his chaplaincy, and resigned the living of Pont l'Evêque in favour of a cousin, whose morals, though a priest, seem to have been anything but pure." (P. 26.)

In his twenty-third year Calvin published what he calls his "First Fruits," being a Commentary on the two books of Seneca de Clementia:—

"Perilous enough was the publication of this work. Seneca addressed Nero on the subject of clemency, and admonished him respecting the folly and danger of tyranny. To compare the king with Nero; to remind him that the time had arrived when it would be useful for every king to read this lesson; to threaten him, by showing how insecurely a tyrant sits upon his throne; this was Calvin's design; and as it was not allowed him to speak out freely, or in his own person, the publication of an old work was the most judicious method he could adopt."—*Henry*, i, 35.

After laughing at Calvin's blunder in confounding the two Senecas, the rhetorician and the philosopher, the Roman Catholic biographer thus speaks of the literary merits of the work:—

"It is an amplification which one would suppose to have been written in the cell of a Benedictine monk, so numerous are the citations, so great is the display of erudition, so replete is it with the names, Greek and Latin, of poets, historians, moralists, and rhetoricians. His work is a gallery, open to all the ancient and modern glories of literature, whom the commentator calls to his aid, often for the elucidation of a doubtful passage."—*Audin*, p. 44.

His next literary work was a pamphlet entitled, "*Psychopannychia.*" It was aimed against the doctrine of the Anabaptists, that at death the soul sleeps until the day of judgment. It is argumentative and Scriptural, but pervaded by a spirit of biting sarcasm. In the preface to a subsequent edition he himself admits that he had been guilty of undue severity, and had said some things a little too sharply. We quote a few passages as a specimen of his style, and his method of conducting the argument:—

"Let us now speak of the history of the rich man and Lazarus, who, after the sufferings of this life, was carried into Abraham's bosom, but the rich man into hell. Are these dreams and fables? But to escape the force of this argument, our antagonists answer, 'This was only a parable.' I beg them, however, to produce a single example from Scripture where a man is mentioned by his proper name in a parable. What do these words signify? 'There was a man whose name was Lazarus.' The word of God must be a lie, or this is a true relation. The fathers of the Church treat it as such. Now let them go and fill their empty nutshells in the open day; they will always fall into the same snare. And even were it a parable, it is still a similitude in which truth is imbodied; and, if these great theologians know it not already, let them go and learn from their grammar that a parable signifies a similitude, borrowed from the real world."

Having adduced the arguments in favour of the doctrine he wishes to establish, he turns to the other side of the question. He says:—

"Let us now examine the materials and the *swaddling-clothes* with which these reasoners envelope their slumbering souls, and the *opiates* which they give them to produce sleep."

In 1536, although Henry seems to favour the idea that there was an earlier edition, Calvin's greatest work, "The Christian Institutes," was published at Basle. It was an octavo volume of 514 pages, with six pages of index. In many respects the Institutes is a most remarkable work. The purity and beauty of its style are acknowledged by Roman Catholic writers. It was originally written in Latin, and afterward translated by the author into French. The Preface, in the form of a dedication to Francis the First, is strikingly bold and eloquent. It was pronounced by the literati of the day to be a portico worthy of a superb edifice,—a discourse worthy to rank by the side of De Thou's Introduction to his Universal History, or with that of Cassaubon to his Polybius. Of the entire work, it was said by Paulus Thurlus that it deserved to rank immediately after the Apostolic writings:—

> "Præter apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas,
> Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem."

M. Audin bears this testimony to its literary merits:—

> "If the theologian loses himself amid the obscurities of his argumentation, the writer gives out some beautiful coruscations. We must go back even to Calvin to understand the transformations of our idiom. Though separated from the Catholic Church, we may still belong to the republic of letters, and the heterodoxy of Calvin should not prevent us from lauding in him the writer's skill and the rhetorician's phraseological facility. One is, at times, in admiration, while reading the dedication to Francis I., and some of the chapters of this treatise, to behold with what facility the material sign obeys the caprices of the writer. Never does the proper word fail him. He calls it, and it comes. It is Job's horse, which runs and stands in obedience to the least impulse of the rider."—*Audin*, p. 90.

Several editions of the work were published during the author's life-time, and many parts of it were much enlarged. He found no occasion, however, to vary from the cardinal doctrines originally laid down by him. Says Henry,—

> "He is perhaps almost the sole instance of a man's having reached, at the age of twenty-five, the full development of his principles,—a period at which the generality of men only begin to develop their opinions,—and of having, at the end of his life, nothing, as Augustine had, to retract."—i, 86.

On one point, however, from the force of circumstances, perhaps, and for the justification of his own conduct, Calvin did make material alterations in the text of his great work. Liebe, who had seen the edition of his Institutes published at Strasburg in 1539, says in his Diatribe de Pseudonymiâ J. Calvini, (p. 32,) that it contained many passages in favour of *treating heretics mildly*, which were expunged from the later editions. To the same point says Mr. Dyer:—

"In the earlier editions of his Institutes, passages breathing a mild and tolerant spirit show that he had early arrived at the conviction that heretics should not be punished by death."—P. 357.

He then quotes one of the passages referred to, and asks:—

"What could have induced Calvin to change these opinions? Is it possible that a man so acute, and so little obnoxious to the charge of fickleness and inconstancy, should have been led by the growth of reason and experience to reject such truly Christian sentiments as ill-formed and immature? Or was he influenced by other motives that took his reason prisoner?"—P. 358.

It is not our purpose to analyze this remarkable book. The controversies that have arisen on the doctrines therein elaborated, which are generally known as Calvinism, exceed in number and in bitterness all others that have agitated the Protestant Churches. The five *points*, predestination, including election and reprobation; the extent of the atonement; common and special grace; the freedom of the will, and final perseverance, have been argued and reargued, on both sides, until they are pretty well blunted; and it is a well-known fact, that no man of reputation at the present day, in this country at least, dares to preach to his people undiluted Calvinism. Arminianism is indeed held up as something horrible; but Calvinism proper is cautiously kept out of sight. It is modified, Baxterianized, Hopkinsianized. It is one thing in one place, something very different in another; but in each alike it passes current for Calvinism—explained. And no wonder; a more glaring mass of absurdities it is impossible to conceive than may be drawn from the direct assertions of the Genevan preacher, and the logical and legitimate inferences from his teaching. "Eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others; and *every man is created for one or other of these ends.*"—*Institutes*, ch. xxi, book iii. But this foreordination depends on God's foreknowledge? Not at all. Holiness depends on election. Damnation on reprobation. "It is a horrible decree, I confess; but no one can deny that God foreknew the future fate of man before he created him; and that he did foreknow it *because it was appointed by his own decree.*" Hence there are infants in hell; or else only elect infants die, and a reprobate child cannot be sent out of this world by neglect, by poison, or the sword. Nor did Calvin shrink from inferences like these, and even worse. Is God the author of sin? The question borders on blasphemy; and no pulpit in Christendom will venture to hint an affirmative answer. Yet is it written in the Institutes, with reference to the abominable incest of David's son,—"Absalom incesto coitu patris torum polluens detestabile scelus perpetrat; Deus tamen hoc opus suum pronunciat."—18, § i.

In Calvin's Commentaries on various parts of the Scriptures, published at intervals subsequently to "the Institutes," his grand cardinal doctrine is still further elaborated; and in a Tract, entitled "*De æternâ Dei Prædestinatione*," published in 1550, he enforces it with more bitterness of spirit than strength of argument. To the end of his life he was consistent on this subject. "He regarded it (predestination) almost as the basis and foundation of religion, and treated those who rejected it without ceremony, as scoundrels, rogues, and worthless fellows."

Mr. Dyer's opinion relative to the introduction of this doctrine into the Christian Church is unquestionably correct. He says,—

"St. Augustine, who flourished toward the end of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth centuries, was the first of the Fathers who introduced the doctrine of predestination into the Christian Church. The youth of Augustine had been dissolute, and his education irregular; but a lively genius, and an inquisitive turn of mind, led him into researches respecting the origin of evil, the nature of God, and other difficult and abstruse questions, which only served to perplex and bewilder an understanding untrained by proper discipline and culture. . . . . Even after his conversion he was still haunted by his metaphysical notions, and sought a knowledge of God as much in the books of the Platonists as in the Scriptures. . . . . In his books addressed to Simplician he first laid down the doctrine of predestination; to which he is said to have been led in examining these words of St. Paul, 'What have ye that ye have not received?' This account sufficiently shows that *the Fathers before his time were not predestinarian;* for had that been the received doctrine of the early Church, St. Ambrose and the other instructors of Augustine would scarcely have left him to discover it by his own unassisted researches. This fact was urged against him by the Pelagians, who not only objected that the primitive Fathers did not teach predestination, but that they were actually adverse to it. From this objection Augustine endeavoured to escape by affirming that the Pelagian heresy not having appeared in their days, they had not found it necessary to declare their sentiments—a subterfuge which still leaves unexplained the fact of their being *against* the doctrine.* Indeed, it was only late in life, and after he had been heated by the Pelagian controversy, that Augustine himself adopted the doctrine in its most unmitigated form: for he was constantly touching up and altering his writings; and his most noted works on the subject are two, written just at the close of his life, entitled 'On the Predestination of the Saints,' and 'On the Gift of Perseverance.'" *Dyer*, pp. 256–258.

Toward the close of Calvin's life a volume, attacking his favourite dogma, was published at Paris. It was anonymous, but supposed to have been written by Castellio, a man of genius and a scholar, who held the office of regent of the schools at Geneva. Under the guise of an inquirer after truth he propounds a series of difficult and, in fact, unanswerable questions, founded upon the writings of Calvin.

* Dr. Tomline has shown, in his "Refutation of Calvinism," c. v., that the doctrine of the ancient Fathers was in direct opposition to the peculiar tenets of Calvinism.

He shows the abominable absurdities which legitimately follow from his doctrine of predestination, and describes what he calls

"Calvin's false God, as slow to mercy, but quick to wrath; as having created a great portion of mankind merely for destruction; as not only having predestinated numbers to perdition themselves, but to be the cause of the reprobation of others; as having appointed and willed, from all eternity, that they should sin of necessity, so that neither theft, nor adultery, nor murder is committed but by his will and impulse; as having filled the heart of man with evil thoughts, not only permitting, but actually inspiring them; so that, when men live unrighteously, it is the act of God, rather than their own, seeing that they cannot act otherwise," &c.—*Dyer*, p. 441.

The author of the volume referred to continues in this strain at great length; but it is unnecessary to follow him. Before concluding, he resorts to the *argumentum ad hominem*, in the following bitter style:—

"The objectors to your doctrine say that you, Calvin, and your disciples, bear the fruits of your God, and that most of you are quarrelsome, revengeful, unforgiving, and filled with the other vices which your God excites. When one answers that this is not the fault of the doctrine, which is good, and produces not such men, they reply that it must have this effect, since it is plain that many, after adopting the doctrine, immediately become wicked, though not so bad before; while, on the other hand, through Christ's teaching, men become better. Moreover, though you affirm yours to be the true doctrine, they say they cannot believe you. For since *your God very often says one thing, and thinks and wills another, it is to be feared that you may imitate him, and deceive men in like manner.*"—*Dyer*, p. 442.

Of course Calvin deemed it his duty, alike for the honour of God and for his own reputation's sake, to publish a reply. He had now a fair opportunity to show the meekness and gentleness of a disciple of the Saviour, and to evince a spirit that should refute his opponent's charges. Nothing was further from his intention. His aim seems rather to be to exceed in scurrility, to out-blackguard, if he cannot out-argue his antagonist. His reply is entitled,—"*Calumniæ Nebulonis cujusdam, quibus odio gravare conatus est Doctrinam J. Calvini de occulta Dei providentia, et J. Calvini ad easdem Responsio.*" Assuming that the "Nebulo" referred to was Castellio, he brings against him a most unfounded charge of theft, as if, even had it been true, the "horrible decree" had been thereby strengthened. But it was not true; and the reformer cannot be defended against the charge of bearing false witness against his neighbour. In meeting what he is pleased to call "the foul and detestable barkings of that obscene dog," he sprinkles his pages profusely with the epithets *blasphemer, foul-mouthed dog, scurvy knave, vagabond, impostor*, &c. Castellio replies with comparative mildness. "It ill becomes," says he, "so learned a man as yourself, the teacher

of so many others, to degrade so excellent an intellect by so foul and sordid abuse, even were I as truly all these things as I really am not." He even doubts whether such scurrility had actually come from Calvin's pen, and says: "Christ will not always hang between thieves; crucified truth will rise again at last; but you! ought you not again and again to ponder what account you will be able to render to God for the many reproaches you have heaped on one for whom Christ died?" It is impossible to read the controversy without subscribing to the sentiment of Bayle in his great Dictionary: "It must be acknowledged that Castellio, call him heretic as long as you will, gave better examples of moderation in his writings than the orthodox persons who attacked him."*

The tenacity with which Calvin maintained the doctrine of predestination is still more strongly exemplified in his conduct toward Hieronymus Balsec, an eminent physician of that city. In conversation in private circles, Balsec ventured to question this fundamental dogma. He could scarcely have committed, says Dyer, a more unpardonable offence. It came to the ears of Calvin, who at first privately reproved him, then summoned him before the consistory, by whom he was publicly reprehended. This did not silence the physician. He went further, and with unbecoming expressions, denounced the doctrine publicly. For this offence he was imprisoned; and the ministers of Geneva, with Calvin at their head, drew up seventeen articles against him, to which he was required to reply before the Council. Two or three of these articles, with Balsec's answers, will show the *quo animo* of his accusers, and the extent of the prisoner's heterodoxy.

The *fifth* question proposed by the Genevan preachers was in these words: "Whether he (Balsec) acknowledged that faith proceeded from the divine election, and that the illuminated received such grace because God had chosen them?" To this he answered: "Faith depends not upon election, but election and faith go together. A man cannot be considered elect before he is beloved of God, and before

* Dr. Henry inclines to the opinion that John Wesley was indebted to Castellio. He says,—"The great doctrine of predestination, after it had gained a complete victory in the Reformed Church, and annihilated the Catholic Pelagianism, again sunk from the firmament. It still lives in Scotland, and among the Methodists. No stronger opponent, however, was found to it than the first leader of the Methodists, Wesley, who, on this account, separated from Whitefield, the constant and powerful advocate of the divine decrees. Wesley employed the same arguments as Castellio, but with the greatest dignity; and nothing in modern times of a stronger character, I might say of a more terrible one, has been advanced against Calvin's doctrine, than the reasoning of Wesley, the founder of the Methodists." Vol. ii, 157.

he is beloved we must know for whose sake we are beloved, that is, Jesus Christ."

He was asked again, "If he does not believe that God, before he saw any difference between men, elected some and rejected others?" "I reply," said Balsec, "that we should not say that God has a foreknowledge of one thing more than of another; for in him is neither present nor future, but all things are present to him at once. I therefore say, that he sees at one view the difference between the faithful and the unfaithful, and the election of one and the reprobation of the other." The *eleventh* question was in the words following: "If it does not proceed from an admirable design of God, the first cause of which is unknown to us, that some are led, and others not?" Balsec replied: "I do not wish to enter into this admirable and secret design of God. It suffices me that his word tells us that they who believe in his Son shall be saved, while the faithless shall be condemned; and that he sent his Son into the world in order that all might believe in him. Wherefore, observing that Scripture leads us no further, it might suffice to stop there, without proceeding to puzzle the understanding of the simple." The prisoner was asked again: "When the gospel is preached, whether the cause why some believe and others not, be not that God calls efficaciously those whom he has predestined to salvation?" "I reply," said Balsec, "that I do not conceive that God has predestined to save some rather than others; but that he has predestined to save those who believe through his efficacious grace; and that in others, who reject the faith, the grace of God, which produces faith, is not efficacious because they do not value and esteem it as they ought; so that their sin in not believing proceeds from their contempt and rebellion, and not from the decree of God."

These answers, couched in mild and gentle terms, and, as they seem to us, not very far from being perfectly correct and Scriptural, appear to have exasperated the Genevan pastors. In the language of Calvin, they tore up predestination by the roots, and that doctrine, as we have seen, he regarded as the basis and foundation of religion. He declared, says Henry, (ii, 135,) "that the honour of God and the salvation of the world depended on this doctrine, and that they who opposed it assailed God: that unity on this subject must be established, cost what it would."

Balsec was of course condemned. The question then arose as to the most suitable punishment. Calvin and his colleagues were in favour of putting him to death. At least, such is Mr. Dyer's inference, and it seems well founded, from a passage in a circular on the subject, addressed by them to the churches of Zurich, Berne, and

Basle. *It is our wish,* say they, *that our Church should be purged from this pest in such a manner, that it may not, by being driven thence, become injurious to our neighbours.*

"What could this last sentence mean? The Church of Geneva was to be delivered from the pest, which was not, however, to be driven thence. The problem how this could be accomplished admits but of two solutions: perpetual imprisonment, or death. At that time, however, the former punishment was but little customary. A short poem, composed by Balsec whilst in prison, evidently shows that he considered his life in danger. In the course of it the following lines occur:—

"'En prison suis comme meurtrier inique,
Comme méchant qui à tout mal s'applique;
Privé de biens et d'amis je demeure,
On va criant,—*Tolle, tolle, qu'il meure.*'

"A passage in the answer of the Bernese Council to that of Geneva, indicates that they also suspected Calvin of desiring to push the proceedings against Balsec to the extent of capital punishment; for they strongly deprecate such a course on the ground of its impolicy, as being calculated to stimulate the persecution of the Protestants in France and other parts. That such a suspicion should have been entertained, shows that a strong opinion must have been already formed respecting Calvin's intolerance; for as yet there was nothing *in his published works* which tended to justify the capital punishment of real or pretended heretics, but the contrary. The immediate cause of the suspicion of the Bernese was, doubtless, the passage just alluded to in the Genevese letter."—*Dyer*, 274, 275.

Calvin, however, after the affair was settled, and Balsec had been banished from Geneva, denied that he wished him to be put to death. He said it was a vile slander of his enemies.

"If we are to take him at his word," says Dyer, "we can only fall back on the other alternative, and assume that the meaning of his ambiguous phrase was imprisonment for life: a tolerably hard punishment for presuming to differ with him on so abstruse a point. As he considered most of his opponents to be reprobates, it may be that his rigid doctrine of predestination caused him to treat them with the more severity; for *why should he spare a man whom God had condemned from all eternity?*"—*Dyer*, 275.

Calvin's severity towards all who presumed to differ from him, was a most remarkable trait in his character. He denounced the Pope; but, in his little Genevan territory, he exercised papal power. He placed himself on a level with the evangelists and apostles. He assumed that God himself was offended in his person. He had usurped the perpetual presidency of the consistory, of which he offered to make Beza, who declined it, his successor; and to impugn Calvin's doctrine, says Dyer, "endangered life." He pursued the most trivial slights and insults, which others would have passed by without notice, with acrimonious bitterness. A citizen, who in conversation had assumed that he himself was as good a man as Calvin,

was required to retract such a monstrous sentiment; and, on his refusing to do so, was excommunicated. A lady who had called in question some one of his dogmas,—it does not appear which,—was condemned to beg pardon, publicly; and, under pain of *being beheaded*, to leave the city in twenty-four hours. This last fact is hardly credible, but is stated by Henry, who, as we have remarked, endeavours to apologize for everything objectionable in the conduct of his favourite. During a sermon he was preaching, when at the zenith of his power, three men were observed to laugh. They were condemned to three days' imprisonment, and obliged to ask pardon of the consistory.

At Calvin's instance, or, at any rate, with his approval, a law was enacted, making it a criminal offence to give children the names borne by any of the Roman saints. One poor fellow, who had the temerity to insist upon it that his son should be called Claude, was imprisoned; and other instances of the like petty tyranny are on record. Regulations relative to dress were made, and rigidly enforced. The Bernese costume was strictly prohibited; the people of Berne being opposed, says Henry, to Calvin and the council.

The reformer carried his measures with a high hand; almost, says Dyer,

"To a pitch of blasphemy; so that he sometimes dared to justify the harshest and most unchristian-like conduct and words by the example of the apostles, and even of Christ himself! Thus, in his tract against Westphal, he says: 'If I am to be called abusive, because I have held up the mirror to master Joachim, who is too much blinded by his vices, in order that he might at length begin to be ashamed of himself, he ought to address the same reproach to the prophets, the apostles, and even to Christ himself, who have not scrupled to reproach with bitterness the adversaries of the true doctrine. We are agreed, on both sides, that abusive words and jests by no means become Christians. But since the prophets themselves do not altogether abstain from using scurrilities, and Christ, in taxing deceivers and false doctors, uses sharp terms, and *the Holy Ghost everywhere attacks such people*, crying out and sparing nothing; it is a foolish and inconsiderate question to ask whether we are at liberty to reprehend severely, roughly, and to good purpose, those who expose themselves to blame and infamy.'"—*Dyer*, pp. 144, 145.

Nor is Mr. Dyer alone in his opinion on this point. He continues, referring to the laboured work of Henry,—

"Even a modern biographer of Calvin, who has embraced his cause with great warmth, cannot help pointing out the impropriety of his using the term *bitterness*, with reference to the Holy Spirit, and his presumption in putting himself on a level with Christ and his apostles. 'Throughout,' he observes, 'great presumption prevails in his manner, mixed with a supercilious raillery, which one cannot term Christian, and still less compare with the holy anger of our Lord.'"*—(*Ibid.*)

* Quoted by P. Henry, i, 460, from the French edition.

Mainly through Calvin's agency, laws the most stringent were enacted by the Genevese council, relative to religious worship. His practical discipline was of the severest cast. Neglect to attend public worship on the Sabbath was punished by a fine; those who came late were censured for a first offence, and fined for a second. He who denied God, or his baptism, was imprisoned and whipped. Dancing, and other amusements, were strictly prohibited; and any one convicted of inviting another to the tavern was censured and fined. Calvin seems to have aimed to ingraft upon his code the severities of the Mosaic law, not softened by the spirit of Christianity, but rendered more intolerable by his own furious zeal. Moses punished idolatry and blasphemy, unchastity and adultery, with death. So did Calvin. The Jewish legislator inflicted death by stoning; the Genevan by the funeral pile; and he left, says Galiffe, as quoted by Henry, the old laws against heresy on the statute-book, as well as the punishment of burning for witchcraft, and the barbarous custom of torture. He had spies, too, in every part of the city and surrounding country, whose duty it was to report the smallest violation of the laws; and who were paid for their services out of the fines imposed upon their victims.

"Every unseemly word, even though spoken in the street, was reported. No respect was paid to persons. Members of the oldest and most distinguished families were brought before the consistory, women as well as men, and examined in the tenderest points of conscience. An appeal to the council was seldom attended with any other result than an order to beg pardon of the consistory. The offender was then compelled to kneel down and receive a reprimand; and, in aggravated cases, he was excluded from the communion. The consistory frequently exhibited scenes of violence and abuse. Calvin would fly into a passion, and call the delinquents hypocrites, and other hard names; which were frequently retorted on himself. Upon such occasions he would demand that the affair should be referred to the council."—*Dyer*, 146.

In this reign of terror, persons were frequently imprisoned on mere suspicion; and both Dyer and Henry agree in the statement, that when the existing laws were not, in Calvin's opinion, sufficiently stringent, he would demand the enaction of a new law, which he seldom failed to obtain. A member of the Council of two hundred, by name Pierre Ameaux, at a supper party in his own house, and after drinking freely, had spoken disrespectfully of Calvin. He called him a mean and wicked man, and no better than a Picard. He made an ample apology, declaring that he was not in his right senses when he uttered the obnoxious language, and promised better behaviour in future. He was, however, sentenced to pay a fine of sixty dollars, after having been already two months in prison. This did not satisfy Calvin. He appeared before the judges, complained

of their lenity, and insisted on a severer punishment. In obedience to his wishes, they reviewed their decision, and condemned the unfortunate Ameaux to pass through the whole city in his shirt, bareheaded, with a lighted torch in his hand; and, on his knees, publicly to proclaim his sorrow for his unguarded expressions. Thus did this minister of the lowly Jesus compel the chief judicial body of the state "to stultify itself," in the language of Mr. Dyer, in order that his wishes might be gratified.

It is no more than right that, on these and similar exhibitions of what appears to be the reformer's vindictiveness, his admirers and apologists should be heard. Listen, then, to Mr. Henry, whose account of the proceedings against Ameaux does not vary from Mr. Dyer's, but who sees in it something to admire rather than to regret. He says:—

"Calvin may appear in this to have acted with fanatical severity; but it ought to be considered of what vast importance it was to him, in one respect at least, to secure a perfect purity of doctrine. In the present case he identified himself with his principles, and he founded his proceedings upon his knowledge of Ameaux and his party, to which Christianity [Calvinism] was hateful, and whose aim it was to destroy it. He was fully prepared, the attempt having been made against religion itself, to fall with the respectability of the consistory. If we carefully observe that the extension of God's kingdom was his only desire, *we must admire the grandeur and freedom of spirit which he exhibited under these circumstances*, and which was sufficient to raise him above every other consideration, even above the *painful feeling that he might be suspected of indulging personal revenge*, and thus be in danger of losing many of his followers. It required, moreover, no slight degree of courage and determination to proceed in such a manner against a man who occupied so high a position as Ameaux. We cannot for a moment impute to him the vulgar desire of triumphing over an opponent: he had proved how readily he could forgive in other circumstances, and where he only was personally concerned."—*Henry*, ii, 58.

For ourselves we must say, that we do not share in his biographer's admiration of "the grandeur and freedom of spirit" evinced on the occasion referred to; and we have looked in vain for one solitary instance of his readiness to forgive a personal insult. He could pardon anything else; and on this point Mr. Dyer's language does not appear to us too strong.

"An irritable pride," says he, "is one of the salient traits of his character. This feeling particularly betrayed itself where Calvin's literary reputation, or his authority as a teacher, was concerned; for these were the instruments of his power and influence. He loved Castellio till their views began to clash, and then he pursued him with the most unrelenting malignity. Though acquainted with the views of Socinus and the other Italian Antitrinitarians, he tolerated those heretics *so long as they flattered him*; but when he discovered that this flattery was a mere cloak and pretence, his indignation knew no bounds. Nay, he even endured and corresponded with Servetus, the arch-heretic of them all, till he found himself ridiculed and abused by the Spaniard,

and then he formed the resolution of putting him to death; a design which he cherished for seven years, and which he effected the moment it was in his power to do so; and that in spite of the mild and tolerant principles which his understanding, when calm and unruffled, had led him deliberately to lay down."—*Dyer*, 536.

We pass to more serious matters. One morning, in the month of June, 1547, a libellous placard was found affixed to Calvin's pulpit. We give it in Dr. Stebbing's translation: "You and yours shall gain little by your measures; if you do not take yourselves away, no one shall save you from destruction; you shall curse the hour when you forsook your monkhood. Warning should have been given before, that the devil and his legions were come hither to ruin everything. But though we have been patient for a time, revenge will be had at last. Defend yourselves, or you will share the fate of Verle of Freiberg.* We do not wish to have so many masters here. Mark well what I say." This was, indeed, insolent. Almost any one but Calvin would have quietly taken it down and destroyed it, as a mere *brutum fulmen*. Not so thought the great Reformer. Suspicion fell upon a man by the name of Gruet. He was imprisoned, and put to the torture every night and morning for a whole month. The placard was not in his hand-writing; but he at length confessed that he had affixed it to the pulpit. What were deemed blasphemous writings were found in his house. A petition to be presented to the general assembly, for the abolition of the severe ecclesiastical discipline under which the Genevese were groaning, was also found there; and letters, in which Calvin was described as haughty, ambitious, and hypocritical. Gruet was condemned to die, his writings were cast into the fire by the hands of the common hangman, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and he himself expiated his offences upon the scaffold. That he was a vile blasphemer there is no doubt, but even Henry appears shocked at the severity of his doom. He attempts to palliate his hero's share in this barbarity, and intimates that Gruet would have been condemned had Calvin not been in Geneva. We cannot find a shadow on which to rest the supposition. On the contrary, in the words of Mr. Dyer,—

"A verdict of capital punishment seems to have been aimed at, not from any single charge, but from the cumulative charges; and among these it is impossible not to be struck with the prominent place occupied by those which concerned Calvin's system of discipline, and himself (Calvin) personally. The impression left by the proceedings is, that Gruet was the victim of Calvin's ascendency, and of his desire of making the power of his consistory absolute." —(*Dyer*, p. 217.)

Confessedly the darkest blot in the life of Calvin was his agency

* A gentleman who had been murdered.

in the burning at the stake of Michael Servetus. The account is given, more or less at length, by all his biographers, and varies less in detail than in the spirit in which it is presented. Monsieur Audin gloats over it as a precious morsel. Dr. Henry palliates, as far as truth will warrant,—we fear, indeed, a little farther,—the agency of Calvin in this bloody drama. Mr. Dyer dwells upon the subject at length; and gives what we deem the most correct and impartial account of the whole matter that has yet appeared. We have neither space nor inclination to enter into the details, nor is it necessary. That Calvin desired his death, is most manifest from his whole course of conduct, and especially from his letter to Farel, the original of which is still extant. It is dated in February, 1546, and contains this passage: "Servetus wrote to me lately, and accompanied his letter with a long volume of his insanities, adding a thrasonical boast that I should see some wonderful, and, as yet, unheard-of things. He offers to come hither, if I will allow him. But I am unwilling to give any pledge; for if he does come, and my authority be of any avail, I will never suffer him to depart alive." At this time Servetus was at Vienna, where he soon after fell into the hands of the Romish inquisition, and was tried for holding heretical opinions on the doctrine of the Trinity. It is not absolutely certain that Calvin had any direct agency in bringing him before that tribunal, although Mr. Dyer seems to think he had. We are willing to give him the benefit of a doubt, and to suppose he knew nothing of it until called upon to give evidence against the unhappy Spaniard. Strange that a leader of the Reformation should furnish *evidence to the Inquisition* against an erring Protestant brother!* Still stranger, most foul, and utterly without excuse, that to *them* he should send letters received by him from Servetus, and written under the seal of secrecy and confidence. Yet Calvin did this, and promised to send more, should these be insufficient to secure the condemnation of their victim. Servetus, however, through the negligence or carelessness of his jailer, effected his escape from the Romish prison. Unfortunately for himself, and for Calvin, he made his appearance in Geneva, at which city he purposed to remain for a few days, on his way to Zurich. He went to church, and heard Calvin preach. He was recognized, seized, and thrown into a Protestant jail. "*At my instance*," says Calvin, (Epis. to Sulzer,) "one of the syndics ordered him to be imprisoned." Thirty-eight heads of accusation were brought against him. They had reference mainly to errors of doc-

* The obnoxious work of Servetus, *Restitutio Christianismi*, contains as forcible denunciations of the Romish Church as were ever put forth by Calvin or Luther.

trine, and to the offensive manner in which he had propagated and defended them. His escape from the prison at Vienna was one of the charges; and the most remarkable, seeing that they were drawn up by Calvin, was the thirty-seventh: "that *in the person of M. Calvin*, minister of God's word in this church of Geneva, he has defamed, in a printed book, the doctrine preached in it, uttering all the insults and blasphemies it is possible to invent."

Grievous as were the errors and absurdities of Servetus, and we have no wish to extenuate them, it is impossible to conceive by what right the Genevese presumed to try a passing traveller, who was neither a citizen nor a resident of their city. "Calvin seems here," says Dyer, "to have claimed a jurisdiction as extensive as that of the Pope." The accused was denied the assistance of a counsellor on his trial. He was condemned, and sentenced to be burnt alive on the following morning. We quote Dr. Henry's account of the final act of this tragedy:—

"The executioner employed by the Genevese was not so well skilled in his work as others. The wood which had been piled up was fresh oak, still in leaf. There was a stake, and before it a block, upon which Servetus was to seat himself. His feet hung to the ground; his body was fastened by an iron chain to the stake, and his neck by a strong rope twisted several times round it. On his head was a wreath, woven of straw and leaves, sprinkled with brimstone, through which suffocation might be speedily effected. The book which had occasioned all his misery, was, according to the sentence, tied to his body,—both the manuscript sent to Calvin for his opinion, and the printed work. He now prayed the executioner to put an end to his sufferings as speedily as possible. The officer brought the fire and kindled the wood, so that he was surrounded by the circling flames. At this sight he cried out so terribly that the whole people shrunk back. As the pile continued to burn but slowly, a great many of the people ran and cast additional bundles of wood into the flames. Servetus cried continually to God for mercy. It is possible, as one report states, that a strong wind prevented, for a considerable time, the action of the fire. The torture, to which the papal tribunals had so long doomed believers in the Gospel, was prolonged in the case of Servetus, if we may believe the account addressed to the Genevese, for half an hour. Farel says nothing on the subject. At last Servetus cried aloud, (and this may be regarded as a sure sign that he persevered in his belief,) Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me!—protesting, in the midst of the flames, and in defiance of the whole Christian world, against the doctrine of the Trinity."—*Henry*, ii, 222.

It has been the generally received opinion that Calvin, although he desired the death of Servetus, was anxious to mitigate the severity of his death. The poor fellow had entreated, with tears, that he might die by the sword; and there is extant a letter, in which the Reformer expresses a wish that the atrocity of the punishment might be abated. It was written before his condemnation. There can be no doubt that an effort on his part, worthy of the name, would

have been successful, but he himself declares that "*from the time of his conviction he uttered not a single word concerning his punishment.*"—*Ref. Serveti*, p. 511, A, as quoted by *Dyer*, 345.

How are these traits in the character of Calvin, his arrogance, his severity, his bitterness of spirit, to be reconciled with the teachings of Jesus Christ? All due allowance being made for the long-dominant principles of the Romish Church, for the period in which he lived, for the peculiar state of society at Geneva, and that of the Church, just emerging from the darkness of papal superstition, we can find no extenuating circumstances, unless indeed they may be drawn from the fundamental dogma of Calvin's creed. Of all the early Reformers he was by far the most strenuous predestinarian, and by far the most relentless. That God has from all eternity decreed whatever comes to pass, had, with him, all the potency of an axiomatic truth. He flinched not from the consequences thence necessarily resulting. He was a mere instrument in the hands of the supreme Being. He could do nothing but what God had decreed should be done. Of course what he did must be right. Is the argument valid? The premises being conceded, it is, most assuredly; and Calvin's course of conduct, in the cases referred to, is simply,—pure Calvinism carried out. Give it the power, and it will produce the same results everywhere.

Soon after the execution of Servetus, Calvin published a tract, the Latin title of which was, "*Fidelis Expositio Errorum M. Serveti, et brevis eorundem Refutatio ubi docetur jure Gladii coercendas esse Hæreticas.*" It was designed as a vindication of himself and his colleagues. It is pervaded by an intense bitterness of spirit; and is, without exception, the most atrocious specimen of special pleading that ever came from the pen of a Protestant divine. Dyer says:—

"That he may not seem to sanction the popish fires, he maintains that the punishment of heretics belongs only to those who hold *the true doctrine*, that is, to himself and his followers; thus claiming a monopoly of persecution. This claim is enforced by a very clear and powerful *argumentum ad hominem*: namely, that *whosoever should dispute his opinions on the point, would himself become obnoxious to a charge of blasphemy*, and thus be in danger of lighting his own pyre. 'Whosoever,' he says, 'shall now contend that it is unjust to put heretics and blasphemers to death, will knowingly and willingly incur their very guilt. This is not laid down on human authority: it is God himself who speaks, and prescribes a perpetual rule for his Church. It is not in vain that He banishes all those human affections which soften our hearts; that He commands paternal love, and all benevolent feelings between brothers, relations, and friends, to cease; in a word, that he almost deprives men of their nature, in order that nothing may hinder their holy zeal. Why is so implacable a severity exacted, but that we may know that God is defrauded

of his honour, unless the piety that is due to him be preferred to all human duties; and that when his glory is to be asserted, humanity must be almost obliterated from our memories.'"*—*Dyer*, 354, 355.

Evident as it is that on this point he was grievously in error, and that he had totally mistaken the spirit of Christianity, John Calvin was nevertheless a profound theologian and a skilful polemic. From his arm came the heaviest strokes that had ever fallen upon the papal power. As a reformer, on many points, he was far in advance even of Luther. We may notice the different sentiments of these great men on the subject of *images*, and especially their controversy relative to *the eucharist*. The former Calvin utterly rejected, while Luther not only tolerated them, but retained that false division of the commandments by which the Romanists seek to cover up their prohibition. In the Lord's Supper, as is well known, Luther contended for the real presence,—the literal meaning of the words, *hoc est meum corpus*. "Let them show me," said he, "a body that is not a body;" and on this point he avowed his determination never to yield. Calvin, on the other hand, with great eloquence, maintained that the sacrament is spiritual,—a something whereby, in his own language, "God feeds not the stomach, but the soul." He contended that the body of Christ is *truly* and *really*, but not *naturally*, offered to us; and, in opposition to the idea of Zuingle, that the bread and wine are nothing more than memorials, he held that "the soul of the communicant raises itself toward heaven by faith, and by the instrumentality of faith unites itself with the substance of the Lord."

As an expounder of the Scriptures, Calvin deserves high praise. His exegetical talent was very great; and his commentaries evince honesty of purpose and patient research. He does not waste his strength on verbal criticisms, like Erasmus, is less dogmatic than Melancthon, and far more logical and precise in the utterance of his sentiments than Luther. He seldom digresses from the point in question, and, for his opinions, gives reasons that, if not always valid, are generally worthy of consideration. He contends that the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have been written by Paul; and refuses to place John on the same historical line with the three other evangelists. He declined to write notes on the Apocalypse, because, as he frankly confessed, he did not understand it.

The system of church government, as carried out by Calvin at Geneva, is essentially Presbyterian. Indeed he is considered, and justly, as the founder of that scheme of ecclesiastical polity. He recognized the doctrine of ministerial parity, and ridicules the papal

* Refutatio. Opera, viii, 516, A.

figment of apostolical succession. He contends that "the Scriptures recognize no other servants of God but the preachers of the Word, called to govern the Church, and whom they sometimes name bishops, sometimes elders or pastors." It is worthy of notice, however, that he did not object to episcopacy *as an office* in the Church. He admits that such was the custom of the primitive Christians, and would even tolerate an archbishop, not indeed as of a higher order, but as *primus inter pares*, to maintain unity among his colleagues, and to preside over the synods of the Church. The following is his own language upon this point. We commend it to the notice of those among Calvin's special admirers who never weary of assailing the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a letter to the king of Poland, bearing date December 9th, 1554. He says:—

"The ancient Church erected patriarchates, and even assigned to single provinces certain primacies, that bishops might be more united by this band of concord. And in like manner, if one archbishop should now preside over the kingdom of Poland, not indeed to domineer over the rest, nor to arrogate to himself their authority, but for the sake of order to preside in their synods, and to maintain a righteous union among his colleagues and brethren; there might then be provincial or civic bishops, whose duty it should particularly be to preserve order. *For nature herself dictates that in every society one should be chosen to direct affairs.*"—*Ep.* 190, quoted by Dyer, *Note*, 148, 9.

As a preacher, Calvin aimed to instruct and edify rather than to dazzle his hearers. His pulpit exercises were more impressive than those of Luther. His delivery was slow, and his sermons seldom exceeded half an hour in length. He preached extemporaneously; and it is nowhere intimated, says Henry, that he ever wrote a sermon. Indeed, the Reformer seems to have been of the opinion that reading a discourse has no claim to be called preaching. His declarations that "the power of God can only pour itself forth in extempore speech" are frequent. "There is too little of living preaching in your kingdom," says he, in a letter to Somerset, "sermons there being mostly read or recited." And again,—"all this must yield to the command of Christ, which orders *the preaching* of the Gospel." Speaking of the reason sometimes given for reading written discourses, the danger of the preacher's running into folly or incorrect statements, he says,—"No possible danger must be permitted to abridge the liberty of the spirit of God, or prevent his free course among those whom He has adorned with the graces for the edifying of the Church."

When thirty years of age Calvin married the widow of an Anabaptist, who had been converted through his ministry. Her name was Idelette de Bures. She is said to have been a woman of education and refinement. He himself called her *singularis exempli*

*fœmina.* They had but one child, who died in infancy, and their union lasted but nine years, "which," says Henry, and we agree with him, "was the more to be lamented, as the influence of such a woman and of domestic life would certainly have operated beneficially, even to the last, on Calvin's character." He gives an affecting account of her last illness and death; and, for years afterward, adverts in his letters to the severity of his affliction.

In his mode of life he was remarkable for abstemiousness and frugality. He chose to be poor; refusing, on several occasions, proposed additions to his very moderate salary, and is said uniformly to have declined receiving presents, unless for the sake of giving them to the poor. From his numerous publications it is believed that he derived no pecuniary profit; and yet, as was the case with Wesley, he was assailed on all sides as having amassed great wealth. "I see," said he, "what incites my enemies to urge these falsehoods. They measure me according to their own dispositions, believing that I must be heaping up money on all sides, because I enjoy such favourable opportunities for doing so. But assuredly if I have not been able to avoid the reputation of being rich during my life, death will at last free me from this stain."

And so it was. By his last will Calvin disposes of his entire property, amounting to about two hundred and twenty-five dollars; and on the 27th day of May, 1564, being within a few weeks of fifty-five years of age, he calmly breathed his last in the arms of his friend Beza. He was buried, according to his own request, without pomp, and no monument marks his last resting-place.

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## Art. IV.—THE CHURCH AND CHINA.

The great work of evangelizing the world is to be effected by the sanctified energies of the Church, directed and assisted by the Holy Ghost. We have no reason to believe that God will ever interpose in such a way as to relieve her of this responsibility. To the Church, in all past and coming time, Christ's emphatic command is, "*Go preach my Gospel to every creature!*" Thus did the apostles understand the command of our Lord. They "conferred not with flesh and blood," but at once addressed themselves to their task. And in the history of the Church it is a significant fact, that just as she approaches the Divine image, does her enlightened zeal for the spread of the Gospel increase. These considerations fix this duty on the Church of Christian believers. It is impossible to evade it. To

every believer in Jesus the command is given. It is at our peril that we hesitate or delay.

We have made these remarks for the purpose of introducing the subject of the present article. It has occurred to us that the present is a fitting time for calling the attention of the Church to the claims of China. The lamentable apathy on the part of many Christians in reference to this subject, the increasing desire for information on the part of others, the fact that now the Gospel may be preached here, and the facilities afforded by the position in which we have been placed by the Church, induce us to attempt the task. Our residence in this far-off land has brought us into direct contact with heathenism. The monster stares us in the face, and defies our power. Never before have we so ardently desired that eloquence which moves—the ability to utter those "words that burn." It has startled our whole being to find ourselves, fresh as we were from the land of Bibles, and Sabbaths, and Christians, placed in the midst of these teeming multitudes who neither fear nor know the God whom we love and adore. Would we had the power to write in characters of flame, on the heart of every Christian, the true condition of this people! It is our present purpose to present such a view of this great nation, as shall aid in calling forth the hearty and efficient efforts of Christians for its evangelization. What we have to say will consist of some remarks on its *territory, population*, and *climate*—its *openings, prospects, difficulties*, and *demands*, as a mission field.

I. *Its territory, population, and climate.*

A single glance at a map of the world will show any one the vast extent of territory governed by the present dynasty of China. From the Peninsula of Lin-Chau, lat. 20° N., it stretches northward to the outer Hing-an, or Yablonoi Mountains, lat. 56° N. From Cape Patience on the east, long. 144° 50′ E., it extends to the western bend of the Belur-tags, long. 70° E. The area of this vast region is estimated by M'Culloch at 5,300,000 square miles. It has 3,350 miles of sea-coast. The circuit of the empire is 12,550 miles, or about half the circumference of the globe; and comprises one-third of Asia, and nearly one-tenth of the habitable world. The empire is divided into three principal parts: *first*, the eighteen provinces; *second*, Manchuria; *third*, colonial possessions. The last includes Mongolia, Sungaria, eastern Turkistan, Roko-nor, and Thibet. The *second* is the native country of the Manchus, the reigning family in China, and includes the territory lying east of the Inner Duarian Mountains, and north of the Gulf of Lian Yung. The *first* division is China proper, and is the only part settled by Chinese. "It lies on the

eastern slope of the high table-land of Central Asia, and in the south-east angle of the continent; and for beauty of scenery, fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, magnificent and beautiful rivers, and variety and abundance of its productions, will compare with any portion of the globe."* Its estimated area is nearly 2,000,000 square miles, or two-fifths of the empire.

The population of the empire is immense. Confining our remarks to China proper, as that is best known to foreigners, it has been ascertained by the last census taken by the Chinese government, A. D. 1812, that the population amounted to 362,467,183.† It must be remembered that this estimate excludes Manchuria and the colonial possessions within China proper, embracing, as we have seen, a territory of nearly 2,000,000 square miles; there live at this moment *more than three hundred and sixty millions of human beings*— about one-third of the population of the globe. We know that some have doubted the correctness of this estimate, and have proposed others much lower; but as it is based on data furnished by the Chinese government *for its own use*, and moreover has been received by gentlemen conversant with China, as "the most accurate that has been given of the population," it seems more reliable than any other. It is not, indeed, in our power to furnish direct proof of this or any other estimate; all that can with truth be said, is simply, that the one given seems to be the best sustained by such evidence as we can command. But whether or not this is the correct estimate, all agree in attributing to this country a population, the number of which is absolutely startling.

The character of this population is most remarkable. It does not weaken this assertion, that many of the glowing accounts given by the European travellers who first visited this country, are now found to have been formed from "the stuff that dreams are made of." The foreigner who looks on these multitudes, and learns something of their character, and the student who simply reads the page of the truthful historian, are alike impressed with the wonderful character of the Chinese. The fact that a powerful and polished nation has grown up here, in a great degree uninfluenced by other governments, is one of the most interesting problems which can engage the minds of the historian and the philosopher. The Chinese possess most of the arts, and many of the refinements and luxuries of life. Their government is unique in form, and efficient in action. Populous cities cover their plains. The student, farmer, merchant, tradesman, and domestic, have their appropriate places. Many are learned in

* Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. i, p. 7. † Idem, pp. 206–240.

the literature of the country; some are wealthy, the majority possess the comforts of physical life, while a few suffer from want. This, however, is the bright side of things. In connexion and mournful contrast with all this, are the moral depravity and pollutions which so fearfully abound. If the first glance presents this nation refined, intelligent, and happy, a clearer investigation will show it to be debased, bigoted, and wretched. A mere traveller, or man of business, is easily deceived on this subject. It is not till you settle down beside them, mingle in their society, look into their homes, and observe their lives, that their true condition appears. We speak advisedly and emphatically on this point, because we speak from experience.

Considerable anxiety has been felt by many in reference to the climate of China. They feared it would prove a serious difficulty in the way of foreigners labouring in this field. On this subject we will adduce the testimony of two recent and standard works on China. Sir J. F. Davis says: "Perhaps no country in the world, of the same magnitude, is more favoured in point of climate. Being situated, however, on the eastern side of a great continent, China follows the general rule, which observation has sanctioned, attributing to regions so placed an excess of both heat and cold at opposite seasons of the year, which its precise position, in regard to latitude, would not lead us to expect. . . . . Notwithstanding these apparent extremes of heat and cold, the climate must be generally considered as highly salubrious—a circumstance arising, no doubt, from the extensive cultivation and drainage."* Mr. Davis resided in China more than twenty years, accompanied Lord Amherst's embassy to Pekin in A. D. 1816, and succeeded Lord Napier as his Majesty's chief authority in China. Mr. Williams says: "The climate of the eighteen provinces, although it has not yet been represented by meteorological tables, has still been sufficiently observed to ascertain its general salubrity. Pestilences do not frequently visit the land; nor, as in Southern India, are the people deluged with rain during one monsoon, and parched with drought during the other. The inhabitants everywhere enjoy as good health, and are as well developed, and attain as great age, as in any other country. The cutaneous diseases which prevail, are owing to the dirty habits of the people, and not to the climate. The average temperature of the whole empire is lower than that of any other countries in the same latitude; and the coast is subject to the same extremes as that of the Atlantic States in America."† Mr. Williams is a missionary

* Davis's China, vol. i, p. 125. Harper's edition. † Middle Kingdom, vol. i, p. 44.

of the American Board, labouring at Canton; and at the time of writing his book, had lived ten years in China. It would be easy to multiply evidence on this point; but the two authorities referred to are sufficient to place the subject in its true light.

It has been believed, perhaps generally, that the climate of China has been particularly fatal to the missionaries who have entered this field. How well this opinion is founded, will be evident from the following facts which we have obtained from the "Chinese Repository,"* a monthly periodical, published at Canton, China. Those who have the work will find it satisfactory to refer to the article. We give its substance:—From the commencement of Protestant missions in China, by the Rev. Dr. Morrison, A. D. 1807 to 1847, a period of forty years, *eighty-six* missionaries had entered this field. During that time *twelve* died, and *twenty-three* retired from the work. Of those who died, one had lived twenty-seven years in the field, another sixteen years, two for eight years, and the rest for shorter periods. Thus on an average, during forty years, the number of deaths among the Protestant missionaries was at the *rate of one in three years.* Of those who retired from the work, some engaged in other departments of labour in China; some returned, for various reasons, to their native land, and others were obliged, in consequence of ill health, to leave the field. Forty-one of the eighty-six are still in China. Of these, one has been more than thirty years in the field, and still enjoys excellent health. Others have been here for twenty, ten, and five years, according to the time they entered the work. We have not the means for making an extensive comparison, but we think these statistics will compare favourably with those of any body of ministers in America or England. It should also be remembered, that as China has only recently been opened to missionaries, a great part of those referred to in the foregoing calculation laboured at other places on the coast, south of China—as Malacca, Singapore, and Batavia—where the climate is warmer and more unwholesome than in China. From these statements, we think ourselves justified in saying, that the opinion in regard to the unwholesomeness of this climate is not sustained by facts.

We have thus presented a brief outline of this great mission-field. If any tolerable idea of its importance has been conveyed, we cannot have failed to present a subject which must call forth from every Christian the deepest interest and the most enlightened zeal. With such a host of perishing heathen spread out before her, does the Church ask, Can the Gospel be sent to them? We pass, then, to notice,—

* (Vol. xvi, p. 12.)

II. *The openings China presents for the Gospel.*

A remarkable feature of this nation, and one that has arrested the attention of every traveller, is the total absence of every system of *caste*. Wherever it exists, this institution presents one of the most formidable difficulties with which Christianity is called to grapple. The great enemy of man could scarcely have devised a more effectual system for maintaining his sway in the human heart. In India, it is more terrible to the missionary than the Alps to the legions of the Carthaginian. There, more fearful than the secretion of the Upas-tree, it pours the deadly virus into every vein of the body politic. In China there is nothing of all this. Indeed, in this respect, the two nations are the antipodes of each other. In the theory of the Chinese government, the emperor is the father, and all the subjects his children, possessing equal rights, and enjoying the same claim to protection and liberty. The son of the Cooley, provided he can obtain an education, may rise to the throne of the emperor; while, on the other hand, manual labour, so far from being disreputable, is encouraged by the authority of the State, and once a year, in a portion of land designated for the purpose, the hand of the emperor guides the plough, and sows the seed for the coming harvest. In many interesting particulars, this people reminds us of the American nation. In connexion with this, we observe the mild and tolerant character of the Chinese national religion—Confucianism. In many heathen countries, the absurd dogmas of superstition are clothed with the authority of State; and any departure from the one, is denounced as a crime against the other. Here, however, the missionary will not meet this difficulty. There is nothing of this kind in the way of the conversion of the Chinese.

Another encouraging feature is the relaxation of the restrictive policy, which has so long marked this government. Unfortunately for the interests of Christianity, the Europeans who first visited China for purposes of trade, were not of the best character. It is known that previous to the arrival of these adventurers, China entertained friendly feelings toward other nations. It was not until the threatening boldness and surprising power of foreigners taught her to fear them, that the Chinese government, in self-defence, adopted her exclusive policy. At the present time, however, these restrictions are slowly, but steadily yielding. Many causes contribute to this; but the principal one appears to be the resolute determination of foreigners to trade to these shores. The fact that a profitable traffic may be carried on with this people, furnishes a powerful temptation to the enterprise of western nations. This has induced them to persevere, in the face of difficulties and dangers, until China

has been compelled to afford them such facilities for the accomplishment of their purposes as were desired. In all this we recognize an overruling Providence. God is preparing the way for the Gospel. His gracious designs concerning this people are gradually unfolding.

The existing intercourse between China and western nations is another important consideration. The restraints which so long prevented foreigners from associating with this people, are now in a measure removed. At five large cities on the coast, trade with other nations is now authorized and protected by the Chinese government. Foreigners reside with entire safety at these ports. The number of those from Christian lands who visit China is considerable, and annually increasing. Our arts and sciences are gradually entering among the people. Ships from England and America are constantly arriving and departing. England's proximity to China, too, is an auspicious symptom. Her vast possessions in India are within a few days' sail; and since the cession of Hong-Kong, in 1841, she has planted a colony within gunshot of China. This brings Christianity and heathenism within speaking distance of each other. "The sound of the church-going bell" floats over that beautiful bay, and falls on the ear of the erring heathen. From the hills of the mainland, the Chinese can see the temples which Christians have erected for the worship of the Lord of hosts. On the island of Hong-Kong, too, there is a large Chinese population. They are mingling with those who possess a purer faith. And though quick to imitate the vices, we cannot but hope they will learn to practise the virtues of Christians.

We remark again, that, to a large class of Chinese, the Gospel can now be preached in their own language. By the late treaties with England, America, and France, China has thrown open the door for the Christian Church. Missionaries may now settle at any of the open ports, and labour without hindrance in their delightful work. Comfortable homes can be secured, schools established, and chapels erected. Every facility is afforded for learning both the written character and the colloquial. From the cities, the missionaries can visit the surrounding country, preach to the people, and distribute books. A great, and we trust effectual, door has thus been opened. As in former times, so now, the common people hear us gladly. Wherever the missionary goes, a few words in the colloquial is sufficient to secure a favourable reception, both for himself and his doctrines. The people, too, are accustomed to public teaching. There are places set apart for the purpose, where the orator addresses the eager crowd. There is no reason why these places may not be occupied by the Christian missionary. We are fully

convinced that, within this single city, a hundred missionaries, capable of speaking in the colloquial, could at all times find attentive congregations. Schools, too, may be established under the most favourable circumstances. The Chinese soon learn to place confidence in the missionary, and gladly place their children under his care. A large number of schools might now be in very successful operation within this city. These remarks are true also of the other ports.

It is another very promising characteristic of the missionary work in China, that, by means of the press, we can preach the Gospel throughout the empire. It is a most interesting fact, that while there are more local dialects than provinces, the written character is the same throughout the whole country. A book, printed at one of our mission presses, can be read by every educated Chinaman from Canton to Peking, from Cape Patience to the western bend of the Belur-tag. From each mission press, streams of Christian literature are flowing out over the whole land. The simple tract of the missionary, the printed copies of the Holy Scriptures, may find their way everywhere, visiting alike the palace of the mandarin and the cottage of the peasant. Persons from the interior, who visit the open ports, gladly receive our books, and carry them back to their distant homes. Thousands of our books are thus circulating where the foot of the missionary has never yet trodden. We are casting our bread upon the waters. It has been one of the most refreshing circumstances connected with our labours here, to find, on visiting for the first time a distant locality, that our books had anticipated our visit. We doubt not the press is thus sowing the seeds of a future glorious harvest. When the whole of China shall be thrown open, and the Spirit poured from on high, we believe the future missionary will reap the fruit of these labours. We now look at

III. *The prospects of the Gospel in China.*

Are all these favourable openings we have seen, only deceptive appearances? Shall the light now feebly shining on this coast be extinguished, and this cold night of error remain unbroken? Must the warm tide of Christian sympathy and benevolence now setting towards China be suddenly arrested, and these myriads be left still to their wretchedness and their sins? We know there is much skepticism, even within the Church, on this subject. Many regard the whole matter as an experiment, the success of which, at the best, is doubtful. Would we could tear this sentiment from every doubting heart;—would we were able to proclaim, as with the voice of seven thunders, to those who cherish it, that if ever the work of missions should fail—if ever the powers of darkness triumph, and our holy

Christianity, abashed and defeated, is driven from this field, it will *be in consequence of the faithlessness of the Church!* What, then, is the prospect which opens before the Christian missionary in China? The reader anticipates us when we declare it as our firm belief, that this blessed work will go on, in proportion to the faithfulness of the Church, until it "spreads Scriptural holiness over these lands." How soon this glorious consummation will arrive, is not for us to say. It is sufficient to know that every sincere effort hastens its progress. For this opinion we assign the following reasons:—

*First.* China can never resume, with any probability of success, her former exclusive policy. The time has gone by when a nation, possessing a territory so immense, so fertile, and so favourably situated, could forbid all intercourse with other nations. Whatever China may have done in the past, it is now evident to a demonstration, that she can no longer isolate herself from the rest of the world. The "former things have passed away." The enterprise of western merchants and scholars will no longer be thwarted by the foolish prejudices and malignant jealousy of any government. The hope of gain supplies an incentive to action, which defies the restrictions of past ignorance and the tricks of present chicanery. Whatever policy China may adopt, however craftily or resolutely her rulers may struggle to prevent the foot of the ruthless barbarian from treading this soil, her efforts will be in vain. The revenue derived from this trade will induce the governments of the west to protect and encourage it. The Chinese themselves, too, will resist such a measure on the part of their government. Foreign trade is of incalculable benefit to them, and the more intelligent recognize and acknowledge it. True, it has entailed upon them one of the most terrible evils that ever scourged and desolated humanity. We refer to the opium trade—that foul blot upon the otherwise fair reputation of those nations who engage in it. But they who for this reason would teach the Chinese to prohibit foreign trade, would be consistent with their principles in recommending to them the isolation of families and individuals, lest by social intercourse they learn to lie and steal. The Chinese can distinguish between the evils which *incidentally*, and the benefits which *necessarily*, result from this intercourse.

*Second.* These favourable influences now operating on China must go on increasing. So far from ever resuming permanently her former policy, China must continue to advance in her present movement. Western nations now recognize and act upon the great truth, that all men are brethren. The same spirit which abolished slavery in England, and is now breaking the bonds of the African in America, loudly protests against the policy so long characteristic of this

government. The statistics of foreign trade show that it has gone on steadily increasing. The same is true of those who visit China for scientific purposes. The agents of various societies are now in China, enriching the literature and science of the west by contributions from this far-off land. The corps of missionaries is constantly enlarging. The recent improvements in navigation have placed China and Christendom almost in immediate juxtaposition. By the overland route through India, China is only about *fifty* days' distant from England. The proposed line of Pacific steamers, to run between the west coast of the United States and China, will bring these two countries almost within hailing distance of each other. Steamers will cross the Pacific in about the same time required to cross the Atlantic; thus bringing China as near to America as England now is. Who can estimate the amount of influence which, through these channels, Christian nations must exert on this people?

*Third.* We would call the attention of Christians to a vastly important movement on the part of the Chinese themselves. It is well known that for centuries China has been, as it were, insulated from the other portions of the earth. Almost the only foreign trade she carried on has been with Japan, Siam, and some of the islands in the Indian Archipelago. She has thus remained to the present time, without ever having come in contact with Christianity, as it exists in Protestant countries. Within the last few years, however, the Chinese have commenced emigrating to the western coast of America. A ship which sailed from China within the last year, carried one hundred and fifty of these emigrants. It is believed that large numbers will follow. The importance of this movement, in reference to the final triumph of the Gospel in China, it is impossible now to determine. To the Christian mind it brings at once delightful hopes, and a sense of great responsibility. Those acquainted with them know that the Chinese mind is capable of the highest cultivation and refinement. Their hearts, too, are open to the truth. If, when landed in America, they find themselves surrounded by a Christian people and Christian institutions, it is reasonable to expect that some of them will receive the Gospel in the love of it. Should these Christian converts return to their native land, with what success might they not preach Christ to their benighted countrymen! It does seem to us that this step, on the part of the Chinese, devolves upon the Church a very great responsibility. Let the Christians of America see to it, that the western coast of our country is filled with faithful missionaries. Let the heralds of the cross follow the tide of emigration, planting in every hamlet the Christian chapel, and in every family an altar to our God. Re-

ceived into such society, the hearts of these heathen strangers will gladly open to the truth, and drink in the sincere milk of the word. Thus possessing the pearl of great price, they may constitute a band of earnest missionaries, whose holy lives and burning words shall throw over this dark land the light of life. How great the amount of good accomplished in this way shall be, must depend, in a great degree, on the Church. May God help her to see her duty, and to discharge it!

*Fourth.* The *character* of the Chinese nation justifies us in expecting the most splendid results to follow the faithful preaching of the Gospel to its thronging millions. The Chinese are a civilized people. Their government, though thoroughly despotic, is yet paternal in its character, and possesses many features which command the admiration of the world. The useful arts have attained a high degree of perfection. The various departments of human industry are accurately defined and suitably encouraged. In social intercourse, notwithstanding the awful depravity of their hearts, they exhibit a refinement of feeling and a politeness of manner which are surprising. Again: they are an educated people. In the days of the fierce Northman and savage Briton, China had her flourishing schools and her well-endowed colleges. The invention of her written character dates back many centuries before the birth of our Saviour. From their earliest history they have bestowed great attention upon literature. Their sages have lived in every period of the world's history since the Deluge. In the theory of their government, education is essential to the holding of office. Regular literary examinations are held in all the provinces by the authority of the State. Prescribed degrees, securing to the successful candidates for literary distinction certain privileges and honours, are conferred. Their respect for literature and literary men is remarkable. This is also an eminently peaceable people. Their intercourse with each other is marked by a gentleness of manner which is highly commendable. Indeed, they carry this desire for peace to an unjustifiable excess. It is considered as both the effect and the proof of good government. Public opinion, too, is very strong in China. This, to some, may seem strange; but the fact is notorious, that in every possible way the government defers to the judgment of the people. It most scrupulously avoids crossing their expressed wishes. There is an independence about a Chinaman which one does not expect to find. And yet, with all this, the Chinese are morally a most wretched people. Sin has spread its deadly venom throughout the whole body politic; a mass of corruption is festering among all classes of this people, which, could it be uncovered and

held up to view, would appal the world. Despite their laws and theories, the Chinese feel that the evils existing in society are too strong for them. The heart is confessedly a region their government cannot control. They are conscious that something more authoritative—more efficient—is necessary to check and purify the malignant passions of men. It is known that, shortly after the birth of Christ, the emperor of China despatched an embassy to the west, inquiring for a great prophet whose doctrines were to regenerate humanity. The renowned emperor Kang-Hi, (1661–1722,) in his youth, was desirous of sending to distant nations for a purer faith; and it was only after the most earnest and skilful remonstrances, that his courtiers succeeded in dissuading him from his purpose. The minds of many intelligent men of the present age are looking for the truth; they are inquiring on the subject. Rays of light are at last piercing this starless night: the fulness of time for China seems just at hand. God is preparing the way for the Gospel. Does the Church inquire concerning the land of Sinim, "What of the night?" Thank God! the watchman, as he sees the light breaking, can shout back, from his advanced guard, "The morning cometh!"

*Fifth.* In the preceding remarks we have spoken only of those influences which grow out of the relations existing between men. In discussing this subject, however, we are permitted to expect and depend on the co-operation of a higher power. We are living in the days of the Spirit, (Joel ii, 28; Acts ii, 17.) When Peter, on the day of Pentecost, stood up and preached Jesus, the multitude "was pricked in their heart," and cried, "What must we do?" Unlearned as he was, and was seen to be by those who heard him, we yet see the most remarkable effect produced by his discourse. Why was this? Because the Holy Ghost was present. Why did such wonderful success crown the preaching of Paul at Ephesus, where the word of the Lord "so mightily grew and prevailed?" Not in consequence of his overwhelming eloquence, or the favour of the rulers; but because the Holy Spirit attended his words. The successors of the Apostles, in the present day, are taught to rely on the assistance of the same Spirit. We are authorized to believe that, in the latter days, the success of the Gospel will be sudden and astonishing,—a nation born at once, (Isaiah lxvi, 8.) Where shall this glorious event take place? Those conversant with China cherish sanguine hopes that here this Scripture is to be fulfilled. But, without urging the literal fulfilment of this prophecy, we think the Church is authorized to expect for the Gospel triumphs more signal and glorious than any she has yet seen. And why may not this take place in China? Here are more than three hundred and sixty millions of

human beings, to whom, in its purity, the Gospel has never been offered; and yet who give great promise of intelligently and heartily receiving it when once faithfully presented. We fully believe such will be the result, if the sanctified hosts of God's elect will "come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

IV. *We now notice the difficulties with which the Church must expect to meet in her efforts for the evangelization of China.*

Much has already been written on this subject, and perhaps much more must be written before the Church is fully acquainted with it. On this point much diversity of opinion prevails. To some the difficulties seem insurmountable, and the efforts now put forth for China's conversion visionary and hopeless. Others think the field will be easily won. Instead of preparing for a long and desperate struggle, they are regaling themselves with visions of triumph. A plain statement of these difficulties will perhaps aid in forming correct notions on this subject.

To every missionary entering this field, the first great difficulty is the *language of the people.* This constitutes in fact the only difficulty peculiar to this field. In order to obtain satisfactory views of this subject, we must distinguish between the *written* character or language of books, and the *colloquial* or spoken language. The total number of characters in the Chinese language has been variously estimated. Montucci states it to be 260,899. Magaillans says, 54,409; Kang-Hi's Imperial Dictionary, 44,449. These estimates include all the obsolete and synonymous characters. It is now believed, by those prepared to form a reliable opinion on the subject, that the sum of really different characters in the language does not vary much from 25,000. But even this estimate includes thousands of unusual characters which are seldom used, and of course not often learned. The number of characters a missionary must commit to memory before he is able to read and write intelligibly has been variously stated. Premare says: "There is nobody who might not read and write Chinese after he has once acquired a good knowledge of 4,000 or 5,000 characters." Sir J. F. Davis says, in reference to this estimate, "a *much smaller number* might in fact suffice." It has been found that, in the penal code of China, translated by Sir George Staunton, the entire number of different words used is less than 2000. In his work already referred to, Sir J. F. Davis remarks, "The rumoured difficulties attendant on the acquisition of the Chinese language, from the great number and variety of its characters, are the mere exaggerations of ignorance; and in so far mischievous, as they are calculated to deter many from the pursuit,

whose business takes them to the country, and would no doubt be greatly promoted by some practical acquaintance with its language. . . . . To assert that there are so many thousand characters in the language, is very much the same thing as to say there are so many thousand words in Johnson's Dictionary: nor is a knowledge of the *whole* at all more necessary for every practical purpose, than it is to get all Johnson's Dictionary by heart in order to read and converse in English."*

From these statements, we think it evident that the difficulty of acquiring a tolerable acquaintance with the written character of this people has been greatly magnified. It does not constitute so formidable an obstacle as many suppose. But, on the other hand, we see that the difficulty is sufficient to call forth the united energies of the entire Church. The missionary will need perseverance and patience to perform his task; and the Church must possess the same virtues, in at least an equal degree, if she would support and cheer on the labourers whom she sends to this field.

Let us now examine the *spoken language.* This is not the place to show how from the same written character there have arisen so many different pronunciations within this empire. Our present design is to take the dialects as they exist, and show the difficulty they present to the missionary work. If by a dialect we mean simply a local variation in the pronunciation, or a peculiar use of words, then there is within this empire an almost infinite variety of dialects. But if we mean a local variation, not only in the pronunciation, but also in the *idiom* of the language, then we are acquainted with only three dialects, viz.; the Court, Fuhkien, and Canton.† These would indeed be considered as so many different languages, if they were not united by the same written character. The Court or Mandarin dialect, as it is called, is the language of government, and properly *the language* of the country. It is spoken by the officers, the literati, and by the people of several of the northern provinces. The Fuhkien dialect prevails in the central, and that of Canton in the southern provinces. As given in books, the number of sounds in the Court dialect is, including aspirated words, 533; in the Fuhkien, 840; and in the Canton, 646. Branching off from these principal dialects we have an endless variety of patois, or local dialects. From personal observation we can speak only of the local dialect spoken in this city and the surrounding country. The entire number of its sounds is formed from 33 finals, or vowel-sounds, and 15 initials, or consonantal sounds. By uniting these we obtain 495 sounds, which, varied by the seven tones, give us 3,465 as the greatest num-

* Davis's China, vol. ii, p. 140. † Middle Kingdom, vol. i, p. 488.

ber of sounds which can possibly be formed in this dialect. Of these, 1684 have no characters to represent them, and consequently are not used. There remain, then, 1,781 as the total number of sounds in this dialect. Even of these many are but very rarely used, so that the number is still further reduced. Now, comparing this result with the number of words a foreigner must learn before he can read and converse in the English language, the Alps which seemed to separate China from the rest of the world, vanish at once. It must be remembered that this is the dialect of an immense city; that we found it spoken seventy miles north-west, in an excursion we recently made up the Min; that we found it more than a day's journey to the north; that to the east it is bounded only by the sea; while to the south we have not yet ascertained its limits. How many millions can be addressed by the missionary thoroughly acquainted with this one dialect, it is impossible now to determine. More than this: once familiar with one dialect, it is comparatively an easy matter to learn the varieties which distinguish those adjacent to it: and thus the missionary may extend the field of his labours to an indefinite extent.

To the missionary entering China two points present themselves: *first*, to obtain a knowledge of the colloquial spoken in his field of labour; *second*, to acquire a knowledge of the written character, sufficient to enable him to read and explain the Scriptures, and to avail himself of the Chinese literature for the inculcation of his precepts. These two points, we are satisfied, should be attended to simultaneously. This, then, is the work before the missionary. That it is an arduous task, we do not wish to conceal. But who will confess his inability to perform it? Our own experience convinces us that a moderate share of talent, with a tolerable amount of application, will carry forward the missionary student with a success that will at once astonish and delight him. The limits of this article will not permit us to enlarge here as we could desire to do.

It has been perhaps generally thought that the Chinese character is singularly averse to the Gospel. We have hesitated, however, whether or not we should name the point in this connexion. So far as we can judge, there is nothing in the character of this people, as distinguished from other heathen nations, which constitutes a prominent difficulty to the missionary work. That the Chinese are great sinners, none acquainted with them will deny; but that there is anything peculiar to them as heathen, which should intimidate the Church, we do not believe. We know that a different opinion prevails. In view of this, we have thought it might be well to give the result of the observations which, under circumstances sufficiently favoura-

ble, we have made on this subject. What has been already said in the course of this article will, perhaps, convey a tolerably clear idea of our opinion. We now wish to speak to a few particular points.

The Chinese have been called a nation of atheists; and hence it has been inferred they present singular difficulties to the Gospel. If by atheism, here, is meant a disbelief in the popular superstitions of China, then the remark is partially correct. It is notorious that many of the higher classes do consider the worship of images altogether absurd. In the minds of the lower classes, however, these superstitions have taken deeper root; and hence the images, festivals, processions, &c., which prevail. But if it mean an utter forgetfulness of that Divine knowledge or conviction of which St. Paul speaks, (Rom. i, 19, 20; ii, 14, 15,) then we wholly deny the charge. The literature of China recognizes a divine influence; and the controversy now going on among missionaries in China is in reference to the agent or agents by whom this influence is exerted. The fact that the Chinese mind has, partially at least, struggled up from the reeking abominations of heathenism; and, while receiving the great truth that the world is governed by a superior power, has learned that an "idol is nothing,"—seems to us to present very great encouragement to the Church in her "work of faith and labour of love."

But it is said the Chinese are puffed up with self-esteem and pride. Perhaps a more intimate acquaintance with the history of this unique people would show us that their crime in this respect is, at least, venial. It might teach us to palliate their offence; to remember that China is the oldest civilized nation of the world; that when Europe and America were savage wilds, her halls of literature were thronged with ingenuous youth; and that within her territory the arts have flourished, and the people become wealthy and refined, while most of the surrounding nations have been in a state of barbarism. For our own part, we cannot withhold our admiration from the man, whether Christian or pagan, who respects himself. And the fact that the Chinese carry this feeling to excess, only strengthens the claim they present for our untiring efforts to preach to them the truth as it is in Jesus. It is, moreover, said that the Chinese prejudices against foreigners are so strong that all efforts on our part for their conversion are almost hopeless. Here again we must palliate before we condemn. We have not lost all our nationality; but we submit it to the judgment of any man conversant with China, whether, until perhaps within the last few years, the conduct of foreigners, in their intercourse with China, has been such as to entitle them to much respect. But the remark is not true of the Chinese as a nation. However correct it may be of the Canton mob,

or the riotous seamen on the coast, it is not applicable to the nation at large. A foreigner able to speak the various dialects, if the present restrictions were removed, could travel throughout the empire. We have visited many parts of the surrounding country, where foreigners had never before been, and the people uniformly received us with kindness. China does not hate foreigners. Were the government restrictions removed this hour, the whole empire would be open to the messengers of the churches.

V. *The demands of this mission field.*

Such, then, we believe is China. With reference to the missionary work, we have glanced at her *territory, population,* and *climate,* her *openings, prospects,* and *difficulties.* Never before has such a field opened before the Church. It would seem that the All-wise had reserved the conquest of this nation to crown the final triumph of the Gospel of his Son. What, then, does China demand from the Church? She demands, *First, A just appreciation of her wants.* The Church must awake to this subject. In regard to it we fear there is a culpable ignorance on the part of many Christians. In former times, when China was a sealed volume to the rest of the world, there was some excuse for ignorance in reference to this subject; but now the books of intelligent and reliable authors are circulating throughout Christendom. Do Christians read these books? Are they examining this great field which the Church must soon occupy?

*Second. China demands more earnest, faithful prayer for her salvation.* We cannot doubt that in the spread of the Gospel the fervent prayers of the righteous have power with God. If this earnest struggling with God in behalf of China were to fill the minds of Christians, we believe He would soon open a way for the glorious triumph of his cause. Is it true that many of our brethren take but little interest in this matter? If China is evangelized, will it be done in spite of the indifference and inaction of many Christians? God will be inquired of by the house of Israel concerning this people.

*Third. A greatly enlarged plan of missionary operations.* We are now planning the conquest, not of a petty tribe, or a sparsely populated island, but of a great nation, whose numbers seem to defy human calculation. The great variety of local dialects makes it necessary that a large number of missionaries be sent to this field. But, in order to effect this, there must be a great advance in the contributions of the Church. Is the Church prepared for this? Is she ready to stand forth and act in her true character, as the divinely appointed agent for the evangelization of a world? God help her to do so! We fully believe this is her duty. Wealth is given to the

Christian, not to pander to his corrupt nature, but to aid in the great work of saving souls. When shall we practically learn this lesson? Again: there must be a great increase of the missionary spirit in the Church. By the missionary spirit we mean simply the spirit of Christ,—that high regard for the honour of God, that holy, quenchless zeal for the salvation of souls which filled the breast of the blessed Redeemer. This must become a prominent feature in the personal experience of every Christian. "What am I doing for the salvation of the world?" is a question to be continually in his mind. And then, too, Christians must be willing *to devote themselves* to the missionary work. They must not only *send*, but be willing to *go*. It must come to this. The whole Church must move. God is not indifferent to the success of his cause. He will require, amid the terrible solemnities of the last day, an account of his conduct, in reference to it, from every Christian.

Were the hosts of God's elect thus to arouse to his help, the glories of the latter day would soon dawn upon us. In every land the glory of the Lord would be revealed, "and all flesh see it together."

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## Art. V.—BISHOP WARBURTON.

1. *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated.* By the Right Reverend William Warburton, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 687, 726: London. 1836.
2. *The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, occasionally opened and explained; in a Course of Sermons preached before the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.* In two volumes. By the Rev. Mr. Warburton, Preacher to the Society. London: J. & P. Knapton. 1753.
3. *Sermons and Discourses on Various Subjects and Occasions.* By Dr. William Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. One volume, pp. 347: London. 1767.
4. *Letters from a late Eminent Prelate to one of his Friends.* One volume, 8vo., pp. 373: New-York. 1809.

William Warburton was born at Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, December 24, 1698. His ancestors came originally from Chester, where they had distinguished themselves on the royal side during the civil wars. His father, George Warburton, died in 1707, leaving a widow and four children. William, the eldest son, received the early part of his education from Mr. Weston, at Okeham school, and completed it at other private institutions. In his boyhood, he gave no indication of superior talents, or of remarkable love of study. Hurd says, "He liked his book and his play, just as other boys did."

Being designed to succeed to the profession of his father, he was articled to an attorney in Newark for five years; when he obtained admission to one of the Westminster courts, and returned to pursue his practice in his native place. How he succeeded in his forensic efforts has not transpired. It is probable that a rapidly expanding love of elegant literature interfered too seriously with the sober duties of the law to admit of much promise in that department, though it is not always the case, perhaps, that letters and law are incompatible with each other. But whatever may have been the emoluments or pleasure arising from his profession, he concluded to abandon it for one in which literature would at least be no impediment. To adopt the words of his enemies, "he relinquished the barren labours of the law for the richer treasures of the Gospel." He was ordained deacon in his twenty-fifth year, by Archbishop Dawes, and priest four years afterwards, by Bishop Gibson.

His only attempts at authorship during his connexion with the law, were a few short essays on various subjects. He also commenced a new edition of Velleius Paterculus, but prudently abandoned it at the suggestion of his friend, Dr. Middleton. In 1727 he brought out a volume, entitled, "The Legal Judicature in Chancery Stated:" but the leading question in dispute possessing but a temporary importance, a feeble reply closed the controversy.

Through the interest of his patron, Sir Robert Sutton, he had obtained, in 1726, the small vicarage of Cressly, and in 1728 the same gentleman presented him with the rectory of Brand-Broughton. Here he lived eighteen years—by far the most active and efficient portion of his life. His pastoral duties were light, and exacted but little of his time. The remainder he devoted to the most intense mental exertion. Possessing a powerful constitution, he needed no exercise but an occasional walk, and has frequently been known to sit up the whole night among his books. While engaged in study, his only relaxation was a change of authors. "I express myself," says Hurd, "with exact propriety. For it was his manner at this time, and the habit continued with him through life, to intermix his literary pursuits in such sort, as to make the lighter relieve the more serious; and these again, in their turn, to temper and correct the other." Some of his most elaborate works were planned and executed during his abode in this place; and though he afterwards resided in much more conspicuous situations, yet he always recurred with the most unmingled pleasure to his studious retirement at Brand-Broughton.

Among the causes leading to his ecclesiastical preferment, was a small volume, under the title of "Miscellaneous Translations, in Prose and Verse, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians," and

dedicated to Sir Robert. It was followed, in 1727, by "A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Historians." As the main topics of the "Inquiry" were afterwards incorporated with the Seventh Book of the Divine Legation, it needs no special notice. But before leaving the "Translations" and the "Inquiry," some allusion to their history may not be uninteresting. As Warburton declined in life, he expressed his wish that these two works should hurry down to oblivion with all possible speed, and his editor and biographer, Hurd, so far complied with his desire, as to leave them out of his collection. But this omission only increased their exposure to immortality. With most authors, obscurity is a boon of equivocal value, and much too easily acquired. But Warburton could not enjoy the poor privilege of suppressing his own writings. His enemies compelled him to perpetuate his faults and indiscretions. Having become the founder of a school in criticism, he was the nucleus of a controversy, perhaps the most bitter and prolonged of any ever known in the history of literature. It involved all the contemporaneous writers of any celebrity, besides many others, who, by hanging upon the skirts of the principals, sought a second or third rate notoriety. The suppressed volumes had been specially severe upon Jortin and Leland; and though, in other quarters, Warburton had so far softened down his ferocious attacks upon these writers as to satisfy many of their friends, yet he did not appease all. A few determined to stop short of nothing but humble acknowledgment and retraction. This was more than could be expected, and of course it was never made; and after Jortin, Leland, and Warburton had gone to their graves, there appeared "Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian, not admitted into the collection of their respective works." The reviews of the time attributed the republication to Dr. Parr. It was accompanied by a spirited preface in self-justification, and was dedicated to Hurd. As a specimen of the style which characterized the school of criticism to which allusion has been made, we extract the following from the dedication:—

"He [Warburton] blundered against grammar, and you [Hurd] refined against idiom. He, from defective taste, contaminated English by Gallicisms; and you, from excess of affectation, disgraced what would have answered to ornamental and dignified writing, by a profuse mixture of vulgar and antiquated phraseology. He soared into sublimity *without* effort, and you, *by* effort, sunk into a familiarity which borders upon meanness. He was great by the energies of nature; you were little by the misapplication of art. To grapple with the unwieldy was among the *frolics* of Warburton, while your lordship *toiled* in chasing the subtle. He scorned every appearance of soothing the reader into attention, and you failed in every attempt to decoy him into conviction. Wit was in Warburton the spontaneous growth of nature; while in

you it seemed to be the forced and unmellowed fruit of study. He flamed upon his readers with the brilliancy of a meteor, and you scattered around them the scintillations of a fire-brand."

But however anxious Warburton may have shown himself to destroy these "Tracts," he felt a strong solicitude for the fate of his next work, "The Alliance between Church and State; or, the Necessity and Equity of an Established Religion and Test Law, demonstrated from the Essence and End of Civil Society, upon the Fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations." Like all the author's productions, it had the fortune to give unpardonable umbrage to his opponents, while the particular method of argument which it adopted failed to satisfy his friends. It contained, however, the first decisive evidence of his abilities as a writer, and he lived to see it reach a fourth edition. The theory of the work is contained substantially in the second book of the Divine Legation. It was a well-intended effort to vindicate the policy of the Church Establishment, as it was then conducted. According to the "Alliance," the *state* and *religion* constitute two wholly distinct and independent societies—the former having for its object man's *body* and its interests; the latter, his *soul* and its interests. But as man, notwithstanding the variety in the elements of his composition, is a unity, his interests cannot be separated, and therefore ought not to be intrusted to the government of different institutions. Hence the Church and State should possess an identity of administration; in other words, the two societies should unite. But such a union can occur only under the pressure of reciprocal advantages. One society must not be expected to share its interest with the others, unless upon condition of a fair equivalent. But what would constitute the proper motives and advantages to both societies? Precisely the condition of the parties then existing—"an *Established Church* and *Free Toleration*, HARMONIZED by a *Test Law*."

This was the outline of the argument, and the conclusion at which it arrived. Whatever we may think of the premises, we cannot admire the inference. We never could understand the process of *harmonizing* an *exclusive* Church establishment and *free* toleration by the instrumentality of a *test law*, and that, too, upon principles of "Equity;" and from our present conviction in regard to the practical working of the "harmony," we fear our obtuseness is likely to be incurable. The system is a "compromise on one side only." It does admirably for the *ins*, but we fear it never works to good purpose for the *outs*. From the many remedies proposed for the adjustment of the Church and State difficulty, we have never selected one which we could wholly approve; and it seems to us that the

defect lies back of the theories, and inheres essentially in the union itself. In a perfect world the two societies would probably be identical; but as things actually exist, the coalition always proves vexatious and oppressive. It prevents the exercise of free action and free thought; it crushes the energies of the individual, either by identifying him with a vast association, where his personal influence will be unappreciable, or by excluding him from those rights and privileges to which, as a man, he is naturally entitled. We freely admit that a state must have moral as well as physical ends; for every man is in possession of moral interests. The object of the state should be the same as that of its individuals—the promotion and attainment of the highest degree of happiness and culture; for if the supreme power of a country may act upon a plan which will defeat the general welfare of the governed, it has the means of producing unutterable evil. But society dare not commit to the law-making powers the privilege of evolving a system of moral wrong. Under such a *régime* existence would cease to be a blessing; the worst passions of bad men would rage without control; and the innocent victims of lawlessness might appeal in vain to any earthly tribunal for a mitigation of their woes. All this is obvious enough; everybody understands it: but when a state undertakes to require from all its members a solemn subscription to a system of religious tenets, as an indispensable condition of obtaining certain highly valuable privileges, the propriety, nay, the moral rectitude of the procedure is not just so obvious. Surely it does not, on the first blush, appear to be the business of a government to propagate religious opinions by severe penalties. And the case darkens when we remember that belief cannot be coerced. "No motives can persuade us to believe together. We may wish a statement to be true, we may admire those who believe it, we may find it very inconvenient not to believe it; all this avails us nothing: unless our minds be convinced that the statement or doctrine be true, we cannot, by any possibility, believe it."*

The very terms, "*Free Toleration*," and "*Test Law*," if not contradictory, stand at least strongly opposed to each other. True, the free toleration does not *compel* a man to become a church-member, —to subscribe the articles, or to conform to the usages of the establishment. But if he *refuse* these compliances, *the test law* LETS HIM ALONE, *and that with a vengeance!* It extinguishes at once all hope of reaching those civil offices to which his talents and popularity might encourage him to aspire; it excludes his sons from the

* Dr. Arnold—Lectures on Mod. Hist.

ancient seats of science and learning; and even in the sad ceremony of burial, it excommunicates his remains, and discards the fellowship of his dust.

But we must dismiss the book and return to the author. In the investigations of the "Alliance," Warburton sought rather to justify existing usages and laws, than to educe and establish first principles. He aimed more at evading the difficulties with which churchmen were pressed, than at expounding the proper object of a government. As before observed, it met with violent opposition. Controversialists attacked not only the positions of the work, but the motives of the writer. Voltaire's philippic is a fair specimen of the abuse he received:—

"He understands not what he writes; what is his object I cannot discover. He flatters governments, and if he obtains a bishopric he will be a Christian; but if he fails, I cannot predict what he will turn out!"

At the close of his "Alliance" he announced the prospectus of the Divine Legation, the first volume of which appeared in 1738. The work continued "in press" nearly thirty years, and was never entirely finished. He designed it to cover nine books, but books seventh and eighth were not composed at all; and the ninth, intended to exhibit a *rationale* of Christianity, is little more than a skeleton of what its author contemplated. Enough, however, of the text, together with the notes, has descended to us to form two large octavo volumes averaging more than 700 pages each. The appendices are made up of whole essays, and the voluminous notes are frequently marked Q Q Q, R R R, &c. They abound in raciness, humour, and bitter invective, and deal powerful though often clumsy blows on all the writers, great and small, who had ventured to gainsay his positions. The original title of the performance ran thus:—"The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation;" and, as Warburton is best known through the medium of this work, we shall presently state its general object and argument.

In the mean time we may remark, that it is a complete Thesaurus of human learning. It embraces a vast range of topics which appear to have scarcely any connexion with the main purpose of the book; and the preparation of these essays alone indicates immense industry, research, and ingenuity. Thus in book ii, § iii, he wishes to show that the founders of states and political institutions have always made the doctrine of Providence the grand sanction of their laws, and proceeds to quote the preface to the constitution of Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver. But an opponent having expressed suspicions

of the very existence of Zaleucus, and consequently of the genuineness of his writings, Warburton produces a lengthy dissertation upon the change of dialects, and the marks by which the authenticity of a document may be established. Again, in confirmation of his statement in regard to the conduct of lawgivers, he affirms that Virgil, by conducting his hero Æneas into the shades below, designs only a figurative description of an initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. This affords the ground for a prolonged discussion of the merits, plan, and machinery of the Æneid. Virgil, it seems, aimed at originality. Aristotle had discoursed on physics; Homer had moralized in the Iliad; Plato had exhausted the nature and end of philosophy, and an epic constructed on either of these bases would probably not pay the author for his ink and papyrus. Virgil, accordingly, struck out a new course; and, by selecting POLITICS for his theme, displayed, by example, what Cicero and Plato had taught by precept! Æneas represents Augustus, or any other candidate for the mysteries; the descent into Hades corresponds to the entrance of the temple; the golden bough figures the myrtle crown; Purgatory, Tartarus, and Elysium are just so many progressive steps in the ceremony of initiation; and so on *ad finem*. Thus, particular stress is laid on

> Jam magnus ab imis
> Auditur fremitus terris, templumque remugit
> Cecropium,

which, of course, admits only a *literal* interpretation, and explains the horrible noises invented to terrify the bewildered neophyte! No wonder Warburton calls Virgil's effort a "revolution in poesy." But the revolution disturbs not the theorist; for "this *Key* to the Æneid not only clears up many passages obnoxious to the critics, but adds infinite beauty to a great number of incidents throughout the whole poem." But he did not always deal in paradox. His account of Egyptian writing was almost prophetic of the recent discoveries in that interesting department of investigation.*

We return to the Divine Legation. The quiet student of Brand-Broughton, in scanning the scene of popular and religious movements, saw much to discourage and little to cheer a heart animated by zeal for the glory of God. The notorious treatise, "Christianity as old as the Creation," was exerting a baleful influence; and the Socinians were active in teaching that the Gospel is only a republication of natural religion. From this it was a short step to the inference,—

* See this theory more generally drawn out in the January Number of this Review, Art. Egypt and its Monuments.

*the Gospel, not being new, is therefore untrue.* The professed freethinkers employed every available method of rendering the Scriptures unworthy of credit. The effect of their policy may be estimated from a passage in one of Warburton's letters:—

"The warfare of us soldiers of the Church militant is upon much worse terms than that of our predecessors. They had but *one* point to gain, which was to persuade people *to save their souls.* We have *two:* first, to persuade them that *they have souls to be saved; which is so long a doing*, that, before we come to the second, we are ready to give place to another generation."

At the universities orthodoxy was at a discount, and the general piety of the nation corresponded in a good measure to the temperature of Oxford. The Wesleys had just commenced their immortal career; and although their description of the state of religion is satisfactory, and fully corroborated by disinterested testimony, we prefer that of Warburton, simply because it may be more exempt from the usual charge of Methodism and cant:—

"The Church, like a fair and vigorous tree, once teemed with the richest and noblest burthen; and though, together with its best fruits, it pushed out some hurtful suckers, receding every way from the mother plant, crooked and misshapen, if you will, yet still there was something in their height and verdure which bespoke the generosity of the stock they sprang from. She is now seen under all the marks of a total decay; her top scorched and blasted; her chief branches bare and barren, and nothing remaining of that comeliness which once invited the whole continent to her shade. The chief signs of life she now gives is the exuding from her sickly trunk a number of deformed funguses, which call themselves of her because they stick upon her surface, and suck out the little remains of her sap and spirits."—*Introduction to "Julian."*

Animated, no doubt, by a genuine regard for the doctrines of the Reformation, which he seems to have cherished through all his disputes, he began the Divine Legation. Various and exciting had been the previous attacks against the character of Moses; but the charge of *omitting from his code the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments*, was, just then, the most prominent. Skeptics regarded this as an irreparable defect in the most sacred fortress of revelation,—its *internal evidence.* Warburton accepted the objection, namely, the *fact of the omission;* but so far from charging Moses with deception or imposture on that account, he offered to "demonstrate," from that very circumstance, the certainty of his divine mission. We give the scheme of the argument in his own words:—

"In this demonstration, therefore, which we suppose very little short of mathematical certainty, and to which nothing but a mere physical possibility of the contrary can be opposed, we demand only this single *postulatum*, that hath all the clearness of self-evidence; namely,—

"'That a skilful Lawgiver, establishing a Religion and a Civil Policy, acts with certain Views and for certain Ends; and not capriciously, or without Purpose or Design.'

"This being granted, we erect our demonstration on three very clear and simple propositions:—

"'1. That to inculcate the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments is necessary to the well-being of Society.'

"'2. That all Mankind, especially the most wise and learned Nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching, that this Doctrine was of such Use to Civil Society.'

"'3. That the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Mosaic Dispensation.'

"Propositions so clear and evident, that, one would think, we might directly proceed to our conclusion,

"'That, therefore, the law of Moses is of Divine original. Which one or both of the two following syllogisms will evince:—

"I. Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary providence;

"The Jewish religion and society had no future state for their support:

"Therefore the Jewish religion and society were supported by an extraordinary providence.

"And again,—

"II. The ancient lawgivers universally believed that such a religion could be supported only by an extraordinary providence;

"Moses, an ancient lawgiver, versed in all the wisdom of Egypt, purposely instituted such a religion;

"Therefore Moses believed his religion was supported by an extraordinary providence."

These syllogisms encountered opposition from two entirely different quarters,—the freethinkers contesting the major propositions, and theologians the minors. The author himself anticipated another very obvious ground of objection,—the apparent want of system in his treatment of the subject:—

"For the deep professor, who hath digested his theology into sums and systems, and the florid preacher, who hath never suffered his thoughts to expatiate beyond the limits of a pulpit essay, will be ready to tell me, that I had promised *to demonstrate the legation of Moses:* and that now I had written two large volumes on that subject, 'all they could find in them were discourses on the foundation of morality; the origin of civil society; the alliance between Church and State; the policy of lawgivers; the mysteries of the priests; the opinions of the Greek philosophers; the antiquity of Egypt; their hieroglyphics, their heroes, and their brute worship. That, indeed, I at last speak a little of the Jewish policy; but I soon break away from it, as from a subject I would avoid, and employ the remaining part of the volume on the sacrifice of Isaac, the Book of Job, and on the primary and secondary prophecies. *But what is all this to the Divine legation of Moses?*'"

We hope to condense satisfactorily the leading features in his plan of argument.

In support of the major in the first syllogism, he endeavours to demonstrate the first of his three propositions,—"that to inculcate

the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of society." Thus a large class of moral virtues,—as gratitude, charity, forgiveness, &c., &c.,—however obligatory they may seem, cannot be enforced by human laws; but their constant exercise being essential to the very existence of society, and civil law not availing to compel such exercise, recourse must be had to some strong coactive agency to supply the necessary feeling of obligation. That agency is Religion, or the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, where virtue and vice will meet with their appropriate disposal. But we find the ancient legislators acting in precise accordance with this view of the bearing of religion; wherefore, they thus must have believed accordingly: the justness of which inference will become clearer if we examine more specifically,

(*a*) The conduct of the lawgivers. They strove to propagate a religious belief, including a Divine superintendency, in several modes:—by asserting its doctrines in their laws; by the national support of a regularly organized priesthood; and by the institution of the mysteries, or *ἀπόῤῥητα*, when the initiated, as a crowning act of purification, obtained the knowledge of the Divine unity.

(*b.*) The opinions of the philosophers. These men *may* have had a genuine conviction of the doctrine in question; but while some doubted, nay, disbelieved it, nevertheless all *taught* it,—*for the benefit it afforded to the administration of the State.*

From all of which is established the ancient and universal belief in the necessity of religion for the support of civil government.

Passing, then, to the minors,—"that the Jewish religion and society had no future state for their support," and "that Moses, an ancient lawgiver, learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, *purposely* invented such a religion,"—both of which positions are taken together; he sets forth the profound learning and remote antiquity of the Egyptians; contends that they, in common with other nations, inculcated the doctrine of a future state; and that, accordingly, Moses, a court favourite, must have understood the doctrine thoroughly, and the Jews with some considerable distinctness, residing, as they did, for four hundred and fifty years upon Egyptian territory. But, in the face of all these demonstrated facts, Moses "purposely" omitted this doctrine from the code which he "invented" for the Jews. And why? *Because God became their temporal governor and king.* He ruled them by an "extraordinary providence." He abolished for them the responsibility of a future state, and rendered the motives drawn from the present life only, sufficient to ensure behaviour suitable to the "well-being of society." *The doctrine being*

*thus unnecessary, Moses omitted it.* The omission, concurring so perfectly with God's plan of the theocracy, is so far from constituting an objection to Moses, that it forms the brightest link in the chain of evidence demonstrating his "Divine legation."

Such is a rapid view of this celebrated work; and may all be comprised within a few lines. Deists reasoned thus: Moses has omitted from his code the doctrine of a state of future rewards, &c. Now, he either knew this doctrine, or he did not. If he did, he deceived the Jews by suppressing it; and if he did not know it, God would not leave his legate ignorant of a doctrine so important: whether he knew it, therefore, or not, he was an impostor. To this Warburton replies substantially: I grant the omission, but deny the imposture. For, on your own principles, the doctrine is of use only in the preservation of society. But Jewish society could be preserved without it, since God restrained them by consequences immediately succeeding their behaviour. Moses knew this, and left out the doctrine. His course, therefore, was consistent with the genius of the theocracy, and your charge of imposture is thus returned to you. The accusation does not lie, and you may consider yourselves answered.

Some of his grounds for concluding that the Jews had no systematic ideas of a future life are,—the absence of passages asserting the contrary; the punishment of children for the sins of their parents; and the declaration of the New Testament, that "life and immortality are brought to light through the Gospel." It may be interesting, in this connexion, to show, by a few examples, how cavalierly he could treat certain texts when they stood in his way:—

"Job xix, 31, et seq.: 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' &c. The book was writen by Ezra, after the return from the captivity,—the plan is *dramatical;* the moral questions, 'Whether and why good men are unhappy, and the evil prosperous?' and, after long debate, they are settled by God himself, Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. The passage, then, means nothing more than Job's confidence in a *temporal deliverance;* 'notwithstanding our translators, who were of the other opinion, have given a force to their expression which the words will by no means bear.'

"'Let us make man after our own image,' (Genesis.) The 'image' indicates the *rational* nature, not the *immateriality*, of the soul.

"Gen. iii, 15, 'It [the seed of the woman] shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel,' signifies that the evil spirit which actuated the serpent would continue his enmity to the human race; but that man, by the Divine assistance, would at length defeat all his machinations.

"Num. xxvi, 13: 'He died, and was gathered *to his people*.' The Hebrew language delights in *pleonasm;* so that 'to die' and 'to be gathered to his people,' mean the same thing.

"Num. xxii, 10: 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his;' i. e., let me die in a mature old age, after a life of health and peace, with all my posterity flourishing about me.

"Lev. xviii, 5: 'Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and judgments; which if a man *do*, he shall *live* in them.' This could not mean *eternal* life, for that would make salvation come by the *law*, [*doing*,] whereas Paul says it comes by *faith*.

"Psa. xvii, 15: 'I shall be satisfied when I awake in thy likeness;' i. e., ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου, or, *cum apparuent gloria tua*, 'I shall be satisfied thy glory shall awake, and I obtain PRESENT rescue from my enemies.'"

In this style he comments on every passage bearing against the "omission," whether in the Old or New Testament,—here interposing a different reading; then adducing an idiom; and again, metamorphosing the sense by sheer violence. Not unfrequently he considers the revealed word about as important as in another connexion he considers Sodom, Gomorrah, and the nations of Canaan: "I regard those illustrious societies as no more than *pack-thread and paper*, thrown into the balance, when God, in his justice, weighs the fate of nations!" *Quantum sufficit.*

One of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church contains the following clauses: "The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for, in both the Old and New Testaments, *everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ*, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. *Wherefore they are not to be heard who feign that the old fathers did look only for* TRANSITORY PROMISES." We always supposed that this passage meant what it says; and, after all that Warburton has written, we remain of the same opinion. We freely admit that many preachers and writers, in their *mania* for allegorizing, have discovered a spiritual meaning in every passage of the Old Testament, and have seen even in the boards and badgers' skins of the tabernacle, the types and "shadows of good things to come." Their marvellous ingenuity has benefited neither themselves nor religion. But the abuse of a principle does not annihilate the principle; and we humbly suggest, that the "omitted" doctrine may not be omitted after all. Every Christian will, of course, exercise his own judgment upon the hosts of passages which Warburton has so complacently demolished. We waive all discussion of them, and in the present article desire to put the case upon historical and philosophical grounds only.

1. Warburton acknowledges that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments had a place in all the religious systems of paganism. He labours, through many a weary page, to prove that the Egyptians received and taught it, and that the Jews themselves, prior to the call of Moses, believed it; but, assuming that it was not necessary in the new code, Moses purposely omitted it. No Christian man will deny *that the knowledge of the doctrine is of incalculable importance.* Now, we propose a very natural inquiry: What

advantage did a *revealed* religion furnish to the Jew, when it "purposely" suppressed a most important doctrine, which *natural* religion would have taught him? In this respect "the Gentiles, which have not the law," were infinitely better off than the Jew, with his burdensome worship and ritual.

2. In a brief summary of the Divine Legation, drawn up by the author, for the special benefit of Bolingbroke, this passage occurs: "The Jewish Economy could do without the omitted doctrine; not that that doctrine, *even under such a dispensation*, was of *no use*, much less, that it was *improper*." Is not this a virtual surrender of the whole theory? What! a truth both *useful* and *proper*, even under SUCH A DISPENSATION, discarded by Moses, and "purposely" suppressed, because his code "could do without it!" Does not this position charge upon the Holy Spirit a behaviour highly unique and capricious?

3. Suppose it be granted that the Jews did live under a temporal administration only, we submit that such a government *could give but little occasion for the exercise of genuine moral virtue.* We understand that human probation consists in the patient endurance of evil, and continuance in the pursuit of good, in the spirit of a hope that reaches beyond the present life. We are strangers and pilgrims in the earth. We seek a city that is out of sight. We are in the midst of influences which threaten the intellect and the heart: and to manifest a well-conducted probation, is to resist and conquer these influences. And does not this idea of probation prevail universally? Do not men, for example, attach more value to a conversion resulting from a calm, deliberate purpose to seek the favour of God, than to one suddenly induced by—say, a brilliant "effort" of some cosmopolitan pulpit orator? Should a man spend a day or two in the abode of the blest, or witness for a week the agonies of the lost, and then, upon his return to earth, commence to reform; how many persons would form a high estimate of his character? And on the assumption that the Jews were restrained by motives drawn solely from the present life, what merit can we attach to virtue such as this? Such a system appeals to the weakest part of human nature; and however well it may suit a company of slaves, with the lash of the master constantly over them, it is completely destructive of all true spiritual freedom.

4. But the argument proves too much. It cuts with a double edge. Let us not forget that it aims to establish the divine call and appointment of Moses, through the medium of an OMISSION in his teachings. It is a little strange that Moses gave no hint that his dispensation was designed to supply the place of the omitted principle. We say this is a little singular; but no matter. Warburton

has elsewhere said, that Scripture "teaches as forcibly by its *silence* as *by what it says*." It really would seem that the Bible is no great gift, after all. The phrase, "*expressive silence*," contains more truth than poetry, we apprehend; but let all that pass. We return to the "omission" of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. All other nations took care to teach it "in its full extent, as the grand sanction of their political institutions." Among other quotations in support of this position, is one from the Proœmium of Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver; and as it stands first, on account of its antiquity and strength, we translate the passage supposed to bear most favourably upon the point: "Let those who will not be governed by honesty and justice, think of the hour of death, when they will remember their unjust deeds, and wish their actions had been performed upon righteous principles."* Does this contain the doctrine of a future state? Does it present the rewards of a virtuous life with a clearness at all commensurate with, "Let me die the death of the righteous?" Is a "Providence, in its full extent," here made the "*grand sanction of law?*" If we are answered in the affirmative, then we claim as much for the Pentateuch; and in regard to the worship and reverence of the Supreme Being, dependence upon, and faith in him, Moses stands far in *advance* of Zaleucus, Draco, Solon, Romulus, and the Twelve Tables. The notions of a Providence "in its full extent," were as comprehensive in the one case as in the other; and the words of Moses must be as liberally interpreted as theirs, or theirs reduced to the limits of his: so that, if the mere *omission* of a future state of rewards and punishments be, *ipso facto*, a demonstration of the Divine call and commission of the legislator thus omitting it, then many other legislators, ancient and modern, will be entitled to the credit of a divine appointment. We solemnly believe, that just here lies the grand fallacy in Warburton's whole theory. As before remarked, we have refrained from any exegesis of the texts going to affirm the presence of the disputed doctrine in the Jewish teachings, and have confined our investigation to general principles. And we regard the attempt to demonstrate the "Divine Legation of Moses," or of any other prophet, by means of a mere *omission* or *negation*, unphilosophical and absurd; for the identical arguments going to confirm such an appointment in the case of Moses, would establish, with equal conclusiveness, the divine mission of the delegates who framed the Constitution of the United States!

* —— *πᾶσι τοῖς μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν, μεμνημένοις ὧν ἀδικήμασι, καὶ ὁρμὴ τοῦ βουλέσθαι παντα πεπράχθαι δικάιως αὐτοῖς.*

In 1740 Warburton became acquainted with Pope. Before this, they had been on rather bad terms. Pope had satirized Warburton's friend and patron, Sir Robert Sutton; and Warburton had expressed himself in accordance with his views of the attack: but perceiving Pope's character and influence, he forgave the offence, and cultivated his friendship. Pope introduced him to Theobald and the wits of the town, and in turn Warburton defended the "Essay on Man" against the criticisms of Crousaz, who tried to convict the author of Atheism. Through Pope's friendship also, he was introduced to Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, and to Mr. Allen, whose daughter Warburton subsequently married. The marriage brought him wealth, leisure, influence, and the beautiful residence of Prior-Park. The two friends, during a ramble through the south of England, took Oxford in their way; and some of the authorities proposed to confer on the illustrious visitors the degrees suited to their fame. Pope, who had gone some distance ahead of his friend, learned that there were influences in operation to defeat Warburton's degree of D. D., and very promptly refused to receive his own of LL. D. Writing back to Warburton, he says, "We shall take our degrees together in *fame*, whatever we may do at the *University*." Ten years afterwards, Warburton obtained his diploma, *plenâ auctoritate*, from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1746 the Society of Lincoln's Inn elected him their chaplain. He accepted the post; but it proved irksome, as the preparation of his sermons interfered with the progress of the "Divine Legation."

The next year, he brought out a new edition of Shakspeare. Could the Bard of Avon see all the "*improvements*" which his editors have made on his works, he would probably doubt his own meaning, and conclude it was the worse for mending. Warburton's edition exerted no permanent influence. He often left the real sense and beauty of his author, and set off after occult and mysterious allusions. So well was Pope assured of this tendency in his friend, that although at his death, in 1744, he willed Warburton half his library, and made him editor of his posthumous works, he stipulated expressly that no alterations should be made in them.

His Julian appeared in 1750. Dr. Middleton's "Inquiry concerning Miraculous Powers," was suspected of containing sentiments adverse to the interests of religion. The doctor had met with some unhandsome treatment at the hands of a few eminent churchmen: and to this circumstance many persons attributed the acrimony of the "Inquiry,"—thus making him disparage Christianity for the behaviour of its professors. To counteract the effects of this book, Warburton published "Julian: or, a Discourse concerning the Earth-

quake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem." The work was not remarkable for its perspicuity; but its design was to demonstrate the genuineness of the miracle, mainly by the testimony of Julian and his contemporaries, and by the prophecies alluding to the close of the temple service. According to "Julian," the Judaic system of worship consisted of two grand divisions—private and public. Among the former are circumcision, purification, &c., which, being performed in retirement, exercised no general impressive influence, and therefore required only a *virtual* repeal. But among the public parts was a local or temple worship, which, from its significance, must, on the coming in of a new dispensation, be repealed *actually;* that is, by positive interposition. This event had accordingly been predicted, and God's veracity being thus pledged against the rebuilding, the destruction, once accomplished, was to be *final.* A temporary agitation gave the "Julian" an eminent temporary importance: "*The second earthquake* has much frightened that colluvies of filth, the court and city. Pray God it may reform them."* In another place he alludes, with evident gusto, to the same phenomenon:—

"These earthquakes have made Whiston [immortalized in a savoury stanza of Swift] ten times madder than before. He went to an alehouse at Mile-End, to see one who, it was said, had predicted the earthquake. The man told him it was true, and that he had had it from an angel. Whiston rejected this as apocryphal; for he was well assured, that if the favour of this secret was to be communicated to any one, it would be to himself!"

While employed by the Lincoln's Inn Society, he prepared a series of sermons on Natural and Revealed Religion, in two volumes. They were dedicated "To the Worshipful the Masters of the Bench," were "published with a view of vindicating religion from the insults of libertines, and the indiscretions of enthusiasts." His third volume appeared in 1767, and contained "Sermons and Discourses on Various Subjects and Occasions." As he preached before renowned jurists and scholars, his sermons have never exerted any influence upon the popular mind; yet they are admirably conceived, well sustained, and evincive of fine theological attainments. They take a wide range. Some are purely historical, some controversial and scientific, and others, again, evangelical and practical. Thus, from Isa. xix, 13, &c., "The princes of Zoan are become fools," he delivers a succinct sketch of the Grand English Rebellion; the discourse on Prov. iv, 5, 6, "Answer a fool according to his folly," &c., might furnish some valuable hints to a logician; while every believing heart would be refreshed with "Salvation by Faith alone,"

* Letters to Hurd.

from Matthew xxii, 12. From the last mentioned we extract the following:—

"Our modern masters of reason think it a high point of philosophic wisdom rather to rely on the *uncovenanted* mercies of God, which natural religion so obscurely holds out to them, than on those *covenanted* mercies which the revealed hath so openly and clearly laid before us. But I am afraid this false modesty will be found as absurd as it is impious; and that those who will not labour for the whole reward which revelation offers, will lose even that which natural religion may encourage them to seek. They are therefore reduced to this distress—either to call in FAITH to procure for them eternal life; or else, if they will admit no associate to their morality, to rest contented with what the disinterested pursuit of virtue can afford them."

From a letter to Dr. Balguy, he seems not only to have doubted the success of his sermons, but also to have disliked the style of preaching then prevalent: "A pathetic address to the passions and affections of penitent hearers, perhaps the most operative of all the various species of instruction, is that in which the English pulpit, notwithstanding all its superior advantages, is most defective." Pained with this defect, he speaks of preparing an essay on theological studies "for the use of young people;" and one of the subjects in the proposed course is, "Sermonizing, or the Art of Preaching." We believe it was never composed.

Bolingbroke had been the early friend of Pope, and in his interminable essays on Christianity, Judaism, &c., was exceedingly disingenuous, sophistical, and contradictory. He fully understood the weight which a witty remark carries with minds unprepared to comprehend a whole chain of argument. His works appeared soon after his death; and their publication was presently followed by Warburton's refutation of their infidelity, in "Four Letters to a Friend." The "Letters" we have failed to obtain. Hurd says,—"In writing it he has surpassed himself; the reasoning and the wit being alike irresistible, the strongest and keenest that can be conceived." Warburton himself judged favourably of them. Writing to Dr. Balguy, he says: "I have given to it all the finishing in my power; and reckon if anything of mine should stumble down to posterity, it will have as good a chance as any. And now, '*Coestus artemque repono.*'"

The Latin quotation was in a great measure prophetic. In 1760 he was elevated to the see of Gloucester, and though he afterwards planned several valuable works, he never brought any to completion. The time remaining from the care of his diocese he employed in retouching his previous writings, and in corresponding with his friends. Occasionally he added an illustration, beat down some luckless adversary with a foot-note, or criticised Hume, Lowth, or Wesley.

He once thought, indeed, of refuting Hume systematically, but concluded the game was not worth the candle. His reasons for this course are characteristic:—

"I am tempted to have a stroke at Hume in parting. But does he deserve this notice? Is he known among you? Pray, answer me these questions. For if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory!"

To Mr. Wesley, however, he was more condescending. Mr. Wesley, in his "Plain Account" of the revivals, had said, "It is a point we chiefly insist upon, that *orthodoxy*, or *right opinion*, is, at best, but a very slender part of religion, if any part of it at all." On this passage Warburton proceeds:—

"If this be the case, the first reformers of religion from the errors of Popery have much to answer for; who, for the sake of *right opinion*,—*at best a slender part of religion, if any part of it at all*,—occasioned so much turmoil, and so many revolutions, in civil as well as in religious systems. Without doubt, Mr. Wesley, by this doctrine, provides well for the fortune of his sect among all denominations of Christianity; but I do not see what obligation the Church of England hath unto him for thus shortening the labours of the Popish missionaries. However, to do him justice, I believe he hath as little regard to the interests of Popery as anybody else, and as much to his own. This declaration I suspect was forced from him as the best means of securing the honour of his pretensions. He could not but see that there is an exact resemblance, in the NEW BIRTH, between his saints and the saints of the Church of Rome. This would lead men to conclude that their author and original was the same. Yet, as their opinions are totally opposite, that author could never be the God of truth. What remained, but to ascribe both to *enthusiasm or demoniasm*? To avoid this disgrace, Mr. Wesley rather chooses to let Popery share with him in the glory of inspiration; and this could be only done by making it believed that religious errors have so little to do with religion that they can be no bar or impediment to the favours of the Holy Spirit."—*Sermon on Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit*, note, pp. 264, 265.

In a Methodist periodical it would be useless to reprint Mr. Wesley's masterly refutation of this sophistry. He nobly vindicates his conduct and motives from the unkind aspersions here cast upon them; prays for his traducer; and, after the bishop's death, tenderly speaks of good Mr. Warburton, "now, I trust, in heaven." The bishop amended and expanded the sermon into two small volumes, entitled "The Doctrine of Grace," &c. Hurd, after admitting that in its composition the glory of Warburton's pen had waned, nevertheless regards the performance as highly meritorious, and ventures a prediction, which will prove true, doubtless, if ever it be fulfilled: "It will be read when the sect that gave occasion to it is forgotten: or, rather, the sect will find a sort of immortality in the discourse!" Here is a distinction with only a "sort" of a difference: but as the "sect" and the "discourse" are both on the race for immortality,

our sympathy with one of the parties will disqualify us from guessing the result. *Qui vixerit, videbit.*

Warburton's last historical act was the founding of a lecture on Prophecy, in 1768, at Lincoln's Inn. He invested £500 for its support. Its specific design was "to prove the truth of religion in general, and of the Christian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies of the Old and New Testament which relate to the Christian Church, and especially to the apostasy of Papal Rome." He regarded prophecy as being perfectly systematic, though written in detached portions, and felt confident that a clear view of its connexions and dependences would very effectually aid the cause of true piety. The lecture was filled for many years by bishops Hurd, Halifax, Bagot, and others.

The bishop had now reached the goal to which he had looked in early life; his fame filled the land; his literary enemies felt shy about assailing him; and he began to look seriously to the close of his earthly career. It is a sad thought that a life devoted to knowledge and letters often terminates in a marked loss of mental power. Swift, Marlborough, and Southey, sank into an apathy from which scarcely any entertainment could arouse them. Thus it was with Warburton. The death of an only son, in 1775, increased his melancholy; his memory rapidly failed; and in 1779 he descended to his grave, in his 81st year. He was buried in his cathedral at Gloucester.

We close with a brief sketch of his character. In person he was tall, large, and robust; and had he lived "freely," he would have needed much time for recreation; but wishing to spend his hours in study, he formed habits of strict sobriety and abstinence. As a friend he was frank, courteous, and communicative. In conversation he was very animated, selecting topics of profound depth, enriching them by his mental treasures, and frequently, like Johnson and Coleridge, unconsciously usurping the whole discourse to himself. On such occasions he spoke his sentiments without reserve. The same ingenuousness marks his letters to Hurd; and what his enemies reprobated as wanton invective and sarcasm, may perhaps have been, in many cases, but a strong style of expressing his views of truth. His history is meagre of incidents illustrating his benevolence. That he was affectionate, appears from the grief he manifested at the loss of his mother and son: but beyond his own family, we see but very occasional specimens of kindly feeling. Perhaps, in his secluded life, he sought few opportunities of familiarizing himself with the trials and woes of suffering men.

We believe *strength* is the proper term by which to characterize

his mind. His memory was retentive, and always at command. Johnson says "it was full fraught." He forgot nothing that he had ever read, though he could not always recall the author in which he had found a sentiment. Hence he could draw at will from all repositories of learning, ancient or modern. He had perused all the English "pamphlets,"—a numerous horde,—and nearly all the modern romances. He studied Spanish simply for the pleasure of reading Don Quixote in the original. His wit was of a pungent order, though it often bruised as it cut. His humorous passages would constitute a goodly volume of *Warburtoniana*. When his judgment was unbiased, his discrimination was excellent; though he sometimes pursued his object too eagerly, and thus overshot his mark. His great mistake lay in his fancy for *paradox*. This abounds in all his writings, and nowhere more conspicuously than in his "Divine Legation." The result is, that while Butler and Paley form text-books for every theological student, Warburton lies upon an upper shelf, and is seldom disturbed except for curiosity or display.

His two great objects of dislike were Popery and infidelity. The latter he harassed with a sort of maniac delight, and loved to grapple with its wiliest advocates. The mere witling and superficial sciolist he utterly discarded; he dropped Voltaire for his levity alone. We are at a loss properly to estimate the effect of his labours. He has, indeed, written voluminously: but if we consider the paradoxes he proposed to defend, the daring and unnecessary admissions he made to his adversaries, the ridicule with which he gloried in assailing the sober opinions of his brethren in the faith of Jesus, and, above all, his most extravagant interpretations of the Scripture canon, it is a nice question to determine whether religion and sound Biblical criticism have been the gainers or losers by his writings. His sentiments on Popery fix in a great measure his Church position. With Warburton, Puseyism and its affinities have no sympathy. Oxford refused him her honours when he and Pope visited her shades; were he alive now, she would do so again, but upon theological issues. But we presume he would receive her dislike with indifference:—"I find," says he, "that the solicitor uses the word university as the Romish Church do the Church, to signify themselves, *exclusive of those who in reality make both one and the other*. The Church resides at Lambeth, and the University at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Many a good Christian is likely to die without the pale of the Church; and many a learned academician to remain unmatriculated."

With Mr. Wesley, we trust his personal relations to religion were

safe and comfortable. If, according to Seneca, "*literæ sunt vera amici absentis vestigia*," we peruse with pleasure the following passage in a letter to Hurd:—"I believe no one hath suffered more from the vile passions of the high and low than I have. Yet God forbid that it should ever suffer me to be cold in the Gospel interests, *which are, indeed, so much my own, that without it I should be disposed to consider humanity the most forlorn part of the creation.*"

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## Art. VI.—CALIFORNIA.

1. *What I saw in California: being the Journal of a Tour, by the Emigrant Route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the Continent of North America, the Great Desert Basin, and through California, in the Years* 1846, 1847. By Edwin Bryant, late Alcalde of San Francisco.
2. *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers.* By Lieut. W. H. Emory, Topographical Engineers.

We have directed the attention of our readers to the works whose titles furnish the caption to this article, not because they are the most recent, for every week produces something new; but because they are the most complete and reliable accounts that have come under our notice since the publication of the reports of Col. Fremont. Mr. Bryant is a gentleman of intelligence and good sense, of which his book furnishes evidence on every page. He accompanied the overland emigration of 1846, as far as Fort Laramie, at which place he, with a select company, exchanged their wagons and oxen for mules,—having determined to travel more rapidly than the main body of the emigrants. Instead of pursuing the old travelled route by way of Fort Hall, he followed a newly explored road by the south end of the great Salt Lake, which, as our readers are doubtless aware, is situated in the north-western corner of the great desert basin. This lake is one of the most singular sheets of water in the world. Receiving the waters of a considerable river, and several smaller streams, none of which are appreciably saline, the water of the lake itself is a saturated solution of common salt. From five gallons of the water of this lake, Col. Fremont obtained, by evaporation, fourteen pints of nearly pure chloride of sodium. We have somewhere noticed an observation, that lakes which have no outlet are always impregnated with mineral salts, which are brought down by their affluents. As the water escapes only by

evaporation, the water of the lake becomes, in the course of time, entirely saturated. This speculation, whether scientifically correct or not, appears very plausible: we therefore recommend it to the examination of our scientific friends. Near this singular body of water is the chosen home of those singular fanatics, the Mormons. Driven by violence from their homes in Illinois, they have here selected a place of residence, where they can enjoy, unmolested, the practice of their absurd faith. Their location is about two hundred and thirty miles from the South Pass; and, from the circumstance of its position—being in the high road from Oregon to California—will ultimately be an important point, independent of the value that will attach to the Salt Lake. To the south of this body of water is the Utah lake,—a large body of fresh water directly communicating with the former. The trail pursued by Mr. Bryant led the party across the great salt desert, a journey of seventy-five miles, without water or grass. It will be at once seen that the necessity of crossing this fatal plain must always constitute a serious objection to this route, as those travelling with wagons would be necessarily two or three days in crossing it. The company traversed the desert on the trail followed by Fremont a year previous. While on this part of the journey, they witnessed in perfection those singular deceptions common on desert wastes. The annexed quotation furnishes a vivid description of one of these optical illusions:—

"As I have before stated, I had dismounted from my mule, and, turning it in with the *caballada*, was walking several rods in front of the party, in order to lead in a direct course to the point of our destination. Diagonally in front, to the right, our course being west, there appeared the figures of a number of men and horses,—some fifteen or twenty. Some of these figures were mounted and others dismounted, and appeared to be marching on foot. Their faces and the heads of their horses were turned towards us, and, at first, they appeared as if they were rushing down upon us. Their apparent distance, judging from the horizon, was from three to five miles. But their size was not correspondent, for they seemed nearly as large as our own bodies, and consequently were of gigantic stature. At the first view I supposed them to be a small party of Indians, (probably the Utahs) marching from the opposite side of the plain. But this seemed to me scarcely probable, as no hunting or war party would be likely to take this route. I called to some of our party nearest to me to hasten forward, as there were men in front, coming towards us. Very soon the fifteen or twenty figures were multiplied into three or four hundred, and appeared to be marching forward with the greatest action and speed. I then conjectured that they might be Capt. Fremont and his party, with others, from California, returning to the United States by this route, although they seemed to be too numerous even for this. I spoke to Brown, who was nearest to me, and asked him if he noticed the figures of men and horses in front? He answered that he did, and that he had observed the same appearances several times previously, but that they had disappeared, and he believed them to be optical illusions similar to the mirage. It was then, for the first time, so perfect was the deception, that I conjectured the probable

fact that these figures were the reflection of our own images by the atmosphere, filled as it was with fine particles of crystallized matter, or by the distant horizon, covered by the same substance. This induced a more minute observation of the phenomenon, in order to detect the deception, if such it were. I noticed a single figure, apparently in front, in advance of all the others, and was struck with its likeness to myself. Its motions, too, I thought were the same as mine. To test the hypothesis above suggested, I wheeled suddenly around, at the same time stretching my arms out to their full length, and turning my face sidewise to notice the movements of this figure. It went through precisely the same motions. I then marched deliberately, and with long strides, several paces; the figure did the same. To test it more thoroughly, I repeated the experiment, and with the same result. The fact was then clear. But it was more fully verified still, for the whole array of this numerous shadowy host in the course of an hour melted entirely away, and was no more seen. The phenomenon, however, explained and gave the history of the gigantic spectres which appeared and disappeared so mysteriously at an earlier hour of the day. The figures were our own shadows, produced and re-produced by the mirror-like composition impregnating the atmosphere and covering the plain. I cannot here more particularly explain or refer to the subject. But this phantom population, springing out of the ground as it were, and arraying itself before us as we traversed this dreary and heaven-condemned waste, although we were entirely convinced of the cause of the apparition, excited those superstitious emotions so natural to all mankind."

Pursuing their journey until they reached Mary's river, denominated by Fremont, Humboldt's river, they followed the windings of its valley, which furnishes grass for the animals, with willow and cotton-wood sufficient for fuel. Arriving at what is known amongst the trappers as the *Sink* of Mary's river, another *jornada* is to be accomplished, of forty-five miles, without water or grass, to the waters of Truckee, or Salmon Trout river, a tributary of the Pyramid Lake. This stream rises in the Sierra Nevada, near the emigrants' pass, which is known as the Salmon Trout Pass, at which point the traveller emerges from the great desert basin. There is not on the continent so singular a geographical feature as this great interior basin of California. It is bounded on the east by the great chain of the Rocky Mountains; on the west by the Sierra Nevada; on the north and south by ranges running at right angles to these two great chains. It is thus isolated from the rest of the world; having its own system of mountains, lakes, and streams, the latter of which empty neither into the Atlantic nor Pacific. Its largest stream is Bear river, which, after a tortuous course of two hundred miles, discharges its waters into the great Salt Lake, on the eastern rim of the basin. Besides this there are many others, each of which empties into some lake, or is lost in the sands of the desert. The soil is, in the main, sterile, except along the margins of the streams, and the slopes of the mountains. These fertile spots constitute delightful oases in the howling waste, where the animals of the weary emigrant can obtain grass and water to sustain them on their

terrible march. The diameter of this desert is nearly five hundred miles in both directions: of course there is a large portion of it of which we know nothing. It has an elevation of from four to five thousand feet above the level of the ocean. One would infer from this that its climate is excessively severe, but such is not the fact; for although Mr. Bryant saw ice and frost in July, we must regard this as uncommon; for Fremont reports, that for two weeks in October, the mean temperature was 40° at sunrise, 70° at noon, and 54° at sunset,—a temperature quite as mild as that in 40° north, on the Atlantic coast. The great basin is sparsely inhabited by a few miserable tribes of Indians, who depend for subsistence upon roots, berries, fish, and the hares which find a home in the gloomy *artemisia*, the prevailing shrub of the desert. Little game is found here, except the diminutive quail, or the timid antelope, which has here a wide range of vision to descry the approach of its enemies. It may be that nature, in cursing this vast region with sterility, has compensated it by enriching it with mineral treasures; but the explorations hitherto made have thrown no light on this subject.

The pass of the Sierra Nevada is much more difficult, and has a much greater elevation than the pass of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed the entire range of the former has a greater altitude than the latter. After descending the slope of the Sierra, the road presents no remarkable features, nor difficulties of any consequence, to be surmounted. The distance from the mountain lake which is the source of the Salmon Trout or Truckee river, on the west side of the Sierra Nevada, to Sutter's Fort, on the American fork of the Sacramento, is one hundred and forty-six miles: thence to the town of San Francisco is two hundred miles. According to Mr. Bryant, the entire distance from Independence to San Francisco is two thousand two hundred and ninety miles, and occupied in the performance, from the 5th of May until the 1st of September. As before stated, nearly seven hundred miles were performed with oxen; the remainder with mules. The presumption is, that with mules the journey could be accomplished in three months, while five would be required to perform it with oxen. Our travellers, on their arrival at Sutter's Fort, were regaled with fresh beef, melons, onions, and tomatoes; delicacies to which they had long been strangers, and for which their generous entertainer would receive no compensation. The journey had been prosperous, and our friend thus congratulates himself upon its fortunate termination:—

"With sincere and devout thankfulness I laid myself on my hard bed, to sleep once more within the boundaries of civilization. Since we left our homes none of our party have met with any serious accidents or disasters.

With the small number of only nine men, we have travelled from Fort Laramie to Sutter's Fort, a distance of nearly seventeen hundred miles, over trackless and barren deserts, and almost impassable mountains; through tribes of savage Indians, encountering necessarily many difficulties, and enduring great hardships and privations; and here we all are in good health, with the loss of nothing materially valuable belonging to us, except a single animal, which gave out from fatigue, and was left on the road. We have had no quarrels with Indians, rendering it necessary in self-defence to take their lives; but, on the contrary, whenever we have met them on our journey, by our deportment towards them, their friendship has been conciliated, or their hostility softened and disarmed, without striking a blow. We uniformly respected their feelings and their rights, and they respected us. Results so favourable as these, to expeditions constituted as was ours, and acting under such circumstances, are not often recorded."

Many of the emigrants of that year, deviating from the route usually followed, were lost in the desert, or entangled in the mountains, enduring sufferings and privations, the recital of which is sufficient to sicken the heart. But it is not our intention to dwell on this tale of misery, with which our readers have doubtless become somewhat acquainted through newspaper reports, and which they will find graphically depicted in the volume before us.

The maritime region of California, by which we mean that portion included between the Sierra Nevada and the Pacific, is the only portion of it which is at present of much value. This region extends from the parallel of 42° north to the head of the Californian Gulf, or Sea of Cortes, a distance of nearly seven hundred miles, having a breadth ranging from one to two hundred miles, giving an area of more than one hundred thousand square miles. This region is traversed by two large navigable rivers, the Sacramento from the north, and the San Joaquin from the south. These two streams meet, emptying together into the bay of San Francisco. The valley through which they flow is fertile and well watered,—capable of sustaining a very dense population. It abounds in game, such as bears, deer, elk, and countless millions of water-fowls. Grass and wild oats grow luxuriantly, furnishing abundant sustenance to vast herds of cattle and horses, the former of which have hitherto constituted the wealth of the country. The climate is one of surpassing beauty and loveliness,—quite equal in fact to the boasted serenity of Italy. In the southern portion, the tropical fruits, figs, oranges, lemons, and olives can be cultivated with success; the olives, in particular, being reported as superior to those of the Mediterranean. The northern portion is finely adapted to the growth of grain; the yield per acre being much greater than that of the Atlantic portion of the continent. For nearly a hundred years this country has been in possession of the Hispano-Ameri-

cans, having first been occupied by the Jesuits, who established missions from San Diego to San Francisco. These intelligent, enterprising priests established an influence over the native Indians, and employed them in the cultivation of the soil, or the care of their herds of cattle, the hides and tallow of which constituted their main article of traffic with the occasional vessel which visited the coast. The entire scope of country, from one mission to the other, was claimed by the fathers, who rigidly excluded all adventurers. When Mexico revolted from Spain, the Jesuits fell under the displeasure of the rapacious government, which was anxious to find a pretext for possessing itself of the rich lands and immense herds belonging to the missions. These once splendid establishments are now in ruins; the native Californians being too indolent to work for themselves, and unable to maintain the influence established by the *padres* over the Aborigines. Many bold adventurers, attracted by the genial climate and fertile soil of the country, have from time to time established themselves in California, improving the advantages overlooked or despised by the natives. They have accumulated great wealth by opening plantations, and rearing herds of cattle and horses. By that ready wit and cool courage in which they were so far superior to the ignorant and vaporing inhabitants of the country, they maintained their possessions through all the dissensions and revolutions which continually agitate a Mexican government. There is no doubt that within a few years, even without the intervention of our government, California would have ceased to be an integral portion of the Mexican Republic.

But the agricultural resources of California are not what gives it its great value. Ever since the discovery of the western world by Columbus, the great problem has been to find a shorter route to Asia than the long boisterous voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. In pursuit of this passage, navigators have in vain explored the Arctic Ocean, and the project has long been virtually abandoned. In our opinion the accomplishment of this great desideratum has been reserved for the great American Republic. A continuous line of railroad will, at no distant day, render the American continent the highway for the commerce of Asia and Europe. Hitherto we have had no point on the Pacific suitable for the terminus of this great work. Oregon was too far north, and possessed no good harbour; but now we have possession, in a suitable latitude, of one of the most magnificent harbours in the world. In this connexion it may be well to offer a few general reflections touching the commercial capacities of this region. The port of San Diego, in the extreme southern portion of upper California, has a fine harbour,

and will, in the course of time, be the dépôt of a large trade. Farther up the coast, Monterey has a beautiful and tolerably safe harbour, surrounded by a rich country. But the great commercial emporium, not only of California but of the Pacific, will be doubtless located on the magnificent bay of San Francisco. The entrance to this great harbour is little more than a mile in width, in the narrowest part, and is therefore easy of defence. When once fairly within the port, the navigator finds a harbour not only perfectly secure, but of immense extent,—having a breadth of thirty-five miles, and a length of seventy. In short, it possesses space enough for all the navies of the world to ride at anchor. Into this bay débouche the Sacramento and San Joaquin, thus making this bay the natural dépôt of the trade of the interior. Should the project of a railroad to the Pacific be accomplished, (of which we have no doubt,) San Francisco must be its western terminus. Further, the scientific navigator knows that the nearest route from the Pacific ports of South America to China is along the coast of California, and by the Alentian Islands. Although on a plane map this is not apparent, any one may satisfy himself of its truth, by measuring the distance on a globe with a string. Thus will this great city become not only the dépôt of the interior trade, but the head-quarters of the commerce of the Pacific. Although we may incur the risk of being called enthusiastic, we will hazard the prediction that the man is now born who will live to see a mighty city on this splendid bay. And the beautiful valleys, which are now the homes of roaming savages and wild beasts, will be enlivened by handsome villages, beautiful gardens, and stately mansions. Under the enlightened sway of the Anglo-Americans the wilderness shall be made to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Lieutenant Emory pursued a different route to California from the one undertaken by Mr. Bryant. From Fort Leavenworth, in the neighbourhood of Independence, he followed the usual trail of the Santa Fé traders, which of course lies south of the road to the South Pass, though differing from it but little in its topographical features. After leaving the ancient and celebrated city of Santa Fé, the party passed down the Rio Bravo del Norte some two hundred miles, and thence across the "dividing ridge" that separates it from the Gila, a tributary of the Colorado of the gulf of California. On the head waters of the Rio Bravo and the Gila, are mountains that overlook the States of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora. These mountains are the homes of the Navajas and Apaches, who thence sweep like destructive tornadoes over the valleys and plains beneath, carrying off in their terrible forays the flocks, herds, women

and children of the terror-stricken, pusillanimous Mexicans. For ages have these fierce warriors pursued, unchecked, this predatory warfare; but one now trembles for their future fortune. It will cost them dear to learn that the Anglo-Americans are a different people from the feeble, mongrel race they have so long plundered with impunity. They have yet to learn that an incursion upon our people will not only terminate disastrously for them on the plain, but will result in their being pursued to their mountain homes, and driven from their fastnesses whence they have so often descended to spread terror and desolation over the country beneath. These tribes, and particularly the Navajas, differ in many points from the Indians inhabiting the plains farther north and east. To them the name of Montezuma is familiar; and their bitter hostility to the Spaniards seems to date as far back as the conquest by Cortes. Whether they are the descendants of the Aztecs, a name with which they do not appear to be familiar, it is impossible at this late period to determine; but their superior civilization, as well as their warlike, independent character, would seem to indicate such a descent.

The region watered by the Gila has heretofore been, to a great extent, a *terra incognita;* the descriptions we have had of it being merely the confused and uncertain reports of trappers or adventurers who have had the hardihood to make their way through the dangerous country of the Navajas, allured by the beaver inhabiting its waters, or the mineral treasures reported to exist in its mountains and streams. Many romantic stories have been from time to time circulated concerning the country watered by this stream. It has been reported to be inhabited by a people equal in civilization to those who dwelt in the famous valley of Tenochtitlan. Its streams were reported to run over sands rich in gold. Lieut. Emory gives a description of ruins which he saw on his route, which are possibly the work of a people superior in intelligence to the present occupants of the country. There are at present inhabiting the region watered by the Gila, two tribes of Indians, hitherto little known to the whites, who are really agreeable and interesting people. These are the Pimas and Coco Maricopas. They subsist by agriculture; having a disinclination for war, not because they lack the necessary courage and skill, for they are more than a match for the Apaches, who make occasional forays into their country, for the purpose of driving off their cattle, horses, and mules. They are nominally subject to the Mexican authorities, but are in effect independent. In their country are found the ruins before mentioned, concerning the origin of which, however, they can give no satisfactory account.

The traveller may be amused with all kinds of improbable and absurd traditions; but can acquire no information that would tend to solve the mystery which appears to envelop the history of the race formerly inhabiting this singular and sequestered valley. The ruins that meet the eye of the traveller, inform him of little that is satisfactory, or that would serve to demonstrate the degree of advancement in the arts to which they had attained. Heaps of broken pottery, the remains of the first of the arts of a civilized people, are the only vestiges now met with in these ruins.

It has been long reported that the streams which empty into the Gila were rich in gold, and that copper and silver abounded in the neighbouring mountains. Lieut. Emory places much faith in these reports. He met with specimens of the two latter metals, and obtained authentic information of the existence of the first in the channel of the Prierte, a tributary of the Gila.

The agricultural capacities of this region are very insignificant. The soil is parched and sterile; yielding, unless irrigated, but little remuneration to the labour of the husbandman. The vegetation is scanty; consisting principally of the acacia and mezquite, intermingled with endless varieties of the cactus, which here seems to have reached its perfection of development. There is no game, save a few quails and mountain goats: in short, unless the reports of the mineral wealth of the country should be confirmed by further explorations, there seems to be a probability that the Navajas, Apaches, Pimas, and Coco Maricopas, will forever remain in undisturbed possession of this region, which seems to be only fitted for the residence of a primitive or nomadic people. The following extract from the report of Lieut. Emory will serve to demonstrate this, and incidentally shed some light on a question which is at present exciting much interest in the mind of every American:—

"The country from the Arkansas to this point, (the confluence of the Colorado and Gila,) more than twelve hundred miles, in its adaptation to agriculture, has peculiarities which must forever stamp itself upon the population which inhabits it. [Rather bad syntax, Mr. Lieutenant.] All of North Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, and the Californias, as far north as the Sacramento, are, as far as the best information goes, the same in the physical character of its surface, and differ but little in climate or products. [Bad syntax again, and a mistake, so far as California is concerned. See Fremont's Geographical Memoir.) In no part of this vast tract can the rains from heaven be relied upon, to any extent, for the cultivation of the soil. The earth is destitute of trees, and in great part also of any vegetation whatever.

"A few feeble streams flow in different directions from the great mountains, which in many places traverse this region. These streams are separated, sometimes by plains, and sometimes by mountains, without water and without vegetation, and may be called deserts, so far as they perform any useful part in the sustenance of animal life. [Really this is enough to set one's teeth on

edge. Our topographical friend, where did you get such extravagant notions of English grammar?]

"The cultivation of the earth is therefore confined to those narrow strips of land which are within the level of the waters of the streams, and wherever practised in a community with any success, or to any extent, involves a degree of subordination and absolute obedience to a chief, repugnant to the habits of our people.

"The chief who directs the time and the quantity of the precious irrigating water must be implicitly obeyed by the whole community. A departure from his orders, by the waste of water, or unjust distribution of it, or neglect to make the proper embankments, may endanger the means of subsistence of many people. He must therefore be armed with power to punish promptly and immediately.

"The profits of labour are too inadequate for the existence of negro slavery. Slavery, as practised by the Mexicans, under the form of peonage, which enables their master to get the services of the adult while in the prime of life, without the obligation of rearing him in infancy, supporting him in old age, or maintaining his family, affords no data for estimating the profits of slave labour, as it exists in the United States.

"No one who has ever visited this country, and who is acquainted with the character and value of slave-labour in the United States, would ever think of bringing his own slaves here with any view to profit; much less would he purchase slaves for such a purpose. Their labour here, if they could be retained as slaves, among peons, nearly of their own colour, would never repay the cost of transportation, much less the additional purchase money."

Lieut. Emory's report is valuable, inasmuch as it furnishes information of a hitherto imperfectly explored region; but it is rather carelessly written, and we miss that fulness of detail and accuracy of observation which invest with such an interest and value the inimitable reports of Col. Fremont. It is, however, but just to remark, that the observations detailed in this report were made during a military journey, which furnished but scanty opportunity for accurate or extended explorations.

At the time of the visits of Mr. Bryant and Lieut. Emory, the existence of gold on the Sacramento and its tributaries was unknown; although we are informed by Mr. Bryant that he fell in with an old mountain trapper, who declared that he knew the localities of mines of gold and mercury, and *a mountain of pure sulphur*. The recent discovery of the gold region has entirely changed the aspect of affairs in California. The tide of emigration which hitherto tended principally to Oregon, now flows in one uninterrupted stream to California; and, as the public mind seems now to be wholly intent on the gold region, it is desirable to furnish, as far as possible, authentic information concerning it. This is difficult to do, without, on the one hand, being imposed upon by the exaggerated reports naturally set afloat, or, on the other hand, by the incredulity which such reports are liable to engender in the minds of prudent persons.

The gold mines were first discovered during the year 1848. The

discovery was accidentally made during the excavation of a mill-race; it was for a short time kept secret, but was of course soon bruited abroad. Up to the latest dates from California, the precious mineral had been found on several of the tributaries of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, principally on the former. So far as we have learned the result of explorations, the gold district extends from 37½° to 40° north; and from the Sierra Nevada to the coast range. The principal *diggings* are upon Feather River, and the Rio de las Americanas, tributaries of the Sacramento from the east. In August, 1848, Col. Mason estimated the number of gold-diggers, including Indians and Californians, at four thousand; and the proceeds of their labours at that time as from $40,000 to $50,000 *per diem.* Since that time many have repaired thither from the United States, Mexico, South America, and Europe. So that before the close of the mining season, the number was largely increased. As may be supposed, the discovery of this treasure totally revolutionized the business of the country. Soldiers deserted their barracks, sailors eloped from their vessels, clerks, merchants, mechanics, gentlemen, servants, *vaqueros*,—all took up the line of march for the banks of the modern Pactolus;—none who could go remained behind. The instruments used for obtaining the gold were rude and clumsy; and, by the methods pursued, it is probable that not one-half of the metal was eliminated from the soil. The average yield was stated as from one to two ounces per day, to each man. Such a sudden influx of wealth, of course, quite intoxicated a majority of the adventurers, who very forcibly illustrated the truth of the homely old proverb, "a fool and his money are soon parted." The heretofore naked Indian flaunted in all the bravery of flame-coloured calico or scarlet strouding, while a large proportion of the other adventurers wasted their wages in *aguardiente*, or at *monté*. For a while all went pleasantly enough. While there was room for all, and no one had amassed any great amount of treasure, there was little inducement to dishonesty or violence; but this condition of things could not long endure. Many, unfortunate in their own operations, became envious of the good fortune of their neighbours: the unsettled state of the country, and the uncertainty of justice, presented to the ill-disposed a great temptation to dishonesty and plunder. A mixed population of Mexicans, Indians, and Americans, could not, under the evil influence of avarice, long remain at peace: accordingly, we were not astonished to hear that theft and murder were becoming frequent. This seems to be the natural tendency of things in the gold mines. On the approach of winter, the majority of the miners left the scene of operations,—the prudent and thrifty to make suit-

able disposal of their earnings, and others to dispose of them in gambling or riotous living. We have no doubt that San Francisco presented during the last winter scenes of rioting and debauchery, fully equal to those enacted by the conquistadors of old Spain.

It is difficult to determine the amount of gold already obtained from the *placers* of California during the first season. The most reliable estimate we have seen is that of Capt. Folsom, of the U. S. Army. He computes the amount at three millions of dollars. Supposing that five thousand men were engaged in procuring this amount, there would result an average of six hundred dollars to each person; and as many are known to have procured a much larger sum than this, the natural inference is, that quite a large proportion of the operatives were unsuccessful. When we add to this, that supplies of every description were exorbitantly high, it occurs to us that the speculation was, for many, a disastrous one. With the tide of emigration now flowing to the Pacific, the number who will resort to the gold mines during the present year may possibly be swelled to fifty thousand. Making proper allowance for the improvements that will be made in the mining operations, the returns for the next year may possibly reach fifty millions. This estimate, however, is subject to many contingencies. At present it is impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of gold to be obtained from the *placers*, or how long they will continue to be productive. As yet the mining operations have been conducted in a very rude manner; but as mercury is found in great quantities in the country, and persons who are practical mineralogists will resort to the mines, we may expect to learn during the present year their true value.

As thousands are now flocking to the gold mines, it may not be amiss to offer some suggestions as to the natural history of that mineral, and the difficulties to be encountered in the search for it. Gold is almost always found in one of two situations;—either in the form of veins, as other metals, or in alluvial deposits and the beds of streams. The rocks in which it is found belong to the class of primary and volcanic formations; the metal itself being very frequently found in contact with quartz. The veins are usually very small and tortuous. It is readily understood that the metal in this situation is of less value, and that mining operations undertaken for the purpose of procuring it, will be less profitable. The primary and volcanic rocks are of extreme hardness, and to separate the gold from the matrix, it is necessary to reduce to powder the rocks in which it is imbedded. When we consider that quartz is inferior in hardness only to the diamond, it is easily comprehended that the expenditure is often greater than the returns will justify. Again;

"all is not gold that glitters:"—one of the minerals most frequently found in gold localities is sulphuret of iron, or iron pyrites. This ore, in external characteristics, so nearly resembles the precious metal, as to be mistaken for it by the inexperienced. Every scientific man is liable to be called upon by ignorant persons of his neighbourhood to analyze specimens which they are confident must be *gold ore* of extraordinary purity: they are only to be satisfied of their mistake by seeing the supposed precious mineral disappear in the crucible, or under the blowpipe, leaving behind only a brown mass of iron rust and a strong odour of brimstone. So common is this occurrence, that this ore has received the more expressive than euphonious title of "fool's gold."

With regard to the origin of gold in the beds of streams, or in alluvial deposits, there is much discussion. Some contend that it results from the disintegration of rocks containing gold, by the combined agency of air and moisture;—the gold being brought down with sand by the mountain torrents, and deposited in the beds of the streams. This theory is very plausible; but there is an objection to it. Such deposits are frequently circumscribed; which, one would think, would not be the case were the metal brought down by the streams. In the latter case, the nearer the fountain head of the stream, the richer would be the deposit. Observation, however, has demonstrated that such is not by any means constantly the case. Gold may be found along the bed of a stream, within certain limits, while higher up, or lower down, the deposit suddenly ceases to be observed. In these deposits, or *placers*, as they are termed by the Mexicans, (a word derived originally, we suppose, from the Latin *placeo*,) are the localities where gold-digging may be pursued with advantage. But even here there are difficulties to be encountered. There are sources of fallacy similar to the one above adverted to, and the drudgery of gold-washing is irksome in the extreme; involving not only a large amount of disagreeable toil, but a great risk of health, and a great sacrifice of comfort. When we add to this the desperate character of many of the adventurers who flock to the gold region, preferring to obtain wealth by cutting throats, rather than the slower process of washing sand, we have a picture of the gold-hunter's life which appears to us neither pleasant nor enviable.

It is due to the uninitiated to remark, that the accounts of the wealth to be obtained from the gold mines are always, whether intentionally or not, exaggerated. It should not be lost sight of, that those who write home such florid accounts of these treasures, constitute but an insignificant fraction of the population of the mining district. The acute, intelligent man resorts to the *placers*, and with

his practical knowledge of the business, perhaps soon amasses a fortune. He straightway writes home a glowing description of his success, thus stimulating the cupidity of hundreds of others, who learn only his good fortune, but not the causes on which that good fortune was dependent. On the other hand, the man of limited information, who does not know gold when he sees it, is unfortunate in his operations, throws down his implements in disgust, and curses his *luck*, as he terms it, when the anathema should be expended only on his ignorance, and his inconsiderateness in entering upon a business for which he was not qualified. He, of course, does not write letters home,—and he belongs to the class which constitutes the large majority. In conclusion, we commend to the perusal of our gold-hunting friends some of the mythological fables of ancient Greece. The son of the Thunderer, when sent to obtain the golden apples, was warned by the wise Prometheus that it were better he should send Atlas for them, and sustain the heavens in his stead; thus forcibly illustrating the difficulty of the enterprise, which involved a combat with the hundred-headed serpent that guarded the treasures. When Jason went to Colchis to fetch the golden fleece, in addition to the hardships of the voyage, he was required to tame the brazen-footed bulls which blew flames from their throats, sow the dragon's teeth which sprang up armed foes behind him, and even then was compelled to avail himself of the sorcerer's art, to soothe to sleep the restless dragon that defended the object of his desire.

In view of the sudden influx of the precious metals from California, many have indulged in speculations as to the result upon the commercial and monetary affairs of the world. It has been urged by some that the effect will be to so reduce the value of gold and silver, as to work an entire revolution in business, and produce commercial revulsions that will convulse the world. We profess to have no such anticipations. San Francisco is destined to be the dépôt of one of the largest trades in the world. The commercial operations of the Pacific, now in their infancy, are destined to swell into an importance and magnificence of which the present generation can form no adequate conception. The transaction of this commerce will require vast sums of the precious metals as representatives of value; and Providence, who adapts means to exigencies in the affairs of men, has placed the treasure where, in the order of things, so large a portion of it will be required. How many millions will be absorbed in the erection of the splendid cities that are to embellish the Pacific coast? What will be the cost of building the most splendid commercial marine the world ever beheld? Who can estimate the amount to be carried abroad to exchange for the precious com-

modities of India and China? How much will be required to open the connexion between the Atlantic and Pacific? How many lines of railroad are needed in various sections of our country, which cannot be constructed for want of money? How many resources of our western States, which are now undeveloped, await only the stimulus of gold to unfold themselves, and add largely to the prosperity of our common country? Considering the rate at which human enterprise is progressing, we cannot see, that were the specie of the world to increase a hundred millions annually,—which is doubtless more than the mines of California will ever yield,—any deleterious result would follow; and even should our currency become inflated, we have all confidence that the ingenuity of man will devise a remedy for even an excess of ready money; an evil, by the way, from which the world has never yet suffered. The sudden influx of wealth is, however, a subject pregnant with interest to the philanthropist and moralist. The reflective man, who considers the stupendous strides which the arts and sciences have made and are daily making, cannot fail to see that important changes are being wrought by these means, in the moral and social condition of the world. Through the agency of steam, England and France are, as it were, at our doors. By means of the electric telegraph, Boston and New-Orleans, New-York and St. Louis, can converse at all hours of the day. At no distant day our ears will be greeted by the clattering of the locomotive down the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and the subjects of the Celestial Empire will have become our immediate neighbours. What is to be the consequence of this marvellous series of changes, this bringing into close contact all the members of the human family, hitherto so widely separated? Are nations to become the participants of the vices or virtues of those with whom they are to be brought into contact? Is the chain of enterprise and improvement, which is binding us together, to be the instrument of the degradation or the elevation of humanity? The ultimate result of these continued revolutions in human affairs depends, in a great measure, upon the influence which the Church may be able to exercise. If the world become wiser without being better, if nations increase in wealth without advancing in virtue, all reason and experience teach us that society will be the worse for its advancement. Science is the younger sister of religion, and wealth, in its broad sense, is the child of science; and a harmony of the three constitutes the elements of human happiness: but treasure without knowledge is poor, and knowledge without virtue is a curse. We have strong confidence that the gigantic strides which science and wealth are now making, can and will be made,

under the direction of the Church, the means of spreading Scriptural holiness over lands now sitting in the region and shadow of death. The ship, the steamer, and the emigrant train, which carry out the gold-digger and his implements, will also be freighted with the ministers of Christ and the sacred Scriptures. The stately vessel that bounds over the billows of the Pacific, will bear on her bosom not only the glittering wealth of the mines, but the priceless treasures of truth and salvation. O that the Church may arouse to the sense of the rapidly increasing responsibilities that are devolving upon her, and discharge with zeal the great mission allotted to her.

Although we have said above, that we had no anticipation that the wealth of California would unsettle the affairs of the world, we fear its effect on ourselves. We should grieve to see our people become a nation of treasure-hunters. It is not an employment compatible with the renown and dignity of the great Anglo-Saxon race. The attentive student of American history cannot fail to note the well-marked moral idiosyncrasies which distinguished the three great European races who overran and appropriated the continent discovered by the Genoese navigator. The dreamy and imaginative Spaniard saw in the new world the realization of those magnificent fancies and gorgeous splendours which clustered about El Dorado. In perspective were presented a climate more genial than his own beloved Andalusia; wealth surpassing the treasures of Grenada; serfs obsequious as the slaves of the eastern despots; forms of female loveliness bewitching and voluptuous as the houries of Mahomet's paradise. In such pictures the imagination of the Spaniard revelled without restraint; and for the realization of his dreams he braved with unflinching courage the dangers of the ocean, and the pestilential malaria of the tropical forests,—fighting at every turn with the hostile savages who swarmed in his path, and climbing with untiring energy over the snow-crowned mountains, at whose base lay the valleys containing the treasures that were to reward his exertions, and the sparkling fountains that were to renew his exhausted physical energies.

The Frenchman, on the other hand, sought for scenes where, unrestrained by laws, and unincumbered by domestic cares, he might pass a life of uninterrupted gayety and merriment,—his ears greeted by the bleating of flocks, the murmur of the waterfall, and the inspiriting tones of his beloved violin.

Totally different were the aims and feelings of the Anglo-Saxon. With him wealth was a secondary consideration; while the inaction and frivolities of an Arcadian paradise he thoroughly despised. He sought refuge from oppressive legislation,—a home where he might

enjoy civil and religious rights which his own country denied him. He sought, not freedom from law, but from oppression; he brought with him the institutions of his own country,—being desirous to improve rather than abandon them. He loved his fatherland fervently and sincerely;—its hills and dales were to him pleasant memories: and never, until driven by oppression, did he desire to sever himself from the paternal government. He acquiesced cheerfully in the sentence of labour, and desired exemption from no toil that met with an adequate reward; contenting himself with slow gains, and gradual progression. To us it seems, that to these peculiarities of moral temperament the British race is largely indebted for its superiority over every other on the face of the earth. Inhabiting a country not highly favoured by nature, with a climate proverbially capricious and disagreeable, this brave, acute, intelligent race extended its empire to all points of the compass, and planted its institutions in every quarter of the globe. The Spaniard overran the rich provinces of Central and South America; and, disdaining to appreciate the rich vegetable productions which nature has bestowed with lavish magnificence on those fair regions, directed his labours only to the search for the mineral treasures which were hidden in the bowels of the earth, or the sands of the rivers. The Briton, sailing along the coast, seized upon the territory despised by the gold-hunter, levelled the forest, planted his grains, rendered the roaring cataract his servant in manufactures, established his marine, whitening every port with its sails, and not only surrounded himself with all the comforts that are associated with the Anglo-Saxon's idea of home, but carried abroad his surplus products, bringing back in exchange the glittering treasures for which the Spaniard wasted his life in the rivers and mountains of the south.

Let us for a few moments consider what have been the legitimate results of gold-hunting. What has been the fate of the nations which have abandoned themselves to the acquisition of sudden wealth? We will take Spain for example. At the period of the discovery of America, and for a short time subsequent, that country was at the zenith of power and magnificence. At home, the far-sighted policy of Ferdinand and Isabella had rendered her the most splendid kingdom of the Old World; while abroad, her colonies embraced the richest portions of the globe. But, unfortunately for her, that wealth was the instrument of her ruin. Every argosy that came home laden with the treasures of Mexico and Peru, was a curse to the mother country. The swaggering bravo of Cadiz despised the meaner arts of industry when he beheld the ingots brought home from the New World; the honest, toiling artisan grew dissatis-

fied with his drudgery and scanty gains, when the glare of the precious metals fell upon his astonished vision;. the humble trader became disgusted with his limited operations when he walked down to the port, and beheld the noble Indiaman drop her anchor and disgorge wealth at which his imagination grew bewildered; the simple hind who had dwelt contented on the soil which had been tilled by his fathers, cursed the sterile ground, and longed to cross the mysterious ocean which intervened between him and the land whose mountains were silver, whose streams ran over sands of pure gold, and pebbles more precious than the jewels of Golconda. The ecclesiastic dreamed of naught but Ophir and the golden days of the wise king; the gentleman of education and refinement suffered his imagination to run riot after the Golden Fleece and the apples of the Hesperides. The ruined spendthrift, who had wasted his patrimony in riotous living; the decayed noble, whose Castilian pride prevented him from engaging in any enterprise at home, to repair his fortune; the soldiers who had followed the splendid fortunes of the great Captain, and who were now turned out to work, steal, or starve, all flocked to the new El Dorado,—resolving to put forth every effort to redeem their fallen fortunes, hoping to return with sufficient wealth to enable them to vie in magnificence with the Marquis of Cadiz, or the Duke of Madeira. The result of such a condition of things may be readily imagined. Agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, those great elements of national wealth, languished, and were, to a great extent, abandoned. Public morals deteriorated; commerce languished, and the kingdom, ruined by the wealth which poured in upon it, lost its high position amongst the powers of Europe, and gradually, but certainly, sunk into insignificance.

Meanwhile, what was the result of gold-hunting in that part of the New World whence were drawn these immense treasures? In North America Cortes overran the rich provinces of Mexico, where dwelt a great and brave people; and although, at this day, time has drawn a veil over many of the atrocities of the conquest, enough is still known to chill the blood with horror. The fanatical cavalier who cut throats in the name of the most Holy Trinity, and abhorred the idolatrous customs of the Aztecs, immolated thousands of victims on the shrine of a demon far exceeding in cruelty the Mexican Huitzilopochtli; for of all the gods to whom men bow down, none is so near like the imbodiment of evil as Mammon. The wise and ingenious people, whose arts had rendered their valley the most pleasant abode ever inhabited by man, were driven forth to find shelter in the rugged sierras, or forced to lead the lives of beasts of burden, in procuring for their rapacious conquerors the objects of

their accursed cupidity. The fair fields where grew in profusion the splendid products of the tropics, were desecrated and destroyed by a vulgar and ruthless soldiery, who saw no beauty in aught save silver or gold. The curse of a just God followed these atrocities. The great Spanish soldier, although far-sighted and sagacious, reaped the reward of his crimes in a life of discomfort and anxiety; as he had oppressed those who had no means of redress, so he became in turn the object of oppression,—dying, if not broken-hearted, with the sense of great and unredressed wrongs rankling in his bosom. The cavaliers and soldiers who followed his fortunes, intoxicated by the sudden acquisition of vast wealth, indulged in the wildest excesses of gambling, rioting, and debauchery. The treasures for which they had performed super-human toils glided from their possession, leaving them not only physically, but, what was far more to be deprecated, morally impoverished. The land where plenty smiled, and where peace "waved her golden hair," became the scene of factious turmoil, where murder and rapine rioted unchecked. Inflated with pride, the descendants of the conquerors, despising the feeble control of the home government, threw off the yoke and established a parody of the great northern republic. But the curse of avarice pursued them. At this day the wealth from the rich mines of Zacatecas and Guanajuato go principally to swell the coffers of other nations; while the impoverished descendants of Cortes and Montezuma, descending lower and lower in the scale of national greatness, at length became a byword amongst all civilized nations, and are being gradually but surely overrun by the more hardy and virtuous races of the north.

Away on the Pacific coast, south of the equator, dwelt a simple and happy race, under the paternal sway of the "children of the sun." Travellers yet look with astonishment on the stupendous remains of Peruvian civilization, and history abounds with descriptions of the glory and magnificence of ancient Cuzco. The simple subjects of the Incas lived in peace and happiness, cultivating their fields, or guarding their flocks of llamas on the slopes of the Andes. But alas! alas! gold existed in the sands of their rivers, and silver was found at Potosi; and from the Spanish settlement of Panama issued a horde of adventurers to desolate the fair regions of the south. Of all the deeds of human cruelty that have ever brought disgrace upon humanity, the blackest were those wrought upon the Peruvians. The guileless inhabitants were slaughtered like brutes in the shambles; the sacred Inca was put to a cruel and ignominious death; and through every imaginable iniquity did Pizarro and his associates arrive at the possession of the rich treasures which adorned the tem-

ple of the sun. But the curse pursued them. Having obtained the spoil, like savage beasts as they were, they entered into a deadly quarrel as to its division. Francisco Pizarro was assassinated at noonday, in his palace, in the midst of his ill-gotten gains, by the adherents of the brave Almagro, one of the best of the conquerors, whom he had first defrauded, and then murdered. Hernando Pizarro languished during twenty of the best years of his life in a dungeon of Castile, and came forth a ruined, broken-spirited man. Gonzalo Pizarro and his blood-thirsty comrade, Carbajal, taken in arms against their sovereign, met the ignominious doom of traitors. The men of inferior note wasted their blood and their treasures in the fierce feuds of their chiefs, or led dissolute, unhappy lives which too frequently terminated in petty brawls and disgraceful deaths. Even those who were so politic or fortunate as to be able to leave the New World, with the intention of spending the remnant of their days in their native land, quaked with terror on the voyage, lest their treasures might become the booty of the bloody pirates who swarmed in the Caribbean and the Gulf.

Amongst those heartless adventurers was one man distinguished by noble qualities, over whose melancholy fate history drops a tear. The noble and magnanimous Hernando de Soto unfortunately drank too deeply of the prevailing spirit of his age. He too would found an empire, and find treasures to rival those of Cortes and Pizarro. Disembarking on the Gulf, he traversed the terrible swamps of Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas; but no treasure rewarded the search. In lieu of the civilized Aztec, or the innocent Peruvian, he encountered the hardy, warlike Appalachian tribes, who dogged like blood-hounds the weary march of the unfortunate cavalier, through swamps, which, hideous of themselves, were rendered doubly so by clouds of mosquitoes, the ungainly, loathsome alligator, and by swarms of disgusting and venomous reptiles. At length, on the bank of the great Father of Waters, where the mournful cypress, clad in a gloomy drapery of moss, spreads its arms over the turbid waters which roll beneath, the unfortunate, toil-worn soldier laid himself down to die. He was buried in the mighty stream, lest the savages, learning the death of the man whom they most dreaded, should become encouraged to greater boldness in their attacks on his followers. We need not trace farther the history of this melancholy, ill-starred expedition; it is doubtless familiar to our readers.

We have selected these examples of the result of gold-hunting;—the two former because they were successful beyond the most sanguine anticipations of those who projected the enterprise; the latter, because it furnishes an impressive illustration of the influence which

the successes of Cortes and Pizarro exerted over the mind of every Spaniard of the age. In our own opinion, the expedition of De Soto was, of the three, the least disastrous in its consequences. The splendid success of the crusades against Mexico and Peru, created in the hearts of the people a feverish restlessness which ultimately constituted an important cause of the degradation of the nation; while the unfortunate termination of the expedition to the Mississippi was calculated to teach mankind the important lesson, that the sudden acquisition of vast wealth was not only exceedingly perilous, but very uncertain. It would seem high time the world had learned that treasures are not always wealth; that what are called the precious metals—which have of themselves comparatively little intrinsic value—are not the chief elements of a nation's prosperity. Mexico and Peru, which, more than any other portions of the globe, abound in silver and gold, are proverbially weak and poverty-stricken. Even the mines which constitute their wealth are, to a great extent, under the control and management of foreigners. It has passed into a proverb in South America, that the man who discovers a gold mine is ruined; and that he who strikes on a vein of silver, does well to make no use of his discovery.

The question arises, whether any nation, placed in the situation of the Spaniards, would have been affected in a similar manner. Our own opinion is in favour of the affirmative of this question. It is true that the religion of Rome had its influence, to some extent, over the motives and actions of the Spaniards; but the consequences resulting from their policy and conduct can be satisfactorily accounted for, without the introduction of this element. Avarice, unfortunately, is confined to no particular race of men; when permitted to gain supremacy in the human mind, its mode of manifestation is much the same in the Goth and the Anglo-Saxon. If Cortes broiled the Aztec emperor, Warren Hastings tortured the eunuchs of the Munny Begum: if Pizarro slew the Peruvians because their Inca despised the Bible, the British commander warred with the Chinese because their emperor refused to allow the introduction of opium. The motive of action was the same in both cases, and that motive, whatever may have been the avowed one, was the thirst for gain. Let us not hope, therefore, that if we, like Spain, give ourselves up to the demon of avarice, we shall escape a similar fate. Like causes produce like effects. Let us beware that the vast accession of wealth about to flow in upon us from California, does not corrupt our morals, derange our commerce, cripple our manufactures, and ruin our agriculture.

In view of the present state of things, it is very desirable to know

the best route to California. Many roads have been followed, each of course having its advocates. The principal routes heretofore followed are, 1st, the old road via the South Pass and Fort Hall, on the southern end of the Salt Lake; 2d, the old Spanish trail by Santa Fé and Abiquin; 3d, the route taken by Lieut. Emory; 4th, the road through Sonora; 5th, from Corpus Christi via Saltillo; 6th, by Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico, to Mazatlan; 7th, via Cape Horn; 8th, across the isthmus of Panama. We apprehend that the first of these roads will for some time continue to be the favourite one with those removing with wagons or families. It is the best known, having been thoroughly described by persons who have traversed it. From Independence to Fort Laramie, which is considerably more than one-fourth of the journey, the road traverses the great plains, which furnish abundance of sustenance for the animals, with wood and water generally sufficient for the wants of the emigrants. From the South Pass much of the road is rough, but not impassable for wagons. We understand that in addition to the fort already at Grand Island, on the Platte, the government will establish military posts at Fort Laramie, and in the neighbourhood of Fort Hall. . These will render the road more secure from Indian depredations, and enable the government to afford succour to such as are in distress from sickness, the loss of their animals, or any other cause. To those who wish to go by Santa Fe, we beg leave to recommend the route followed by Mr. Gregg, and described in his "Commerce of the Prairies;" this, as nearly as we recollect, followed the south fork of the Canadian, as far up as the Angosturas. Those who wish to go by this route can start from Fort Smith, on the Arkansas, by the 1st of April; as at that time the grass in that latitude is quite as far advanced as it is at Independence a month later. Emigrants could thus reach Santa Fe in good season. They could there either afford time fully to recruit their weary animals, or exchange them for fresh ones with which to traverse the rough cañons and sterile plains of the Gila. It must be borne in mind, that a part of this route is impracticable for wagons; but to a company of mounted men, who have robust health and good constitutions, it presents many attractions. The traveller on this journey will pass through the country of the Cumanches and Navajas; but will probably run no more risk of injury from them, than from the Pawnees and Sioux on the northern route. We are free to confess that we prefer either the route by the South Pass or the Gila to either of those through Mexico, both on the score of economy and safety. Travelling in Mexico is exorbitantly expensive, and the roads are proverbially unsafe. If a party goes in numbers

sufficient to protect itself from the *ladrones*, the jealousy of the local authorities is excited, and the travellers are subjected to many petty annoyances. Besides this, those who go by way of Mazatlan or San Blas, depending on making their way thence by sea, incur the hazard of detention in a sickly, expensive place. We presume there are very few who will prefer the voyage by Cape Horn. Unless it could be made in a stanch steamer, it seems to us more comfortless and dangerous than any other. During the present rush of emigration, the route by the isthmus of Panama is an exceedingly disagreeable one; yet it presents so great an advantage in the comparative shortness of the time necessary to accomplish the journey, that it is fast superseding all the others.

It should not be disguised, however, that the travellers to California will have to encounter many hardships on any of the proposed routes. Those who go by land will be more or less annoyed by attempted depredations on the part of the Indians, or from the loss of their animals by straying or fatigue. It would certainly be awkward to be left half-way between Fort Laramie and Independence, with a broken-down wagon and no oxen or mules. It is true that when a company is on the way, no one should be left in a destitute condition; but each one must provide for himself, because much delay might be fraught with danger to the entire company. It must further be recollected, that a long, toilsome journey, if it develops some of the better traits of humanity, also brings out the baser ones, as any one who has attempted it can testify. Many scenes of violence and brutality are annually enacted amongst the emigrants on the plains. It is not our purpose, in making these remarks, to deter any one from undertaking the enterprise; but to give a faithful detail of the difficulties to be encountered. It is too much the custom of writers to present only the bright side of the picture, omitting the dark shading of difficulty and danger; thus deluding many into attempting an enterprise to which their powers are by no means adequate.

We here take our leave of this interesting subject, with something akin to regret that our limits forbid a greater fulness of detail. There are many topics not even glanced at in this article, that are full of interest to the philanthropist and the patriot. The condition of the Californian aborigines is a theme fruitful of reflection; the spread of Scriptural piety amongst the scarcely less benighted Californians, is a matter that should early engage the most strenuous effort of the Church. But we must close by expressing the hope and prayer that our readers, and the Christian Church at large, may speedily be deeply impressed with the importance of laying broad

and deep the foundation of Christ's kingdom in the mighty nation now springing up on the Pacific coast.

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The foregoing article was prepared more than a year ago; but circumstances at that time unforeseen by the writer, have delayed its publication until the present time. It is well known that since that date extraordinary changes have taken place in California. A nation has grown up in a year; and every mail brings us tidings of which the truth is the most remarkable feature. Never in the annals of the world was a parallel case seen. The wildest extravagances of Arabian fiction are stale and common-place, compared with the unadorned truthful reports which have reached us from California. Aladdin rubbed his wonderful lamp, and straightway a palace reared itself before him;—the sand of the Sacramento was shaken in a basin, and cities and villages sprang up as it were in a single night. We have scarcely time to recover from the surprise of one piece of intelligence, before our credulity is taxed to the utmost with one more extravagant. First it was dust, then grains; the grains increased to pennyweights, the pennyweights to ounces, and the ounces to pounds: who will dare to assert that the pounds will not increase to tons?

Under this aspect of affairs, it would at first sight appear that the foregoing article should have been essentially modified, if not totally re-written; and this was, at one time, the intention of the writer: but, after further reflection, the idea was abandoned. The arrangements of this journal are such, that a complete summary of the condition of affairs on such a subject as California, at the date of publication, is out of the question. It is therefore deemed best to publish the article as written, first, as a contribution to the history of California; and, second, as showing the impressions created in the minds of men by the remarkable condition of affairs in that distant region: for although many will doubtless disagree with the writer in his opinions, it is more than probable there are many others who have deduced similar conclusions from the same premises. How far our predictions have been already verified, our readers can judge: how accurately we have judged of future events, time alone can determine.

We design, in conclusion, to present our readers a very brief summary of the present condition of matters in California; not as a matter of news to them, but in order that they may have important information in a shape better adapted for preservation than the newspapers of the day. There have been already taken from the

mines from fifty to seventy millions of dollars. Of this amount a large proportion—perhaps two-thirds—has been carried away by foreigners. It is difficult to make an estimate on the amount that will be obtained during the present year. It may be fifty millions, it may be much more. The gold-bearing quartz of which we have latterly had information has not yet been thoroughly examined, or its value definitely determined. New *diggings* are being discovered constantly, and any estimate that might seem reasonable now, may be rendered ridiculous by the arrival of the next steamer.

A constitution has been formed and adopted, a State government organized, and, after a long struggle in Congress, the new State has been admitted into the Union, with a constitution prohibiting human slavery forever. The population of San Francisco is probably nearly fifty thousand, and its harbour is constantly crowded with shipping from all parts of the world. The emigration to California during the present year will not probably fall short of a hundred thousand. There are now ten steamers plying from Panama to San Francisco,—thus rendering the voyage by the isthmus the most desirable route to the gold regions. There is a steamer plying from Oregon to California, and three are running on the Sacramento and San Joaquin. It is in contemplation to establish another line to China, *via* the Sandwich Islands. One of the most difficult matters still unsettled in California is the title to lands. Agriculture is now growing profitable, and many who went to dig gold, have turned their attention to cultivating the soil. The peculiar method of granting lands, under the Spanish and Mexican governments, renders our admirable system of survey and entry inapplicable to a large portion of the country; and the carelessness with which records have been kept, together with the endless series of revolutions and confiscations with which the country has been heretofore afflicted, has rendered it in a great many instances difficult, if not impossible, to trace titles with anything like certainty. Mr. Halleck, who was, and is still, we believe, Secretary of State, has applied himself with great acuteness and industry to this question, and we hope his researches may result in devising a mode of settling this very important matter.

As may be well supposed, the standard of morals in California is not high; although grave crimes are much less frequent than was anticipated. The Church has not been idle, as the following extract, clipped from the columns of the New-York Commercial Advertiser, will testify:—

"CALIFORNIA WATCHMAN.—We have before us the first number of this paper, published in San Francisco, April 1st, under the supervision of the Rev. Mr. Williams, of the First Presbyterian Church. It is a neat little sheet, and is, for the present, to be published once a month. The terms are fifty cents a number.

The first page of this paper contains a list of the several churches in San Francisco, with their pastors, as follows:—

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| First Baptist Church | Rev. O. C. Wheeler. |
| Trinity Church | Rev. F. S. Mines. |
| First Congregational Church | Rev. T. B. Hunt. |
| Methodist Episcopal Church | Rev. W. Taylor. |
| Roman Catholic Church | ——— |
| Grace Chapel | Rev. P. L. Ver Mehr. |
| First Presbyterian Church | Rev. A. Williams. |

In the Roman Catholic Church there is service in the Spanish, French, and English. In all the other churches service on Sundays at 11 A. M., and 4 and half-past 7 P. M.

We find also notices of the following institutions:—San Francisco Bible Society; Pacific Tract Society; Methodist Book Concern; Bible Society of California, (Baptist;) Free School; Strangers' Friend Society.

Under the head of "Protestant Churches in California," in addition to those in San Francisco, we notice the following:—

At Benicia, First Presbyterian Church, Rev. S. Woodbridge.

At Monterey, Presbyterian, supplied by Rev. S. H. Willey, chaplain to the military post.

At San Jose, Presbyterian Church, Rev. J. W. Douglass; Baptist Church, Rev. J. D. Briarly; Methodist Episcopal Church, supplied by local ministers.

At Sacramento, Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Mr. Owen; Congregational Church, Rev. J. A. Benton; Baptist Church, Rev. J. Cook.

At Stockton, Presbyterian Church, Rev. J. Wods; Methodist Episcopal, by local preachers.

In addition to the ministers of our Church above mentioned, Rev. Mr. Sarber, of the Pittsburg Conference, has joined the California Mission, and many local preachers are engaged more or less actively in the work of the ministry; and their labours have been in many instances accompanied with good results. The whole work is under the supervision of Rev. W. Roberts, the effective superintendent of the Oregon and California Mission Conference. And within the last month our Church has increased the number of her labourers within the bounds of that Conference by sending out five missionaries, three of them with their families. Of these, the Rev. F. S. Hoyt was sent to Oregon, as Principal of the Oregon Institute, at Salem city; Rev. Edward Bannister to California, to found an Academy in that new State; and Rev. S. Simonds, Rev. J. Flinn,

and Rev. M. C. Briggs, to join the Mission Conference, and enter the regular work as pastors. These ministers will increase the force of the Oregon and California Mission Conference to eighteen members. The Board of Managers have advised the superintendent of the Foreign Missions of the Church to appoint three other missionaries for the Pacific coast as soon as practicable.

We have thus glanced hastily at the more important topics connected with California. A full detail would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits, and would, perhaps, be only a repetition of matters familiar to our readers. We therefore conclude with the hope that this article, if it possess no other value, may hereafter be interesting as a contribution to one of the most stirring and eventful chapters in the world's history.

## Art. VII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) "*Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution, in the Years* 1804, 1805, *and* 1806. By the late Rev. Sydney Smith, M. A." (New-York, Harper & Brothers: 12mo., 1850.) After a cursory glance at the table of contents prefixed to this volume, we turned again to the title-page, to see if we had read it aright. Here are lectures, or fragments of lectures, on Conception, on the Memory, on the Imagination, on Wit and Humour. What have they to do with Moral Philosophy? Truly, nothing at all. Such, we venture to suppose, was the opinion of him to whose lot it fell to edit this volume, so long after the death of the lecturer. He speaks of them as "Lectures on Moral (*or Mental*) Philosophy." Whether he meant to synonymize the adjectives, or to imply a doubt as to which was the more appropriate, we cannot say. The lecturer, however, defines his own terms; and if, by any means, a hint might have been conveyed upon the title-page as to what the purchaser of the volume might expect, we should have no cause to object to this novel use of the word. It is *moral* philosophy, he tells us, in contradistinction to *physical* philosophy; and thus the phrase is made to "include everything which relates to the human mind."

The volume is replete with good sense, forcibly expressed; and we are thankful that, although at the eleventh hour, Lord Jeffrey recanted the hasty judgment passed upon it when submitted to him in manuscript. We extract a few passages, a perusal of which may induce the reader to place the volume in his library. In his lecture on the conduct of the understanding he says:—

"The first thing to be done in conducting the understanding is precisely the same as in conducting the body,—to give it regular and copious supplies of food, to prevent that atrophy and marasmus of mind, which comes on from giving it no new ideas. It is a mistake equally fatal to the memory, the imagination, the powers of reasoning, and to every faculty of the mind, to think too early that we can live upon our stock of understanding,—that it is time to leave off business, and make use of the acquisitions we have already made, without troubling ourselves any further to add to them. It is no more possible for an idle man to keep together a certain stock of knowledge, than it is possible to keep together a stock of ice exposed to the meridian sun. Every day destroys a fact, a relation, or an inference; and the only method of preserving the bulk and value of the pile is by constantly adding to it.

"The prevailing idea with young people has been, the incompatibility of labour and genius; and therefore, from the fear of being thought dull, they have thought it necessary to remain ignorant. I have seen, at school and at college, a great many young men completely destroyed by having been so *unfortunate* as to produce an excellent copy of verses. Their genius being now established, all that remained for them to do was, to act up to the dignity of the character; and as this dignity consisted in reading nothing new, in forgetting what they had already read, and in pretending to be acquainted with all subjects by a sort of off-hand exertion of talents, they soon collapsed into the most frivolous and insignificant of men."

"It would be an extremely profitable thing to draw up a short and well-authenticated account of the habits of study of the most celebrated writers with whose style of literary industry we happen to be most acquainted. It would go very far to destroy the absurd and pernicious association of genius and idleness, by showing them that the greatest poets, orators, statesmen, and historians,—men of the most brilliant and imposing talents,—have actually laboured as hard as the makers of dictionaries and the arrangers of indexes; and that the most obvious reason why they have been superior to other men is, that they have taken more pains than

other men. Gibbon was in his study every morning, winter and summer, at six o'clock; Mr. Burke was the most laborious and indefatigable of human beings; Leibnitz was never out of his library; Pascal killed himself by study; Cicero narrowly escaped death by the same cause; Milton was at his books with as much regularity as a merchant or an attorney,—he had mastered all the knowledge of his time; so had Homer. Raffaelle lived but thirty-seven years; and in that short space carried the art so far beyond what it had before reached, that he appears to stand alone as a model to his successors. There are instances to the contrary; but, generally speaking, the life of all truly great men has been a life of intense and incessant labour. They have commonly passed the first half of life in the gross darkness of indigent humility,—overlooked, mistaken, contemned, by weaker men,—thinking while others slept, reading while others rioted, feeling something within them that told them they should not always be kept down among the dregs of the world; and then, when their time was come, and some little accident has given them their first occasion, they have burst out into the light and glory of public life, rich with the spoils of time, and mighty in all the labours and struggles of the mind. Then do the multitude cry out, 'a miracle of genius!' Yes, he *is* a miracle of genius, because he is a miracle of labour; because instead of trusting to the resources of his own single mind, he has ransacked a thousand minds; because he makes use of the accumulated wisdom of ages, and takes as his point of departure the very last line and boundary to which science has advanced; because it has ever been the object of his life to assist every intellectual gift of nature, however munificent, and however splendid, with every resource that art could suggest, and every attention diligence could bestow.

"If we are to read, it is a very important rule in the conduct of the understanding, that we should accustom the mind to keep the best company, by introducing it only to the best books. But there is a sort of vanity some men have, of talking of, and reading, obscure half-forgotten authors, because it passes as a matter of course, that he who quotes authors which are so little read must be completely and thoroughly acquainted with those authors which are in every man's mouth. For instance, it is very common to quote Shakspeare; but it makes a sort of stare to quote Massinger. I have very little credit for being well acquainted with Virgil; but if I quote Silius Italicus, I may stand some chance of being reckoned a great scholar. In short, whoever wishes to strike out of the great road, and to make a short cut to fame, let him neglect Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, and Ariosto, and Milton, and, instead of these, read and talk of Fracastorius, Sannazarius, Lorenzini, Pastorini, and the thirty-six primary sonneteers of Bettinelli; let him neglect everything which the suffrage of ages has made venerable and grand, and dig out of their graves a set of decayed scribblers, whom the silent verdict of the public has fairly condemned to everlasting oblivion. If he complain of the injustice with which they have been treated, and call for a new trial with loud and importunate clamour, though I am afraid he will not make much progress in the estimation of men of sense, he will be sure to make some noise in the crowd, and to be dubbed a man of very curious and extraordinary erudition."—Pp. 96–99.

Here follows an eloquent, soul-stirring passage:—

"But while I am descanting so minutely upon the conduct of the understanding, and the best modes of acquiring knowledge, some men may be disposed to ask, 'Why conduct my understanding with such endless care? and what is the use of so much knowledge?' What is the use of so much knowledge? what is the use of so much life! what are we to do with the seventy years of existence allotted to us? and how are we to live them out to the last? I solemnly declare that, but for the love of knowledge, I should consider the life of the meanest hedger and ditcher as preferable to that of the greatest and richest man here present: for the fire of our minds is like the fire which the Persians burn in the mountains,—it flames night and day, and is immortal, and not to be quenched! Upon something it *must* act and feed,—upon the pure spirit of knowledge, or upon the foul dregs of polluting passions. Therefore, when I say, in conducting your understanding, love knowledge with a great love, with a vehement love, with a love coeval with life, what do I say, but love innocence,—love virtue,—love purity of conduct,—love that which, if you are rich and great, will sanctify the blind fortune which has made you so,

and make men call it justice,—love that which, if you are poor, will render your poverty respectable, and make the proudest feel it unjust to laugh at the meanness of your fortunes,—love that which will comfort you, adorn you, and never quit you, —which will open to you the kingdom of thought, and all the boundless regions of conception, as an asylum against the cruelty, the injustice, and the pain that may be your lot in the outer world,—that which will make your motives habitually great and honourable, and light up in an instant a thousand noble disdains at the very thought of meanness and of fraud! Therefore, if any young man here have embarked his life in pursuit of knowledge, let him go on without doubting or fearing the event; let him not be intimidated by the cheerless beginnings of knowledge, by the darkness from which she springs, by the difficulties which hover around her, by the wretched habitations in which she dwells, by the want and sorrow which sometimes journey in her train; but let him ever follow her as the Angel that guards him, and as the genius of his life. She will bring him out at last into the light of day, and exhibit him to the world comprehensive in acquirements, fertile in resources, rich in imagination, strong in reasoning, prudent and powerful above his fellows, in all the relations and in all the offices of life."—Pp. 110, 111.

The Lectures on wit and humour evince, perhaps, the most talent of any in the volume. They are pervaded by keenness of perception, and plentifully sprinkled with the Attic salt. We extract the concluding remarks:—

"I have talked of the *danger* of wit: I do not mean by that to enter into commonplace declamation against faculties because they *are* dangerous; wit is dangerous, eloquence is dangerous, a talent for observation is dangerous, *everything* is dangerous that has efficacy and vigour for its characteristics; nothing is safe but mediocrity. The business is, in conducting the understanding well, to risk something; to aim at uniting things that are commonly incompatible. The meaning of an extraordinary man is, that he is *eight* men, not one man; that he has as much wit as if he had no sense, and as much sense as if he had no wit; that his conduct is as judicious as if he were the dullest of human beings, and his imagination as brilliant as if he were irretrievably ruined. But when wit is combined with sense and information; when it is softened by benevolence, and restrained by strong principle; when it is in the hands of a man who can use it and despise it, who can be witty and something much *better* than witty, who loves honour, justice, decency, good-nature, morality, and religion, ten thousand times better than wit;—wit is *then* a beautiful and delightful part of our nature. There is no more interesting spectacle than to see the effects of wit upon the different characters of men, than to observe it expanding caution, relaxing dignity, unfreezing coldness,—teaching age, and care, and pain, to smile,—extorting reluctant gleams of pleasure from melancholy, and charming even the pangs of grief. It is pleasant to observe how it penetrates through the coldness and awkwardness of society, gradually bringing men nearer together, and, like the combined force of wine and oil, giving every man a glad heart and a shining countenance. Genuine and innocent wit like this is surely the *flavour of the mind!* Man could direct his ways by plain reason, and support his life by tasteless food; but God has given us wit, and flavour, and brightness, and laughter, and perfumes, to enliven the days of man's pilgrimage, and to 'charm his pained steps over the burning marle.' "—Pp. 145, 146.

On the controversy relative to *taste*, and the theory of Mr. Alison, that "every feeling of beauty and sublimity is an emotion, and that mere matter is unfitted to produce any kind of emotion," he says:—

"If this be true, it settles the question; it is only upon the supposition that mere matter *can* produce emotion, that the opposite opinion has ever been advanced: it is precisely the thing to be proved. It appears to me very singular to say, that mere matter can never produce emotion upon the senses, and that we can only apply to it the expressions of sensation and perception. The theory of this school is, that Providence has created a great number of objects which it intends you should see, hear, feel, taste, and smell, without caring a single breath whether you exercised your senses upon them or not; that all the primary impulses of the mind must be

mere intelligences, unaccompanied by any emotion of pleasure; that pleasure might be added to them afterward, by pure accident, but that originally, and according to the scheme of nature, the senses were the channels of intelligence, never the sources of gratification. This doctrine was certainly never conceived in a land of luxury. I should like to try a Scotch gentleman, upon his first arrival in this country, with the taste of ripe fruit, and leave him to judge after that whether nature had confined the senses to such dry and ungracious occupations, as whether mere matter could produce emotion. Such doctrines may do very well in the chambers of a northern metaphysician, but they are untenable in the light of the world; they are refuted, nobly refuted, twenty times in a year, at Fishmongers' Hall. If you deny that matter can produce emotion, judge, on these civic occasions, of the power of gusts, and relishes, and flavours! Look at men when (as Bishop Taylor says) they are 'gathered round the eels of Syene, and the oysters of Lucrinus, and when the Lesbian and Chian wines descend through the limbec of the tongue and larynx; when they receive the juice of fishes, and the marrow of the laborious ox, and the tender lard of Apulian swine, and the condited stomach of the scarus:' is this nothing but mere sensation? Is there no emotion, no panting, no wheezing, no deglutition? Is this the calm acquisition of intelligence, and the quiet office ascribed to the senses? Or is it a proof that nature has infused into her original creations the power of gratifying that sense which distinguishes them, and to every atom of matter has added an atom of joy?

"That there are some tastes originally agreeable, I think can hardly be denied; and that nature has originally, and independently of all associations, made some sounds more agreeable than others, seems to me, I confess, equally clear. I can never believe that any man could sit in a pensive mood listening to the sharpening of a saw, and think it as naturally agreeable and as plaintive as the song of a linnet; and I should very much suspect that philosophy, which teaches that the odour of superannuated Cheshire cheese is, by the constitution of nature, and antecedent to all connexion of other ideas, as agreeable as that smell with which the flowers of the field thank Heaven for the gentle rains, or as the fragrance of the spring when we inhale from afar 'the milk-white thorn that scents the evening gale.'"—Pp. 154–156.

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(2.) "*The Acts of the Apostles, according to the Text of Augustus Hahn,*" has just been issued from the press of Leavitt & Co. It is accompanied with Notes and a Lexicon, by Dr. Owen, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages in the Free Academy of this city, and is designed specially to promote the study of the Greek Testament in schools and colleges. No part of the sacred canon is better adapted for that purpose. The Notes are mainly literary and critical, generally judicious, free from pedantry, and not, as is the case with some popular classical annotations, burdened with trivialities. The Lexicon attached is an abridgment of Dr. Robinson's, with modifications and additions by the editor. We have seldom seen a more beautiful specimen of typography, and most cordially commend the volume, not only to instructors of youth, but to all students of theology, and especially to our junior preachers, to whose *study*-tables it will be a valuable acquisition.

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(3.) One of the most useful books of the last quarter is entitled, "*Europe, Past and Present: a Comprehensive Manual of European Geography and History.*" It has just appeared from the press of G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. The compiler, Dr. Ungewitter, is a German, and the author of several valuable geographical works published in his own country. The work before us is what it professes to be, a comprehensive, and, so far as we have examined, an accurate sketch of the history and present condition of all the

states and kingdoms of Europe; their areas and population; soil, climate, commerce, and manufactures. It is furnished with an extensive *Index*, enabling the reader readily to refer to any important fact of European geography, history, or statistics. The writer deserves praise for the pains-taking industry his volume exhibits; and we wish it, what it deserves, an extensive circulation.

(4.) ONE of the most interesting of the recent issues from the press of our Sunday-School Union is entitled, "*The Plants and Trees of Scripture.*" It is a republication from the Religious Tract Society of London, but has been judiciously modified, and the various chapters re-arranged, by our indefatigable colabourer, the Rev. D. P. Kidder. The work gives a species of information which is not only available constantly for the illustration of the Scriptures, but which is also in itself full of interest and attraction for the youthful mind. The volume is embellished with well-executed cuts of the more prominent plants and trees mentioned in the Bible, and will be in great demand in the Sunday-school library, and a favourite in every family circle where it is introduced.—A reprint from a volume issued by the same Society has also just appeared, under the same supervision. It is entitled, "*Closing Scenes of Human Life*," and contains a series of facts relative to the dying testimonies and departure of the great and good; of the ambitious, the gay, and the worldling; of the indifferent, the skeptic, and the infidel. "The perusal of such facts as are here collated," in the language of the editor's preface, "cannot fail to impress favourably the heart and life of every reader." The Bible recognizes the *human* interest of such accounts in its striking pictures of the death-beds of Abraham and Jacob, and in its records of the last sayings of David, Elijah, and Elisha. How touching, too, and impressive are the simple statements, given by the Evangelist John, of the departing words of our blessed Lord and Saviour!

(5.) "*Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by William Beattie, M. D.:*" (Harper & Brothers, 1850: 2 vols., 12mo.) Campbell's position in the Valhalla of British poets is well ascertained. He reached it when twenty-one years and nine months old, that being, as he tells us, exactly his age when he gave to the world his "Pleasures of Hope." Within a few years afterward he published "Gertrude of Wyoming," which, it is said, the poet preferred to his first work; and the touching ballad of "O'Connor's Child," with a few minor pieces, destined to be coeval with the English language. Among them may be named "Lochiel's Warning," "The Battle of the Baltic," and "Glenara." During the remaining forty years of his life, as editor of monthly Magazines, reviewer of other men's wares, lecturer, biographer, compiler of history, in short, a bookseller's hack, he added nothing to his reputation, and lived upon his fame as the Bard of Hope. Thirty-five years after the publication of his first poem, when the world expected something worthy of his reputation, he printed, with a great flourish of trumpets, "Theodric," a poem containing indeed some fine verses, but received by the public with chilling indifference, and already almost forgotten. The poet quarrelled with the world's verdict, and predicted, with great confidence, that in a few years

it would be reversed, and the poem become popular. "This," naively says his biographer, "remains to be proved." The "Pilgrim of Glencoe" was his last poem of any length,—and his worst. It fell almost still-born from the press. He had been told that a new poem from the pen of the bard of Hope was as good as a bill at sight. He wanted money. He listened to the flattering tale, made his draft, and it was dishonoured. Dr. Beattie thus accounts for the failure of his latter poems:—"The genius of Campbell took so lofty a position at the first soar, that in every successive flight, whatever did not literally surpass, was pronounced to fall short of his former efforts. He was," he says, "his own rival; and they who had admired and wept over the 'Pleasures of Hope' and 'Gertrude of Wyoming,' were unmoved by the domestic, simple pathos of Theodric." To the same effect is the opinion of Sir Walter Scott. "Campbell," says he, "is, in a manner, a bug-bear to himself. The brightness of his early success is in a manner a detriment to all his further efforts." And in allusion to the well-known line in his early poem of Lochiel,—

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

the wizard of the North added:—"Campbell is afraid of the shadow that his own fame casts before him." There is truth in these remarks, doubtless; but a perusal of the volumes named at the head of this article, while they give the reader an insight into the private life of the poet, his cares and anxieties, his desire for honourable independence, and his constant dread of poverty, more fully explains the secret. It is simply the difference of writing under the inspiration of the moment, and—toiling for bread. His life is another beacon upon the Parnassian highway, to warn authorlings that the pen is a frail dependence for support, and that the muses will not be harnessed and driven at a per diem allowance.

In editing the life of his friend, Dr. Beattie, who was for many years his physician, and knew him intimately, has performed what was evidently a labour of love. He permits the poet, as far as possible, to tell his own story; although we should have hesitated in giving to the world so much of the poet's correspondence, some of the letters being on exceedingly trivial subjects, others mere duplicates, we have no hesitation in commending his volumes to those who have leisure for their perusal.

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(6.) In an elegantly printed octavo we have, from the press of Putnam, (New-York, 1850,) "*A History of the Polk Administration, by* Lucian B. Chase," who assures us, in a modest preface, that he had "a just appreciation" of the difficulty of his task before commencing it. We are glad of it, and hence suppose the accomplished author to have lost no sleep because critics of the Whig party pish at his book, and one section of the Democrats laugh it to scorn. For ourselves, we are inclined to think well of the volume before us. It evinces industry and patriotism on the part of the author. If he has misrepresented facts, or drawn false inferences; if he has attempted to conceal, on the one hand, or to varnish too high on the other, there are those who can apply the corrective, and who will do it. Truth

never lost anything in a fair contest with falsehood; and here are materials, —facts and documents,—which will greatly lessen the labours of the future historian.

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(7.) In a former number we noticed briefly the great work by Ruskin, entitled, "*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*," and hinted at our inability to sympathize with the enthusiasm of the artist. We have now before us a work of plain practical utility on the "*Architecture of Country Houses*," from the pen of A. J. Downing, well known by his writings on pomology and horticulture. It is a beautifully printed octavo of nearly five hundred pages, embellished with designs for cottages, farm-houses, and villas. Estimates of the probable cost of the several buildings are given, and information essential to those who study economy and taste in the erection of their dwellings is communicated in language intelligible to the uninitiated, and divested, as far as may be, of technical phraseology. The book will do something, we trust, toward checking what appears now to be the tendency of our men of wealth —the frippery and gew-gaw style of building, and the absurd imitation of foreign edifices, of which the *very young castle*, as Frederika Bremer called it, on the banks of the Hudson, is the latest and most striking illustration.

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(8.) "*Rural Hours, by a Lady*," said to be a daughter of Cooper the novelist, is a readable volume in the form of a diary. It is light, sketchy, and, withal, of a moral tendency, and suggestive. We subjoin a specimen:—

NAMES.

"Was there ever a region more deplorably afflicted with ill-judged names than these United States? From the title of the Continent to that of the merest hamlet, we are unfortunate in this respect; our mistakes began with Americo Vespucci, and have continued to increase ever since. The Republic itself is the great unnamed; the States of which it is composed, counties, cities, boroughs, rivers, lakes, mountains, all partake in some degree of this novel form of evil. The passing traveller admires some cheerful American village, and inquires what he shall call so pretty a spot; an inhabitant of the place tells him, with a flush of mortification, that he is approaching Nebuchadnezzarville, or South-West Cato, or Hottentopolis, or some other monstrously absurd combination of syllables and ideas. Strangely enough, this subject of names is one upon which very worthy people seem to have lost all ideas of fitness and propriety; you shall find that tender, doting parents, living in some Horridville or other, will deliberately, and without a shadow of compunction, devote their helpless offspring to lasting ridicule, by condemning the innocent child to carry through the world some pompous, heroic appellation, often misspelt and mispronounced to boot; thus rendering him for life a sort of peripatetic caricature, an ambulatory laughing-stock, rather than call him Peter or John, as becomes an honest man."

"New-York, at present the most populous State in the republic, is in this respect the most afflicted part of the country. The name of the State itself is unfortunate in its association with the feeble James, while the combination of the adjective *New*, with the brief old Saxon word York, seems particularly ill-judged. To make the matter worse, the fault is repeated in the title of the largest town of the Union, both State and city bearing the same name, which is always a great mistake, for it obliges people, in writing and speaking, to specify which of the two they mean, when either is mentioned. In fact, it destroys just half the advantage of a distinctive name. The Dutch were wiser: they called the town New-Amsterdam, and the province New-Netherlands. In old times, when the capital town ruled a whole

dependent country, it was natural that the last should be known by the name of the first; Rome and Carthage, Tyre and Athens, could each say, 'L'état, c'est moi!' and more recently, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Bern, and Geneva, might have made the same boast; but we Yankees have different notions on this point: cockneys and countrymen, we all have the same rights, and the good city of New-York has never yet claimed to eclipse the whole State. The counties of New-York are not quite so badly served: many of them do very well; but a very large number of the towns and villages are miserably off in this respect, and as for the townships into which the counties are divided, an outrageously absurd jumble of words has been fastened upon too many of them. It ought to be a crime little short of high treason, to give such names to habitable places; we have Ovids and Milos, Spartas and Hectors, mixed up with Smithvilles, and Stokesvilles, New-Palmyras, New-Herculaneums, Romes and Carthages, and all these by the dozen; for not content with fixing an absurd name upon one spot, it is most carefully repeated in twenty more, with the aggravating addition of all the points of the compass tacked to it."—Pp. 478–481.

THE GOLD MANIA.

"How fortunate it was, or, rather, how clearly providential, that those tempting *placers* were not found on the Atlantic coast by our ancestors! Well for them, and for us their descendants, that the rich gold-mines were found in Mexico and Peru, and not in Virginia or Massachusetts, the New-Netherlands, or Pennsylvania! Well for the nation that the Indians spoke the truth when they pointed farther and farther to the westward for the yellow metal! Well for the people that they had to work their way across the continent before touching that dangerous ground! Had the *placers* of California lain in the Highlands, in the White or the Blue Mountains, we should now, in all probability, have belonged to enfeebled, demoralized colonies, instead of occupying the high and hopeful ground where we now stand, and which we may, by the grace of Providence, continue to hold, if true to our God, true and united among ourselves."—Pp. 456, 457.

The volume is "got up" in Putnam's best style, which is all that need be said on that point.

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(9.) We have before us another volume by a lady—a work of very different character from the preceding. It is entitled, "*Christian Effort: or, Facts and Incidents designed to Enforce and Illustrate the Duty of individual Labour for the Salvation of Souls.*" By Sarah Baker: (New-York: Lane & Scott: 1850.) "It is remarked by Seneca," says our authoress, "that the husbandmen in Egypt never look up to heaven for rain in time of drought, but to the overflowing of the Nile. So with many when they read a book: they look more to the wit, the style, the learning of the author, than to the blessing of God on what they read." This spirit of entire dependence upon Him, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, pervades the entire volume. We trust it will have a wide circulation. It cannot fail, when read in the spirit in which it was written, to make the reader better, wiser, more zealous, and, consequently, more useful. "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

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(10.) Lane & Scott have just published, in a style of great beauty, "*The Hebrew People: or, the History and Religion of the Israelites, from the Origin of the Nation to the Time of Christ: deduced from the Writings of Moses and other Inspired Authors; and illustrated by Copious References to the Ancient*

*Records, Traditions, and Mythology of the Heathen World.* By GEORGE SMITH, F. A. S., &c., &c.: (8vo., pp. 616.) Unquestionably the most valuable publication of the last quarter. Of course we cannot pretend to do the work anything like justice, within the brief limits now at our disposal. An extended review may be expected hereafter. The author's undertaking was encumbered with great and embarrassing difficulties. In his own language: —"The most important questions in theology, the most recondite inquiries in ancient history, the most perplexing cases of Biblical criticism, the most difficult problems in early geography,—all obtruded themselves upon the attention of the writer; and required to be investigated, adjusted, reconciled, and wrought up into a homogeneous narrative." The first volume of our author's series, being the "Patriarchal Age; or, the History and Religion of Mankind, from the Creation to the Death of Isaac," was noticed in our number for October, 1848. A concluding volume is in preparation. It will embrace the history and religion of the Gentiles, from the death of Isaac to the Christian era.

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(11.) "*Dr. Johnson: his Religious Life and Death:*" (Harper & Brothers, 1850.) This volume is anonymous. From internal evidence we suppose it to be the work of a minister of the Church of England, who has performed his task with great shrewdness and not a little ingenuity. Of course, after Boswell, that most indefatigable of all gleaners, there was little new to be said about the *ursa major* of English literature. Our author, however, has culled out, and placed in orderly array, the great man's sentiments and sayings on almost every point connected with Christianity, and made them texts for the discussion of Church and State, Calvinism, Patrons and perpetual Advowsons, the insufficiency of curates' salaries, Dissenters and Wesleyans, the relative merits of South, Sherlock, and Atterbury, Jeremy Taylor, Hammond, and Barrow. Indeed, on almost every disputed point the true Churchman will here find something on his side of the question. After dwelling briefly upon the doctor's early religious and literary life, our author gives us two chapters on what he designates "His Religion;" and, as if it were of vastly more importance, *five* chapters on "His Churchmanship." He is very severe upon the pretensions of dissenting ministers, and gives us the old story of the player's servant, who, when the sheriff's officers were seizing his master's wardrobe, warned them to desist; for, said he, "that hat belongs to the king," meaning, to the sham king whom his master personated. The anecdote, we are told,

> "Is called to mind when the pretensions of dissenting ministers are thrust forward. There is the counterfeit hat and the counterfeit king. Thus we find Dissenters calling their sect (however insignificant) 'the Church'—their ministers style themselves 'Reverend,' take out degrees of D. D., &c., in distant lands, and array themselves in black coat and white neckcloth, thus imitating a *bonâ fide* clergyman of the Established Church. *Why they do so?* is a question to which an answer has never yet been obtained."—P. 264.

In discussing the burial service of the Church of England, and the propriety of reading it at the funeral of Dissenters, our author is more charitable than many of his cloth. He thinks it may be done; but adds, in a note:—

"At the same time, it must be said, that it would be well if Dissenters, generally, would bury their own dead. If they will come to the church in death, after reviling her in life, they can hardly expect to be treated on equal terms with consistent Churchmen. It is singular that Dissenters, knowing the nature of the funeral service of the Church, and that it is adapted (strictly speaking) to *her* beloved sons only, should endeavour to force the consciences of her ministers, themselves not despising the claims of conscience. Still, let nothing savouring of indignity be offered: and if they will persist in seeking burial at the hands of the Church, let the Church meet them in a forgetting and forgiving spirit. They are brethren."—Pp. 120, 121.

(12.) "*A New Method of Learning to Read, Write, and Speak the German Language.*" By W. H. WOODBURY: (New-York, Mark H. Newman & Co.) This work, unless we are greatly in error, occupies a happy middle ground between the course of Manesca, Ollendorff, and others of that school, and the stern and inflexible methods of the ancient teachers. Like those who follow exclusively the former, it gives little by little, as the pupil is able to receive them, all the leading facts and forms of the language; but follows up the departure from system, made necessary by this mode of teaching, by a complete and systematic restatement of all the principles taught in the first part of the work. Like them, it aims early to teach the pupil how to write in German; but it labours not merely to make him try to *translate*, but rather to *compose*. Having stated and illustrated a mode of expression, or announced a law or usage of the language, it does not simply append a list of English sentences to be *translated* into German, in conformity with the rule, but encourages and aids the student in taking thoughts of *his own*, and putting them into a German dress, according to models assigned.

(13.) WE noticed with commendation, in our last number, the Rev. DANIEL SMITH'S "*Anecdotes for the Young; or, Principles Illustrated by Facts.*" We have before us two similar volumes, entitled, respectively, "*Anecdotes and Illustrations of the Christian Ministry*," and "*Anecdotes for the Fireside; or, a Manual for Home.*" They are by the same compiler, and display the same tact in their arrangement and good judgment in the selection: (Lane & Scott, publishers, 200 Mulberry-street.)

(14.) ONE of the most interesting and useful volumes from our Sunday-school press is entitled, "*The Jewish Nation; containing an Account of their Manners and Customs, Rites and Worship, Laws and Polity.*" It has been carefully revised by our Sunday-school editor, and is embellished with numerous wood-cuts. (Lane & Scott: 12mo., pp. 416.)

(15.) "*Curiosities of Animal Life; as Developed by the recent Discoveries of the Microscope.*" Revised by Daniel P. Kidder: (New-York: Lane & Scott: 1850.) An elegantly printed volume, with many well-executed illustrations of the wonderful works of the Almighty, as exhibited by the microscope, and well calculated to lead the reader from nature up to nature's God, and show-

ing, in the glowing language of Dr. Chalmers, that "in the leaves of every forest, and in the flowers of every garden, and in the waters of every rivulet, there are worlds teeming with life, and numberless as are the glories of the firmament." We predict for this volume a wide circulation. It deserves it.

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(16.) CARLYLE, it seems, has reached the end of his doleful wailings. We have No. VIII. of his "*Latter-Day Pamphlets*," bearing the title—"*Jesuitism.*" The whole series is now published in a volume by the Harpers. It will add nothing to his reputation; and yet there are here and there, scattered through his pages, glimmerings of good sense, strangely expressed.

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## ART. VIII.—MISCELLANIES.

[UNDER this title we purpose to publish, from time to time, short articles, either original, or selected from foreign journals, on topics of Biblical Literature and Theology. We shall also admit brief *letters*, from any who may be disposed to question statements of fact, doctrine, or interpretation found in the pages of this Journal.

### I.

### *Exegetical Suggestions.*

LUKE i, 17: ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων ἑτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον. Construe ἀπειθεῖς as the direct object of ἑτοιμάσαι, in apposition with λαόν. ἐν does not depend upon an implied ἐπιστρέψαι, the change in construction from ἐπί to ἐν being too harsh; but indicates the limitation of ἀπειθεῖς, that *in respect to* which it is to be understood. ἀπειθεῖς admits this construction from the force of πείθομαι, like πιστεύειν ἐν αὐτῷ; such a use of ἐν is frequent after verbs denoting some mental state or action, to point out the *subject* in reference to which it is asserted or denied, *e. g.*, ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν, (ver. 21.) The absence of the article before δικαίων does not make it neuter, any more than in the phrase ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν; had the meaning been τὰδικαία, the term δικαιοσύνη would have been more proper. The sense, however, will remain nearly the same. The latter clause of this passage is the Evangelist's *paraphrase* of the preceding quotation from Mal. iv, 6. Translate, "'[for the purpose of] restoring [the] hearts of [their] fathers to [the] children,' and [thus] fitting [the present generation] faithless as to [the religious] apprehension of [true] saints, [to become] a people prepared for [the coming of their] Lord."

LUKE ii, 2: Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. The interpretation of ἐγένετο by *took effect*, as a subsequent transaction to that of verse 1, is strengthened by the contrast of ἀπογραφὴ with δόγμα,—the latter being there distinctly mentioned as a step *preliminary* to the ἀπογράφεσθαι. The phraseology is not susceptible of a more natural rendering than the following: "[Accordingly,] *this register* (*the first* one [in contradistinction from that of Acts v, 37]) was actually *made* out [shortly afterward] *under* the superintendence of *Quirinus, prefect of Syria.*" But for the same reason, the ἀπογράφεσθαι of verse 3 shows that the ἐγένετο refers, in some sense at least, to the time of Joseph's journey; and therefore, in respect to what then took place, Quirinus must be here said to have exercised the requisite authority. Hence, the explanation adopted substantially by Lardner

(Works, i, 260–345) becomes necessary, to meet the simple requirements of this text, as well as remove external objections; namely, that Quirinus at this time made the *enrolment*, as special commissioner for Syria and the adjoining districts, and subsequently levied the *tax* upon it when proconsul. Three historical facts, coincident with the time of this register, seem nearly to prove the correctness of this solution:—first, a recorded *oath* of allegiance to the Roman government was then taken by the Jewish nation, (Josephus, Ant., XVII, ii, 4;) secondly, the emperor was displeased with Herod, (Josephus, Ant., XVI, ix, 3, 4,) and therefore would be likely to supersede him by some other agent for this business; and, lastly, Quirinus appears to have been in the East about this time, (see the authorities in Lardner, i, 331,) and was every way a suitable person for the appointment.

Luke ii, 14: *δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη· ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.* The correspondence of the expression *δόξα Θεῷ* with the formula הַלְלוּיָהּ, shows that it is hortative, requiring *ἔστω* to be supplied; and its close grammatical connexion with the next clause, most naturally makes an imperative verb there also requisite. The only way to make the latter indicative, without great harshness, would be to regard the *καί* as equivalent to *καὶ γάρ*; but so formal an enunciation of *εἰρήνη* as the ground of praise, seems rather flat in so spirited and apothegmatical an ascription. It is better to regard it as a pure expression of interest in the welfare of this lower world by the angelic beings, and for this reason it should not be confined to any particular mood; it will thus contain a congratulation to earth upon its new-born Blessing, and also invoke the full realization of the consequent good. The usage of the phrase *ἐν ὑψίστοις* requires the adjective to be taken in the indefinite neuter construction, as equivalent to *οὐρανοῖς*; but even then it returns, by reason of the synecdoche necessarily involved in the idea, to the sense of *ἀγγέλοις*, and its obviously intended parallelism with the succeeding *ἐν ἀνθρώποις* shows that this is the meaning. At *ἐπὶ γῆς*, the variation of the preposition, instead of *ἐν γῇ*, is apparently intentional, in order to prevent this from being taken as the *apodosis;* and for the sake of the same distinction, perhaps, the genitive is here used. This case is nearly interchangeable with the dative after that preposition; yet the latter case always implies more or less *fixedness* of position or relation, which would be less appropriate to the transient advent (*ἐπὶ*) of Christ from heaven, and especially his diffusive gospel. As *εὐδοκία* is antithetical to *δόξα*, there is here a reversing of the subject and object of the kindred ideas denoted by these terms,—*adoration* is to be offered to God by angels; *complacency* is entertained by the Deity with men, (*ἐν* after *εὐδοκέω* (Matt. iii, 17) has its resting-place in that object, not merely exists *erga*, respecting it.) The word *γῆ*, in strictness answering to the abstract *ὑψίστα*, prepares the way for the concrete *ἀνθρωποι*. The last clause is exclamatory; the imperative force of the unexpressed verb-copulæ in the first clause, which was enlarged to a more than *optative* in the second, is softened to a declarative ejaculation in the third. The greatest cause of obscurity in this sententious doxology, arises from the attempt to reduce its exuberance of sentiment to the rigid limits of too phlegmatic art. Since ours has not been the privilege of listening to the tones of that angelic anthem, let us see whether we can catch some of its inspiration by attuning the inward ear to a just inspection of the *notes* that are left us, presented in as simple a guise as grammatical distinctness will allow:—

"Praise [be] in heaven to God!
And [welcome] bliss o'er earth!
With mortals [what] benignity!
[Through their Redeemer's birth.]"

*Flushing, L. I.* James Strong.

## II.

## *The Corner Stone.*

[By the Rev. J. F. Denham, M.A., F.R.S. From the Journal of Sacred Literature for July, 1848.]

Psalm cxviii, 22, 23. "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing [literally, This is from Jehovah]; it is marvellous in our eyes."

No text in the Old Testament is quoted by the writers of the New so often as this, which is found in six different places, (Matt. xxi, 42; Mark xii, 10; Luke xx, 17; Acts iv, 11; Eph. ii, 20; 1 Pet. ii, 4,) in all of which it is considered as fulfilled in Jesus Christ. It is also admitted by R. Solom. Jarchi on Mic. v, 1, and Abarbanel on Zach. iv, 13, that the Jewish Rabbins understood this stone of the Messiah. The passage may originally have been founded in a literal fact. Bishop Horne refers to "a Jewish tradition concerning a certain stone, which, having been by the builders of the second temple thrown aside among the rubbish, was at last found to be exactly fitted for the honourable place of the head of the corner."—(*Comment. on Psalms.*) Michaelis also understands the passage literally, and thinks it "probable that at the building of Solomon's temple one of those 'wrought stones' which David prepared 'to build the house of God,' (1 Chron. xxii, 2,) was found fault with by the builders, and declared to be useless, and that God, for altogether different reasons, commanded by a prophet that this stone should be made the head of the corner." "The Orientals," he observes, "regard the corner-stone as the one particularly *holy stone* in a temple, and think that it confers sanctity upon the whole edifice. It is therefore the more probable, that either by the Urim and Thummim, (the sacred lot of the Jews,) or by a prophet, God was consulted, which stone he would direct to be taken for the corner-stone. The answer was, *that* which they had perseveringly rejected and declared to be quite unserviceable. Certainly it must have been for a very important reason that God positively appointed this stone to be the corner-stone; but the New-Testament discloses it to us in Matt. xxi, 42 and 1 Pet. ii, 7. The Jewish nation would conduct themselves towards the Messiah precisely as the builders did towards this stone, and would reject him; but God would select him to be the corner-stone, which would support and sanctify the whole church."*

If such an occurrence took place, this stone would be vividly associated with the tradition respecting it in the minds of the Jewish people, and curiosity would be kept awake with regard to it till the career of the Messiah should ultimately illustrate this prearranged typical circumstance in the most striking manner. There remain, however, certain points to be yet determined respecting this stone, which are essential in order to the full elucidation of the Scriptural allusions to it, namely: what was its precise position in the temple, and what were the uses it served. Bishop Middleton observes, that "it is not very plain what this stone was;" and it is remarked in a late valuable compilation of opinions, that "the common interpretations certainly do not answer the requisite conditions, and that so far they are unfounded."† The following attempt to unravel the subject is submitted to the Biblical student:—

It seems probable, even from the original passage, (Psa. cxviii, 22, 23,) that this stone, in its place in the temple, was *visible*. In this Psalm some Jewish king ap-

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* Vide *Uebersetz. u. Anmerk.* † Trollope, *Analecta.*

pears to be approaching "the gates" of the temple on a public festival, (v. 19, 20, 24,) and to see this remarkable stone, (22, 23.) Our Lord and the apostles combine with this passage some quotations from the prophets—comp. Luke xx, 18; Isa. viii, 14; Dan. ii, 34, 35, 44, 45; Zech. xii, 3; but the additional particulars thus introduced are doubtless in keeping with the position, &c. of this stone. From these quotations it is plain that its position was such that any one might "fall on it," (might dash himself against it, as St. Peter's words import, who calls it *γίθος προσκόμματος*, 1 Pet. ii, 8,) and also was such that it might "fall upon him." Consequently from these two particulars, which enter into nearly all the allusions to this stone, it appears plain that it was not what we understand by a foundation-stone, which is laid deep in the ground, nor yet the coping-stone at the corner, which lies on the upper tier of masonry. Indeed, the distinction is clearly indicated in Eph. ii, 20, "and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone,"—*ἀκρογωνιαῖος*, (which is the Septuagint word for corner-stone, (Isa. xxviii, 16,) quoted by St. Peter, (1 Pet. ii, 6,) and Symmachus's version of Psalm cxviii, 22:) and that this *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* could not have been the foundation-stone is clear from St. Peter's representing it as possible for any one to have stumbled at it or dash himself against it. This stone must also have been of great size to satisfy our Lord's description of it, that if it fell upon any person it would "grind him to powder," literally, smash him to atoms, (comp. Luke xx, 18, Greek, and Dan. ii, 44, Sept.) It would also seem from Eph. ii, 21, that the circumjacent masonry was compacted with it—*συναρμολογουμένη*; and the whole complexion of this passage intimates that this stone not only sustained, but united the building; and such is the interpretation of its office by Chrysostom, Theophylact, Œcumenius, Theodoret, and of Epiphanius, (*de Hæres*, p. 324.) As far, then, as we have gone, we find this stone to have been single, of vast size, visible, perhaps partly projecting like a buttress, its lower end reaching nearly or entirely to the ground, situate at a corner of the temple, forming a large portion of the wall in which it stood, into and upon which the adjacent portion of that wall was built, as also the alternate portion of the wall forming the angle, and serving to unite both. We next find presumptions that this stone served also the use of a *sanctuary, asylum*, or *refuge*. Thus Isa. viii, 14: "For he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel." Here a *holy stone* is clearly meant, and the remaining portion of the passage closely agrees with the other chief particulars of the stone in question. The connexion between a temple, altar, consecrated statue, &c., and a sanctuary, through all antiquity, is well known. Nor is further reference wanting to this connexion in Scripture, for in Isa. xxviii, 16, a passage whose true meaning is obscured in our translation, but which is eminently concerned in this inquiry, it is said of this corner-stone, "he that believeth (trusteth to it) shall not make haste" (to seek another asylum or refuge, or, as St. Peter and St. Paul render it, "he that believeth in him shall not be ashamed or confounded." Rom. ix, 33; 1 Pet. ii, 6.) A still clearer reference to the refugial use of this stone occurs in St. Peter's remarkable use of the Psalmist's words, (Acts iv, 11, 12,) "This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which is become the head-stone of the corner. Neither is there *salvation* in any other." If the word be rendered, as it may justly be, "neither is there *safety* in any other," the reference to this use of the stone becomes plain, and the difficulty so generally complained of, which attends the precise import of the word "salvation" in this passage, is removed. Jesus Christ then appears as the corner-stone, the sanctuary or asylum in whom only *safety* is attainable. Kypke also shows that the phrase *ἐν τινὶ σωτηρίαν εἶνει* is used by Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Josephus, for *safety's being*

*placed or lodged* in a person or thing. The word σωτηρία is certainly used in this sense in Heb. xi, 7; Acts xxvii, 34.

There are possibly other allusions, both in the Old and New Testament, more or less direct, to the several points included in this prolific subject. The meaning of one passage already adduced is *overlaid* in our translation, and the verbiage employed in it has doubtless contributed to perplex the subject: "Behold, I lay in Zion *for a foundation* a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste." Isa. xxviii, 16. The exact rendering is, "Behold, I establish or appoint in Zion a stone, an approved stone, a corner-stone, precious, *immovably fixed*,"—as Lowth renders the latter portion. The word יסד though primarily meaning to lay a *foundation*, is metaphorically used in the sense of appointing or ordaining, as in Psa. viii, 3. St. Peter, in his quotation of this passage, (1 Ep. ii, 6,) so understands the word. But the introduction of the word *foundation* in the English version contributes to the impression that this corner-stone lay in the foundation.

## III.

## *Remarks on Romans* vi, 17.

The common version of this passage has been supposed, by exclusive immersionists, to have a reference to the mode of baptism in ancient times; and this question has been asked with great confidence, What is the *form* of doctrine to which the apostle alludes? It is not possible for any Greek scholar to suppose for a moment, that any allusion to a *form* or *mode* of baptism is here referred to; and such a thought never could have arisen, except to subserve the interests of the hard-pressed champions of baptismal regeneration, and exclusive dipping. The text reads thus: "But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you."

There is some obscurity in the first clause of the text, which, as it stands, seems to hold out the idea that the apostle thanked God that the Roman believers had been the servants of sin, whereas he intended to, and did, thank God that they had obeyed, from the heart, the Gospel. The original text is, Χάρις δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς.

Wesley renders it, "But thanks *be* to God, that whereas ye were the servants of sin, ye have *now* obeyed from the heart the form of doctrine into which ye have been delivered;" and he makes the following sensible comment on the passage: "*The form* of *doctrine into which* ye *have been delivered.* Literally, it is, "The mould into which ye have been delivered;" which, as it contains a beautiful allusion, conveys also a very instructive admonition, intimating that our minds, all pliant and ductile, should be conformed to the Gospel precepts as liquid metals take the figure of the mould into which they are cast."

Whoever supposes that by the word τύπον, the apostle alluded to any kind of baptism, must want arguments to sustain an untenable hypothesis. If we examine the sixteenth verse, we will be convinced of the correctness of Wesley's translations and comment. "Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness." If we obey sin, we are the slaves of sin, bondmen, dead to God, alive only to sin; but if we cease to serve sin, and "yield ourselves" to God to be his servants, we are no longer the servants of sin, but the servants of righteousness; and as the brethren to whom Paul wrote had obeyed the Gospel, and been delivered from the bondage of sin, the apostle thanks God that, although they had been the servants of sin, they had now yielded themselves up to, or "been de-

livered" into, the Gospel mould. They had been transformed and changed, by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord.

Paul was instrumental in converting many souls; but "thanked God" that he had baptized but few, two or three *families;* he did not seem to consider it much honour to baptize, but a great deal to "preach Jesus and the resurrection." Τύπον διδαχῆς, ("form of doctrine,") may be translated, "system of doctrine;" but whatever construction be put upon it, it cannot, without great violence, be made to allude to immersion. In conclusion, I will translate the sixteenth and seventeenth verses together, not pretending, however, to throw new light on this plain Scripture, but to show what must be its literal meaning.

"Know ye not, that *if* ye present yourselves to any one *as* servants to obey *them*, ye are the servants to those whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. Thanks be to God, that *ye*, who were the servants of sin, have obeyed from the heart, *that* system of teaching to which ye have been committed." B. F. C.

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## Art. IX.—LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### Germany.

[We are happy to inform our readers that we have been so fortunate as to secure the services of J. L. Jacobi, Professor Extraordinary of Theology in the University of Berlin, as a regular correspondent of this Journal. From his position in the chief University of Germany, and from his wide acquaintance with the Theology and Literature of the age, he will be able to furnish our readers with accurate and prompt information as to the religious and literary movements of continental Europe. In the first letter, herewith given, will be found a general view of the different theological parties of Germany, and of the difficulties under which the Church in that country is now labouring. Though we do not sympathize with all the political views of our friend, we are sure of the accuracy of his statements, and shall place just reliance upon his estimates of the value of new *books* appearing in Germany. We expect a letter from our valued correspondent for each number of the Review hereafter.—Ed.]

Berlin, *May*, 1850.

It is well known that a crisis is now impending over the Protestant Church and theology of Germany; and nothing demonstrates it more strikingly than the state of the different parties of the Protestant Church in Prussia. The same movement in opposite directions which threatens to rend the western and southern states of Europe, tends also, in like manner, to separate Christian communions. One party is solicitous to preserve intact the existing order of things; the other seeks constantly to supplant it, in order to establish in its place something which it deems more accordant with the spirit of the age.

As that which is termed *the Modern Culture* (*neuere Bildung*) is in no state of Europe so widely disseminated among the people as in Prussia, so also the influence of this Culture, both good and bad, on political and theological events and parties, is nowhere else so unmistakably perceived as here. Those who desire to re-establish the older forms of Protestant doctrine and polity, are also, for the most part, partisans of political absolutism; and those who cherish a decided hostility to the supernatural character of Christianity—be they Deists, Pantheists, or Atheists—generally incline to democracy. Sad as it may appear, it is a principal endeavour of the Republican, or, as they also call themselves, of the Democratic party, in their political clubs, to throw suspicion upon Christianity, and upon everything spiritual or religious, in order gradually to annihilate faith in God, and to remove all restraint from the evil propensities of man.

To this class belong the so-called *Primitive Christian communions* that have sprung up in Berlin, and who are distinguished from those who assume to themselves the name of the *Free Congregation*, only by their greater grossness and rudeness, and their more audacious denial of everything relating

to the things of God. In these assemblies of Primitive Christians a bookbinder and a veterinary surgeon of the most equivocal reputation deliver discourses, the purport of which will be sufficiently designated when I say, that they have given currency to the sentiments which David Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach, in their infidel writings, have declared to be evidence of the highest culture. The deservedly celebrated Dr. KRUMMACHER,—celebrated also in America,—an orator of such power as no church or parliament in Germany has produced, has had the courage to enter these assemblies, and to engage in controversy with their leaders: I say the courage, because an opponent is often exposed among them to the roughest ill usage. He has compelled their leader to explain himself more openly and precisely upon his irreligious tendencies, and actually won the confidence of many of the auditors. This party has even had the audacity to expose to open mockery the holy ordinance of baptism; one of them having given notice through a newspaper that his child would receive the rite of Democratic baptism, and invited all Democrats to be present as sponsors. When the time for the performance of the rite had arrived, the church was crowded with these people; and when the preacher put the usual questions to the apparently officiating sponsors, an affirmative answer was not only received from them, but from the whole assembly. The person who carried the child then lifted it up and exhibited it to the multitude, who expressed their approbation. Similar outrages have been repeated: when, however, the leaders of the party, some of whom are Jews, perceived that not only was there danger of collision with the civil authorities, but also that many of the populace were indignant at their acts, they counselled prudent measures, and discountenanced the repetition of such acts of blasphemy.

In the *Free Congregations* also, which for the most part adhere to Deistic Rationalism, (though their preachers are frequently Pantheists,) great disorder and abuse exist in regard to baptism: for their forms are made to conform entirely to the inclinations of the parents and the preachers. Baptism is administered sometimes in the name of Christ, sometimes in that of universal Brotherhood; a bunch of flowers is then presented, and whatever else is most likely to increase the scandal. The *country people*, by means of a traditional or hereditary Christianity, in which there is little life, have for the most part adhered to the faith; and till now these antichristian communities have therefore been almost entirely confined to cities, though the country people in their neighbourhood are by degrees drawn into them.

Among other means of diffusing their opinions, these parties have had recourse to *Almanacs*, which, besides the usual chronological and astronomical matters for the year, contain essays designed for amusement, and which gain admission into every house, and are exerting a very pernicious influence. One of them, for example, among its political satires, contains the most vulgar blasphemy against God; and of this several editions have been printed, two of which contained twenty thousand copies each. Something is done to counteract the evil tendencies of such almanacs by the *Evangelical Yearbook*, (*Evangelischer Jahrbuch*,) an almanac which has been commenced by Dr. F. Piper, and which, it is hoped, will be widely diffused wherever the German language is spoken. Besides the usual calendar matter, it contains a collection of biographical sketches of illustrious Christians, prepared by some of our most eminent writers, among whom may be mentioned Drs. Neander, Krummacher, Heubner, and others. The first part, published at Leipzig, contains, for example, a sketch of the apostle Matthew; the conversion of Paul; the lives of Gallus, Luther, Cranmer, Elizabeth Fry, and others. The editor, Dr. Piper, is also known as the author of a work on the Mythology and Symbolism of Christian Art, (one volume, 1847,) in which, for the first time, the influence which heathen myths and symbols have had on the religious statuary of Christian nations is historically developed and demonstrated.

Although the developments of unchristian and infidel tendencies for the last year have caused many, who otherwise would have remained indifferent to the Gospel, to embrace it with interest, and to examine anew the prejudices which divide and separate Christians, nevertheless the enormous power of the antichristian spirit of the age, over both educated and uneducated minds, in all the religious communions of Germany, can no longer be either denied or concealed. DAVID STRAUSS is still the highest authority with these classes, and his Life of Christ (*Leben Jesu*) is to many of them the strongest proof of the untruthfulness of the Gospel history. During the past year he has published another work—The *Life of* CA. F. D.

*Schubart.** This Schubart, a well-known poet of Wurtemberg, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, was a talented, but sensual, vicious, and unprincipled man. Smitten with the spreading skepticism of his times concerning the doctrines of the church, by his sarcasms upon influential clergymen, and upon the immoral life of the Duke of Wurtemberg, he drew upon himself the hatred of the prince and the clerical party at the court, who, in defiance of all justice, inflicted upon him a ten years' imprisonment of almost unmitigated cruelty, in order to make him a good Christian. This revolting despotism is set forth by Strauss with sufficient clearness, and he also neglects no opportunity to cast contemptuous side glances at Christianity.

"The weakness of his moral character kept him (Schubart) always in the region of authority, through the influence of miracle and mystery. More than once he raised his foot in order to place himself by the side of rational thinkers, but he never dared to step firmly up, through fear of his inability to maintain his footing on the new ground. His want of moral freedom held him ever fast bound. He was himself conscious that the scourge—fears from without—threatenings of the pains of hell, were needed to restrain the animal within him. This was the ground on which he now, and indeed during the whole of his life, remained a believer,—a very good ground for the man, such as he was, and for all like him, even if we cannot also find it a very noble one."—P. 51.

Dr. Strauss's meaning is plain enough: that Christianity is adapted only to the subordinate condition of common, vulgar men; to prudent, far-seeing spirits, like himself, reason is sufficient.

The other herald of unbelief, Bruno Bauer, is a far more subordinate spirit than Strauss, and is handled by him in rather a contemptuous manner. He is now publishing a popularized remodelling of his *Critique on the Gospels*. After vainly endeavouring for a long time to help himself to honour and gold as a politician, he is now seen coming back again with his old arms to his former battle-field.

If all those who honour Christ, the Son of God, and reverence the plan of salvation through him, were more closely united against unbelief in life and literature; if they would avail themselves of the heaven-ward side of modern science, in order to combat destructive principles with their own weapons, then would the day of final victory over the powers of darkness be neither distant nor doubtful. But distracting and separating influences are so great among believers, their interests and efforts are so divided, that no sense of the common danger is sufficient to unite them. A glance at the nature of the so-called "*Ecclesiastical Union of the Protestant Denominations*" will throw some light upon the distracting forces now at work in Prussia. By far the greater part of the Protestants in Prussia belonged originally to the *Lutheran* party; of *Calvinists*, or *Reformed*, as they are usually called, there are proportionally but few. The difference between the two confessions, some ninety years ago, was considered of little account by either party, partly from indifference, and partly from a just perception that the points of difference were less essential and important than those of agreement. Under these circumstances, a plan of uniting the two religious parties in one and the same Consistory, and by means of a uniform order of worship, was undertaken and carried through in the reign of the deceased king Frederick William III. Means were also taken to obliterate as far as possible the remaining dissimilarities of the two communions. It was far from being clear, however, how far the peculiarities of a creed might properly be preserved; or whether a *united* church, or *two* churches in union, ought to be established. The idea of compulsion was theoretically so far removed, that freedom of conscience might always be demanded as a right; practically, however, compulsion was exercised, whether forcibly or by milder means, because it is so difficult for a State Church to resist the temptation to exercise force.

The United Church was declared to be the State Church. A small number of Lutheran congregations kept aloof from it, and persisted in a bitter opposition against both the United Church and the Reformed. This separated party has its principal seat in Silesia; and since the greater clemency of Frederick William IV. has granted them greater freedom, they have established a Consistory of their own. On the shores of the Baltic also, in Pomerania, their apostles have met with no little sympathy.

Over the great United party many dark clouds are lowering. It contains a considerable number who hold fast to the Lutheran confession, but who are either dissatisfied

* Ch. F. D. Schubart's Leben in seinen Briefen, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von D. F. Strauss. Berlin: 1849; bei A. Duncker. 2 Bde.

with the subordination incident to the ecclesiastical authority of a united church, and the degree of participation they are able to obtain in its measures and counsels, or who see that by agitation they may gradually gain over the congregations to their views, and hope through the majority to obtain dominion over the church. These are hated by the separated Lutherans with fanatical intolerance; many influential persons among the latter even deny them all hope of salvation, because they have no Lutheran consistory. These still united Lutherans have not a few able, practical clergyman in their ranks. At their head may be specially designated the former president of their consistory, Göschel, who is justly esteemed for his active participation in many Christian enterprises. It is doubtful, however, whether his theological works will add anything to his reputation, made up, as they are, of a very unedifying mixture of Hegelian philosophy and ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Many professors in Breslau might well be placed in the same category.

Besides this class, and a small number of the Reformed who hold a similar position in the United party, there are also a very great number who would critically apply the Protestant principle, that the Holy Scriptures are the highest rule of faith and practice, to the Protestant symbols; and instead of the scientific formulas of the older Lutheran Church, they endeavour to obtain new formulas out of the available ideas of modern learning, and especially from the theology of Schleiermacher. Among these are some of the ablest teachers of theology in the universities, such as Neander, Nitzsch, Müller, Rothe, and a great number among the clergy, who amid practical interests have also preserved a taste for scientific theology.

Among the periodicals that defend these views in theology may be mentioned the justly esteemed *Theologische Studien und Kritiken.* I do not quote in full the contents of the second part for the year 1850, because I presume this part has already been received in America; but I cannot refrain from calling attention to the concluding remarks of Dr. Schenkel, of Basle, who represents the Lutheran and Reformed Churches as two complementary peculiarities—parts of one and the same whole—and exhorts them to peace by the impending perilous oppositions of infidelity. I may also mention the article of Dr. Roth, who has sifted the heathenish creed of Dr. Strauss, as laid down in his Life of Schubart.

There has lately appeared, however, a new theological journal, published weekly, of the same spirit with the one just mentioned, and which, to judge by previous efforts, will give at least equal attention to theological studies. It is called "*The Journal of Christian Science and Life*,"* by Drs. Müller, Neander, and Nitzsch. Besides these well-known scholars, many others of note have promised their support to the paper. Since its establishment, in January last, it has contained a very instructive essay by Dr. Neander, on "The last Half Century in its Relations to the Present;" also, by the same author, a view of the subject, and a statement of the importance, of practical exegesis; and a comparison of Christian morality with that of the Stoic, Socratic, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic philosophies, with a searching analysis of the essence of Hellenic and Christian ethics. Dr. Julius Müller, whose able work on Sin was noticed in your Review for 1849, has given a very thoughtful essay on the Idea of the invisible Church, describing its origin, and defending it against the numerous misconceptions of modern times. Dr. Nitzsch has furnished an article on the confederation of religious parties; and Dr. Sack—formerly professor at Bonn, now counsellor of the consistory at Magedeburg, and known in scientific theology by his work on apologetics—one on the law of church union. All these essays are of the highest order of merit which the theology of the present year has produced; and on this account we earnestly recommend an acquaintance with this journal to all who feel an interest in a theology at once evangelical, and which recognizes the freedom and manifold variety of science.

Besides the party represented by this journal, there are within the Union no inconsiderable number of educated, zealous men, who have more exclusively appropriated to themselves the formulæ of Schleiermacher, and are just now very active in favour of the Union.

Finally, persisting in the Union may also be seen the swarm of Rationalists, who refuse to organize themselves as free communions, and who in other countries constitute the dregs of either the Lutheran or Reformed Church.

It is now much to be deplored, that

* Die deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben. Berlin, Verlag von Karl Wiegandt. Wöchentlich 1 Bogen. Preis jährlich 5 Rthl.

through the Lutheran agitation, even within the United Church, dissension among believers is constantly increasing. As, by the lately published constitution, Church and State are separated, and the present management of the Church through the former consistories must soon give place to legal forms, the Lutherans, availing themselves of the occasion, are straining every nerve to gain ground by the change. In many places they are holding conferences; and where formerly they were accustomed to meet together with the united communions, they are now every day becoming more and more estranged from them.

Theological conferences,—free convocations in regular rotation, without official authority in the church,—have become very frequent for the last few years among theologians in Prussia; and by quickening the warmth of brotherly feeling, and awakening a religious public spirit, as well as by promoting a good understanding upon questions of universal interest, they have proved very edifying and beneficial in their tendency. The conference which has been held twice a year in the market town of Gnaden, near Magdeburg, has been found particularly agreeable. It has been numerously attended by persons of various theological tendencies, who have engaged freely in discussion, and yet with no diminution of brotherly love. The stricter Lutherans have likewise several times held separate meetings here; and indeed they have also visited the united sessions, but gradually they met with rather a cool reception. This was made painfully evident at the last convocation, which was held on the 10th of April of the present year; so that these pleasant unions now seem to afford but little promise of a longer continuance. But if a private assemblage of persons formerly associated together are unable to unite in their leading objects, how will it be possible for a legislative assembly to agree upon measures which will be acceptable to the parties in the church? And yet the present state of the church cannot be prolonged, because it is not in accordance with the constitution of the state. The congregations demand the right to choose their pastors; and thus the consistories, which have persisted in their accustomed manner, are everywhere encountering opposition.

In Berlin, that great city of intellect—the centre of confluence for every variety of spirits, many good and many bad—a congregation of *Irvingites* has just been gathered. It has a membership numbering several hundreds, and has also two Berlin preachers, one of whom was formerly settled over the congregation of the celebrated preacher Gossner. Its progress has been arrested for the present, in consequence of apostasy among the better informed members. It is hardly possible that men of piety and intelligence can long be satisfied with the spiritless externals of this Judaizing sect. I fully appreciate the brilliant description of Edward Irving contained in your Review for 1849; I can, however, assure you that the party of his followers whom we have mentioned at Berlin have practised few of his virtues, and imitated many of his faults. As the sect has made some stir here, Dr. Krummacher has several times combated their pretensions in controversy; the new German paper also contains an article on their character and practices.

The *Catholic Church in Germany*, as well as the Protestant Church in Prussia, is also internally distracted by parties. She too has her Rationalists and her Free Congregations; at the other extreme are the ever-active, untiring Jesuits, especially in Austria, in Munich, on the Rhine, and in Westphalia. The path of the Prussian government is again beset with difficulties by a border conflict of the State with the Catholic Church; for this church among us also has never once renounced her former claims, but has merely deferred her pretensions for the time, and received whatever has been conceded to her as it were on account, or in part payment. Wherever the oath of investiture is now taken on the constitution, and is required of those who are placed over Catholic schools or Catholic courts, they refuse to take it otherwise than with a reservation of the rights of the Catholic Church. Several of them, on this account, have already been suspended by the government; but the Rhine bishops have in conference declared that the reservation is necessary,—that the oath is only allowable *salvis ecclesiæ juribus*,—and the government is now in negotiation with them. In Austria a very important concession has lately been made to the Catholic clergy. According to newspaper reports, the privilege of correspondence with the Pope without inspection has not only been freely given them—(this freedom has been enjoyed by the clergy in Prussia since the accession to the throne of Frederick William IV.)—but also the right to decree spiritual penalties which involve temporal results, and to hold the civil

government to the execution of these penalties. The clergy are therefore already making preparations to decree the ban and interdict, with all their spiritual and temporal terrors. No one can hereafter enter upon the office of teacher of Catholic doctrines, or obtain a professorship in theology, who has not received the authorization of the bishop in whose diocese the institution or establishment may be situated. A bishop may also revoke his authorization, and thereupon dismissal from office is pronounced. The Austrian government evidently wishes to make use of the clergy to control the Democratic elements among the people, and at the same time to attract the sympathies of the clergy of other countries —the Catholic clergy of Prussia especially —and embarrass the Prussian administration. How far, in these circumstances, the equal justice promised to all religions will be realized, may be easily imagined; hitherto there has been but little fulfilment of the promise, and in future no more will be granted than absolute necessity prompts.

In conclusion, I will mention a few literary productions which have not so close a connexion with the party relations of the church, but which nevertheless have interest. The first is a *Funeral Sermon** on W. M. L. De Wette, by Hagenbach of Basle. Hagenbach has given, in his peculiarly clear, flowing, and commanding style, a lifelike picture of De Wette. The significancy and interest of this theologian's character lie in his many-sided activity, in his susceptibility of manifold impressions, and in his great love of truth. His childlike sincerity was so great that it disarmed his enemies. To give up an opinion proved groundless cost him scarcely an effort. He had a warm heart under a cold exterior. Hagenbach gives a poem of De Wette's which may be called the song of the swan, for it was written but a short time before his death. It breathes of sincerity, humility, and faith.—The other work is a Philosophy of Religion, a posthumous production of Rettberg's, taken from his lectures. (Marburg: published by Elwert, 1850.) It is a brief and comprehensive work, (pp. 224,) written with a good knowledge of the subject; but it seems faulty in method, inasmuch as the forms of religion in the abstract are first given, and then, without any just connexion therewith, historical religion is treated of. A better conception of the subject would probably be obtained, and much repetition avoided, by treating of both unitedly.—On a third treatise —Ritsehl's Origin of the Ancient Catholic Church, (*Bonn, bei Marcus:* 1850; pp. 620,) —I shall make some remarks in my next.

J. L. Jacobi.

* Gedächtnissrede von Hagenbach über W. M. L. de Wette. Leipzig: 1850. Weidmansche Buchhandlung.

## DEATH OF NEANDER.

Augustus Neander, the greatest Protestant Theologian of the age, died at Berlin, on the 13th of July last, in the sixty-second year of his age. On the 19th of June the Editor of this Journal had an interview with the veteran scholar in his own house at Berlin, and found him then in better health and spirits than he had enjoyed for years. He was working finely on his "Church History," with the help of an amanuensis, and, so far as human judgment could go, there was every prospect that he would be able to bring that great work to a conclusion. It is ordered otherwise. We extract the following from a letter in the Boston Traveller:—

"His sickness was only of a few days' duration. On Monday he held his lecture as usual. The next day he was seized with a species of cholera. A day or two of pain was followed by a lucid interval, when the physicians were encouraged to hope for his recovery. During this interval he dictated a page in his 'Church History,' and then said to his sister,—'I am weary—let us go home.' He had no time to die. He needed no further preparation; his whole life had been the best preparation, and up to the last moment we see him active in his Master's service. The disease returned with redoubled force; a day or two more of suffering, and on Sunday, less than a week from the day of attack, he was dead.

"On the 17th of July I attended the funeral services. The procession of students was formed at the university, and marched to his dwelling. In the mean time, in the house, the theological students, the professors from Berlin, and from the University of Halle, the clergy, relatives, high officers of government, &c., were assembled to hear the funeral discourse. Professor Strauss, for forty-five years an intimate friend of Neander, delivered a sermon. During the exercises, the body, not yet placed in the coffin, was covered with wreaths and flowers, and surrounded with burning candles.

"The procession, which was of great length, was formed at 10 A. M., and moved through Unter den Linden as far as Frederick-street, and then the whole length of Frederick-street as far as the Elizabeth-street Cemetery. For the whole distance, nearly two miles, the sides of the streets, and doors and windows of the houses, were filled with an immense concourse of people who had come to look upon the solemn scene. The hearse was surrounded with students, some of them from Halle, carrying lighted candles, and in advance was borne the Bible and Greek Testament which had ever been used by the deceased.

"At the grave, a choir of young men sang appropriate music, and a student from Halle made an affecting address. It was a solemn sight to see the tears gushing from the eyes of those who had been the pupils and friends of Neander. Many were deeply moved, and well might they join with the world in mourning for one who had done more than any one to keep pure the religion of Christ here in Germany.

"After the benediction was pronounced, every one present, according to the beautiful custom here, went to the grave and threw into it a handful of dirt, thus assisting at the burial. Slowly, and in scattered groups, the crowd dispersed to their various homes."

Our limits will not allow us to say more at present: but we hope to give our readers an extended estimate of Neander hereafter.

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## Art. X.—AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

We give place with pleasure to the following letter from Mr. Packard, the respected Editor of the Publications of the American Sunday-School Union. The letter was not written for publication: but, as it sets forth the points which Mr. Packard desires us to notice, with more clearness, perhaps, than we ourselves could do it, we deem it best to insert the whole:—

"Dear Sir,—I have read with interest, and, I trust, not without profit, the article in the Methodist Quarterly Review for April, entitled, 'Sunday-School Literature.' I hope you will excuse the suggestion of two errors—one of impression and the other of fact. By the phrase, 'Our Church, as a Church, has *no* share in the responsibilities of the American Sunday-School Union,'—it is implied that other churches have. Whereas, you are aware, (for we have often stated it, at the request of members of your Church,) that *no church, as such, has, or ever had*, any share in the responsibilities of the American Sunday-School Union.

"The error of fact is still more important. 'The American Sunday-School Union, with whose prices ours are frequently compared, calls annually upon its supporters for large sums to carry forward its operations,' &c. The *donations* to our society are all expended in *gratuitous labour* or assistance to poor schools. They are never used to 'carry forward the book operations' of the society, as the writer of the article evidently supposes, and as his remark clearly affirms. We have never supposed ourselves at liberty to use funds contributed for the benevolent purposes of our society in the prosecution of our business operations. The departments have ever been kept entirely distinct.

"I will take occasion to say, that so far as I know the feelings of our Board and Society toward your institution and its objects, they are entirely friendly. We have always supposed that some denominational organization would be requisite to supply wants which denominations, *as such*, feel. If we were fairly represented before the community, I do not think the denominational societies would lose anything, and I am sure we should gain.

"Trusting in your Christian courtesy to set your readers right in the two points I have mentioned, and with the best wishes for your personal welfare and official prosperity,

I am, very truly, yours,

Fred. A. Packard."

We are requested also to advert to the fact, that though "no church, *as such*, is represented in the Union, members of the different evangelical denominations are united in its management, and three highly respectable members of the Methodist Episcopal Church are on the Committee of Publication; namely, Messrs. J. B. Longacre, William A. Budd, and Samuel Ashmead."

As we have said, we make these statements with great pleasure. At the same time, they tend rather to confirm the position of our article, that the Methodist Sunday-School Union is better able to supply the wants of Methodist schools, and therefore more deserving of their support, than the American Sunday-School Union.

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